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QUARTERLY REVIEW.

1848.

EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D.D.

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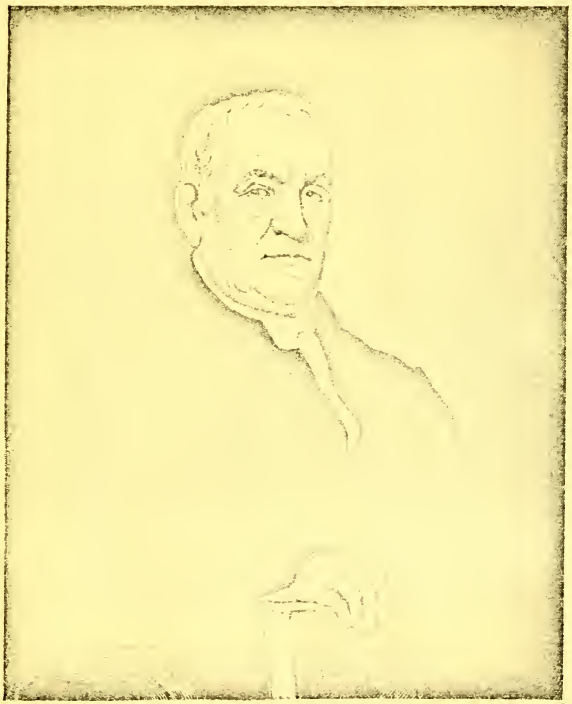

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CONTENTS.

CONTENTS OF JANUARY NUMBER.

ART.		Page
I.	Prescott's Works.—(*E. P. Whipple, Esq.*)	5
II.	Association Discussed.—(*Professor Taylor Lewis.*)	29
III.	Cromwell and the Revolution.—(*S. G. Arnold, Esq.*)	51
IV.	Headley's Histories	84
V.	Webster's Octavo Dictionary	103
VI.	Matters and Things in Europe.—(*Editor.*)	122
VII.	Critical Notices	148

1. The Philosophy of Christian Perfection; 2. Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England; 3. Dr. Chalmers' Daily Scripture Readings; 4. Life of Jeremy Belknap, D. D.; 5. Smith's Narrative of an Exploring Visit to the Consular Cities of China; 6. Revolutionary Services and Civil Life of Gen. Wm. Hull; 7. Jarvis's Reply to Dr. Milner's "End of Religious Controversy;" 8. Frost's Life of Gen. Zachary Taylor; 9. James' Life of Henry the Fourth, King of France and Navarre; 10. Corney's Thomson's Seasons; 11. Parker's Outlines of General History; 12. Von Schlegel's Philosophy of Life and Philosophy of Language; 13. Trench's Notes on the Parables of our Lord; 14. Ralston's Elements of Divinity; 15. Stevens' Memorials of the Introduction of Methodism into the Eastern States; 16. Spencer's Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, in Greek; 17. Reilly's Life of the Rev. Gideon Ouseley, Irish Missionary; 18. Artist-life; or Sketches of American Painters, by Tuckerman; 19. Sunday-School Books.

CONTENTS OF APRIL NUMBER.

I.	Wesleyan Missionary Society.—(*Rev. Dr. Floy.*)	165
II.	Mystic Arts in our own Day.—(*Rev. J. T. Crane.*)	202
III.	Oil-painting.—(*President Wentworth*)	230
IV.	Neander's Life of Christ.—(*Rev. Dr. Philip Schaff.*)	248
V.	Prescott's Conquest of Peru.—(*E. P. Whipple, Esq.*)	268
VI.	Sacred Harmony.—(*J. T. Harris.*)	283
VII.	Philosophy of Christian Perfection.—(*Rev. Dr. J. T. Peck.*)	293
VIII.	Critical Notices	323

1. West's Sketches of Wesleyan Preachers; 2. Tyng's Lectures on the Law and the Gospel; 3. Recollections and Reflections of an Old Itinerant; 4. Experience and Ministerial Labors of Rev. Thomas Smith; 5. Rawson on the Nature and Ministry of Holy Angels; 6. House's Sketches, Literary and Religious.

CONTENTS OF JULY NUMBER.

ART.		Page
I.	Life of Madame Guyon.—(*Rev. Daniel Curry.*)	325
II.	Mental Discipline.—(*Rev. S. M. Vail.*)	361
III.	Political Economy	380
IV.	Wesley and his Biographers.—(*Rev. W. C. Hoyt.*)	406
V.	The Pelagian Controversy.—(*J. L. Jewett.*)	436
VI.	Wesley's Journal.—(*Rev. O. R. Howard.*)	455
VII.	Critical Notices	474

1. Self-education; or, the Philosophy of Mental Improvement; 2. A Voyage up the River Amazon, including a Residence at Para; 3. The Path of Life; 4. The Bethel Flag; 5. Germany, England, and Scotland; 6. Life of the Chevalier Bayard; 7. Scenes at Washington; 8. Sketches of Sermons on the Parables and Miracles of Christ; 9. Recollections of Real Life in England; 10. Appleton's Library Manual; 11. Lectures on Revivals of Religion; 12. Xenophon's Memorabilia of Socrates; 13. Historical and Critical View of the Speculative Philosophy of Europe in the Nineteenth Century; 14. Preparation for the Pulpit; 15. Fate of Infidelity; 16. Proverbial Philosophy; 17. History of the Girondists; 18. Doing Good; 19. Ilactenus; 20. Condition and Prospects of the Protestant Episcopal Church; 21. A Summer in Scotland; 22. Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains; 23. Now and then; 24. Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe; 25. The English Pulpit; 26. Napoleon and the Marshals of the Empire; 27. Sermons of Christmas Evans; 28. Hudson's Lectures on Shakspeare; 29. The Power of the Pulpit.

CONTENTS OF OCTOBER NUMBER.

I.	What is Methodism?—(*Dr. T. E. Bond. Junr.*)	485
II.	Sparks' American Biography	505
III.	Eloquence—Its Various Species, and their Classification.—(*J. O'Connell, Esq.*)	514
IV.	The Revolutions of 1848	535
V.	Witness of the Spirit.—(*Rev. J. Cummings.*)	552
VI.	Westminster Assembly of Divines.—(*Rev. Daniel Curry.*)	577
VII.	Methodist Hymnology	602
VIII.	Corson's Loiterings in Europe	613
IX.	The Discipline of 1848	617
X.	Editorial	626
XI.	Critical Notices	633

1. Smith's Patriarchal Age; 2. Owen's Thucydides; 3. Agassiz and Gould's Principles of Zoology; 4. The Englishman's Greek Concordance of the New-Testament; 5. True Organization of the New Church; 6. Writings of Cassius M. Clay; 7. James' Church in Earnest; 8. Life and Times of the Rev. Jesse Lee; 9. Abbott's Kings and Queens; 10. Wayland's Elements of Moral Science; 11. Wayland's Elements of Political Economy; 12. Thankfulness; by Rev. Charles B. Tayler; 13. Memoir of Rev. Wm. G. Crocker; 14. The Czar, his Court and People; 15. Home Influence; 16. Discourse on the Death of Prof. Caldwell; 17. Chalmers' Sabbath Scripture Readings; 18. Nevin's Antichrist; 19. Mitchell's Planetary and Stellar Worlds; 20. Carleton's Battle of Buena Vista; 21. Man and his Motives, by Dr. G Moore; 22. Reply to Stuart and Nott; 23. Salkeld's First Book in Spanish; 24. Marriage Ring; 25. Family Altar; 26. Silent Comforter; 27. Young Communicant; 28. Peirce's Notes on the Acts; 29. Modern French Literature; 30. Cyclopædia of Moral and Religious Anecdotes.

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ART. I.—1. *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic.* By WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT. Tenth edition, 3 vols. 8vo. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

2. *History of the Conquest of Mexico; with a Preliminary View of the Ancient Mexican Civilization, and the Life of the Conqueror, Hernando Cortés.* By WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT. Eighth edition, 3 vols. 8vo. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

3. *Biographical and Critical Miscellanies.* By WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT. 1 vol. 8vo. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

4. *History of the Conquest of Peru; with a Preliminary View of the Civilization of the Incas.* By WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT. 2 vols. 8vo. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

THE publication of Mr. Prescott's "Peru" affords us an opportunity for which we have long waited, to attempt an estimate of his powers as an historian, and to give some account of his works. To him belongs the rare distinction of uniting solid merit with extensive popularity. He has been exalted to the first class of historians, both by the popular voice and the suffrages of the learned. By avoiding all tricks of flippancy or profundity to court any class of readers, he has pleased all. His last history is devoured with as much avidity as the last novel; while, at the same time, it occupies the first place in the pages of the reviews. His fame, also, is not merely local, or even national. It is as great at London, Paris, and Berlin, as at Boston or New-York. His works have been translated into Spanish, German, French, and Italian; and into whatever region they have penetrated they have met a cordial welcome, and done much to raise the character of American letters and scholarship. In England his success has probably been beyond that of any other American author. The tone of the En-

glish press toward our publications has too often been either patronizing or insolent. But Mr. Prescott's histories have been spared both the impertinence of condescension and the impertinence of abuse, and judged according to their intrinsic merits. The best evidence, perhaps, of his transatlantic reputation is to be found in his membership of numerous literary associations abroad. We perceive that since the publication of "The Conquest of Peru," he has been chosen a member of the Royal Society of Literature, and also of the Society of Antiquaries. The last honor he shares with but one other American.

It is needless to say that a reputation so extensive could only result from sterling excellences. Some of Mr. Prescott's popularity may, doubtless, be attributed to the peculiar disadvantages under which he has prosecuted his historical researches. That a man nearly blind should collect a large mass of rare chronicles and MSS., and attempt the composition of histories requiring the utmost industry, sagacity, and toil, is of itself sufficient to awaken attention and almost to confer fame. But Mr. Prescott's works require no apology founded on the obstacles he has surmounted. They can stand the tests we apply to similar compositions without any call upon the charity of reader or reviewer. Indeed, though the historian cannot dispense with the use of his eyes without being subjected to numberless annoyances which might well discourage the most patient and energetic of men, the value of his history must come, after all, from his own mind and character. It is not the channel through which facts and authorities pass into the head, but the shape in which they come out of the head, which is of the most importance. The real difficulties which Mr. Prescott has surmounted are intellectual, and inherent in his subjects and materials. These difficulties can hardly be appreciated by a superficial reader of his histories. They are not perceived until we consider out of what obstinate materials he has drawn his consistent, animated, and picturesque narrative, and reflected upon that peculiar combination of qualities by which he has been enabled to perform it with such splendid success.

The distinguishing merit of Mr. Prescott is his power of vividly representing characters and events in their just relations, and applying to them their proper principles. He thus presents a true exhibition of the period of time he has chosen for his subject, enabling the reader to comprehend its peculiar character, to realize its passions and prejudices, and at once to observe it with the eye of a contemporary, and judge it with the calmness of a philosopher. To succeed in this difficult object of historical art, requires not

only mental powers of a high order, but a general healthiness of moral and intellectual constitution which is uncommon, even among historians who evince no lack of forcible thought and intense conception. History is false not only when the historian willfully lies, but also when facts, true in themselves, are forced out of their proper relations through the unconscious operation of the historian's feelings, prejudices, or modes of thought. He thus represents, not his subject, but his subject as modified by his own character. Certain facts and persons are exaggerated into undue importance, while others are unduly depressed, in order that they may more readily fall within the range of his generalizations, or harmonize with his preconceived opinions. He may have a system so fixed in his mind, or a passion so lodged in his heart, as to see facts in relation to it, instead of seeing them in relation to each other. An honest sectarian or partisan, an admirable moralist or philanthropist, might make his history a tissue of fallacies and falsehoods, without being justly chargeable with intentional untruth. This is done by confounding individual impressions with objective facts and principles.

Now Mr. Prescott's narrative of events and delineations of character are characterized by singular objectiveness. By a fine felicity of his nature he is content to consider his subject as everything, and himself as nothing. Objects stand out on his page in clear light, undiscolored by the hues of his own passions, unmixed with any peculiarities of his own character. This disposition and power to see things as they are in themselves, when joined to a corresponding capacity to convey them to other minds in their true proportions, indicates a finely balanced as well as largely endowed nature, and implies moral as well as intellectual strength. The moral qualities evinced in Mr. Prescott's histories, though they are seen in no ostentation of conscience and parade of noble sentiments, are still of a fine and rare order, and constitute no inconsiderable portion of his excellence as an historian. These are modesty, conscientiousness, candor, toleration,—a hatred of wrong, modified by charity for the wrong-doer,—a love of truth, expressed not in resounding commonplaces, but in diligence in seeking it out,—and a comprehension of heart which noiselessly embraces all degrees of the human family, just and merciful to all, looking at motives as well as actions, and finding its fit expression in a certain indescribable sweetness of tone pervading his style like an invisible essence. It is one of the greatest charms of his compositions, that these admirable qualities are so unostentatiously displayed that they can be best described in negatives. Thus we speak of his

absence of egotism, of intolerance, of narrowness, of rancor, of exaggeration, rather than of the positive qualities through which such faults are avoided.

The intellectual power displayed in Mr. Prescott's works has a similar character of unobtrusiveness and reserve. It would, doubtless, appear to many readers much greater were it asserted with more emphasis, and occasionally allowed to disport itself in the snapping contrasts of antithesis, or the cunning contortions of disputation. A writer may easily gain the reputation of a strong and striking thinker, by sacrificing artistical effect to momentary surprises, or by exhibiting his thoughts in their making, before they have attained precision and definiteness, and taken their place in the general plan of his work. To the generality of readers, depth of thought is confounded with confusion of thoughts. Events and ideas, heaped and huddled together, and lit up here and there with flashes of wit and imagination, are often received in their chaotic state as indications of greater mental power, than they would be if reduced to order and connection by the stringent exercise of a patient, penetrating, and comprehensive intellect. Now, pure force of understanding is principally shown in so grappling with the subject as to educe simplicity from complexity, and order from confusion. According to the perfection with which this is done will be the apparent ease of the achievement; and a thinker who follows this method rarely parades its processes. His mind, like that of Mr. Prescott, operates to the reader softly and without noise. Any strain or contortion in thought or expression would indicate imperfect comprehension of his subject, and exhibit the pains of labor instead of its results. Far from desiring to tickle attention by giving undue prominence to single thoughts or incidents, such a thinker would be chiefly solicitous to keep them in subjection to his general purpose; for it is violating the first principle of art to break up the unity of a subject into a series of exaggerated individual parts.

The moment we consider the materials which form the foundation of Mr. Prescott's elaborate histories, we perceive the high degree of intellect they imply in the writer, and are able to estimate that healthiness of mind by which he shunned the numerous temptations to brilliant faults which beset his path. In the collection of these materials he has displayed all the industry and diligence of an antiquary. With the utmost indifference to labor and expense he has gathered from every quarter all books and MSS. which could elucidate or illustrate his subjects, and nothing which could cast the minutest thread of light into any unexplored corner

of history seems to have escaped his terrible vigilance. With all his taste for large views, which comprehend years in sentences, the most mole-eyed annalist has not a keener sight for the small curiosities of history. From his quiet room in Boston he sends forth directions across the Atlantic which are felt at Madrid, Naples, and London; and rare MSS., buried in libraries or private collections, are stirred unwillingly up from the sleep and dust of centuries to serve his purpose. No chronicle or personal history, happy in the consciousness of its insignificance, can hide itself from his quick eye if it chance to contain a single fact which he needs. He has shown more industry and acuteness than almost any other contemporary resurrectionist in the grave-yards of deceased books. Yet he has not one of the faults which cling so obstinately to most antiquaries. He does not estimate the importance of a fact or date by the trouble he experienced in hunting it out. He does not plume himself on the acquisition of what has baffled others. None of the dust of antiquity creeps into his soul. His style glides along with the same unassuming ease in the narration of discoveries as of common facts.

Indeed, it is not so much in the collection as in the use of his materials that Mr. Prescott claims our regard as an historical artist. These materials are, it is true, original and valuable beyond any which have fallen into the hands of any contemporary historian; but to analyze them, and to compose accurate histories from their conflicting statements, required judgment in its most comprehensive sense. They are the productions of men who looked at persons and events from different points of view. They are vitiated with the worst faults of bad historians. They all reflect their age in its common passions and prejudices, and each is disfigured by some unconscious or willful misrepresentations, springing from personal bias or imperfect comprehension. They are full of credulity and bigotry, of individual and national prejudices,—sometimes the mere vehicles of private malice, almost always characterized by a bad arrangement of facts and confusion of principles. Together they present so strange a medley of shrewdness and fanaticism, of fact and fiction, and throw over the subject they are intended to illustrate such a variety of cross lights, and entangle it in such perplexing contradictions, that to sift out the truth requires the most cautious consideration and comparison of authorities; an obstinate resistance of evidence honestly put in; the utmost sagacity, penetration, and knowledge of the subtler movements of the human heart. The testimony of kings, statesmen, scholars, priests, soldiers, philanthropists, each inaccurate after a fashion of his own,

Mr. Prescott was compelled to estimate at its exact worth, disregarding all the exaggerations of pride, interest, and sensibility. To do this he was necessarily obliged to study the personal history of his authorities, to examine the construction of their minds, and to consider all inducements to false coloring which would result from their position and character. Those who have carefully read the critical notices of his authorities, subjoined to each division of his histories, must admit that Mr. Prescott has shown himself abundantly capable of performing this difficult and delicate task. He analyzes the mental and moral constitution of his veterans with singular acuteness, laying open to the eye their subtlest excellences and defects, and showing in every sentence that in receiving their statements of facts, he has allowed much for the medium through which they have passed. This portion of his duty, as an historian, demanded a judgment as nice in its tact as it was broad in its grasp. The scales must have been large enough to take in the weightiest masses of details, and perfect enough to show the slightest variation of the balance.

Mr. Prescott's understanding is thus judicial in its character, uniting to a love for truth diligence in its search and judgment in its detection. But this does not comprehend all his merits as an historian of the past; and, indeed, might be compatible with an absence of life in his narrative, and vitality in his conceptions. Among those historians who combine rectitude of purpose with strength of understanding, Mr. Hallam stands pre-eminent. All his histories have a judicial character. He is almost unexcelled in sifting testimony, in detecting inaccuracies, in reducing swollen reputations to their proper dimensions, in placing facts and principles in their natural order. He has no prepossessions, no preferences, no prejudices, no theories. He passes over a tract of history sacred to partisan fraud and theological rancor, where every event and character is considered in relation to some system still acrimoniously debated, without adopting any of the passions with which he comes in contact. No sophistical apology for convenient crime, no hypocrite or oppressor pranked out in the colors of religion or loyalty, can deceive his cold, calm, austere, remorseless intellect. He sums up each case which comes before him for judgment with a surly impartiality, applying to external events or acts two or three rigid rules, and then fixing on them the brand of his condemnation. The shrieks of their partisans he deems but the last tribute to the justice of his judgment. This method of writing history has, doubtless, its advantages; and, in regard to Mr. Hallam, it must be admitted that he has corrected many pernicious

errors of fact, and overthrown many absurd estimates of character. But, valuable as his histories are in many important respects, they generally want grace, lightness, sympathy, picturesqueness, glow. From his deficiency of sensibility and imagination, and from his habit of bringing everything to the tribunal of the understanding, he rarely grasps character or incidents in the concrete. Both are interesting to him only as they illustrate certain practical or abstract principles. He looks at external acts without being able to discern inward motives. He cannot see things with the same eyes, and from the same position, as did the persons whom he judges; and, consequently, all those extenuations and explanations of conduct which are revealed in an insight into character, are of little account with him. He does not realize a past age to his imagination, and will not come down from his pinnacle of judgment to mingle with its living realities. As he coldly dissects some statesman, warrior, or patriot, who at least had a living heart and brain, we are inclined to exclaim with Hamlet,—"Has this fellow no feeling of his business?" It is the same in his literary criticisms. He gives the truth as it is *about* the author, not as it is *in* the author. He describes his genius in general terms, not in characteristic epithets. Everything that is peculiar to a particular writer slips through his analysis. That subtil interpenetration of personality with feelings and powers, which distinguishes one man's genius from another's, escapes the processes of his understanding. Persons, in Mr. Hallam's hands, commonly subside into general ideas, events into generalizations. He does not appear to think that persons and events have any value in themselves apart from the principles they illustrate; and, consequently, he conceives neither with sufficient intensity to bring out always the principles they really contain.

We have already said that this mode of writing history has its advantages, but it is still so over-informed with understanding as to sink representation in reflection. Now the historian should address the eye and heart as well as the understanding, to enable the reader really to understand his work. Mr. Prescott possesses the qualities by which this object is attained, and he possesses them in fine harmony with the qualities of his understanding. He has a quick sensibility and a high degree of historical imagination—an imagination which, though it cannot create character and events which never existed, can still conceive facts in the concrete, and represent them instinct with their peculiar life. In studying a past age he is not content with appending to a rigid digest of facts certain appropriate reflections, but he brings the age up to his mind

in its characteristic form, costume, and social condition. He, in a manner, sees and feels its peculiar life, and comprehends, with his heart as well as his head, the influences which shaped character, and supplied motives and palliations of conduct. He distinguishes between crimes which result from wickedness of heart, and crimes which result from accredited error, and discerns those intricate operations of the mind by which superstition hallows vices into virtues, and prejudice obliquely justifies inhumanity and persecution. By conceiving character, also, as a whole, his page is filled with men instead of monstrosities. He sees that the progress of opinion has stamped with reprobation many practices which were once commanded by conventional morality and perverted religion; and he discriminates between evil performed from a false idea of duty, and evil performed from selfish passion. At the same time he understands all those unconscious hypocrisies of selfishness by which vice and error are gradually sanctified to the conscience and ennobled to the imagination. He comprehends, likewise, that apparent anomaly in human nature,—the commission of great crimes by persons who are not destitute of elevated sentiment and disinterested action; and in the delineation of men whose lives present a strange medley of folly and wisdom, virtue and wickedness, he presents complete and consistent portraits, recognized at once as harmonizing with the principles of our common nature. History, as often written, is false in the impressions it conveys, from an absence of this vitality, vividness, and picturesqueness. We do not perceive the connection between past and present events; and do not meet the actors in them on the common ground of humanity. Mr. Prescott always recognizes one nature in the different personages of history, however strange may be the combination of its elements, however novel the circumstances among which it is placed.

Connected with this power of pictorial representation and imaginative insight, he possesses a large share of sensibility; and from the combination of these arises, in a great degree, the peculiar charm and interest of his histories. By the readiness with which he himself sympathizes with his incidents and characters, he awakens the sympathies of the reader, and bears him willingly along the stream of narrative. Take, for instance, the histories of the conquest of Mexico and Peru. Almost everything seems presented directly to the imagination,—the physical characteristics of the countries, the character and varying fortunes of the conquerors, the appearance of their followers, the manners, customs, government, religion, of the conquered race. With exquisite artistical effect

our sympathies are made to gather round each in its turn, and to realize each in its peculiar form and life. Scenery, persons, and events, are thus fixed in the imagination in their proper relations, and together make up a comprehensive whole, the contemplation of which exercises almost every faculty and feeling of the mind. The same thing presented simply to the understanding, divested of its coloring and characterization, would certainly lose as much in instruction as attractiveness. Mr. Prescott understands what has made historical novels so much more readable than histories, and he has succeeded in making history as fascinating as romance. In accomplishing this it was not necessary that he should introduce anything fictitious. The nearer his narrative approached the vital truth of the matter, the more complete would be the interest it would awaken. But he had the sagacity to perceive that a mere detail of events however remarkable, and a mere estimate of persons however eminent, did not constitute history until they had been informed again with their original life.

In performing this difficult task Mr. Prescott has avoided another fault scarcely less injurious than its opposite extreme; we mean the fault of producing confusion of objects by the intensity with which each is conceived and expressed. Michelet, a man of splendid talents and accomplishments, is an illustration of this brilliant defect. His histories are as intense as Childe Harold or Manfred. He writes, as old John Dennis would say, in a perfect "fury and pride of soul." He conceives character and events with such vividness as to adopt the passions of the age he describes, blending them with his own life, and making their expression a matter of personal concern. He is whirled away by the spirits he has evoked. "Thierry," he once remarked, "called history narration; and M. Guizot analysis. I have named it *resurrection*, and it will retain the name." This remark conveys a fair impression of his historical method. He wakes from the sleep of ages kings, statesmen, warriors, and priests, and they start up into convulsive life. Each individual object glares upon the reader with eyes of fire, distracting his attention from relations. The historian is not upon an eminence surveying the whole field, but amid the noise and dust of the melee. There are in his histories detached sentences of extraordinary depth, single impersonations of wonderful grandeur, but the calm and comprehensive judgment, unfolding events and characters in their true connection, is generally wanting. Much of his finest narrative is disfigured with bursts of declamation which would be deemed extravagant in a political meeting, with drizzles of mysticism which would puzzle

a transcendentalist. He has whole chapters which display a strange combination of qualities, made up of Lord Byron, Jacob Behmen, and Mr. Jefferson Brick. Mr. Prescott, perhaps, has nothing in his histories equal to Michelet's delineations of Joan of Arc, Charles of Burgundy, Hannibal, or Cæsar. But if he is not so vivid and powerful in detached parts, he excels him in the unity and proportion of his whole matter, and the sustained life and interest of his narrative. The healthy combination and balance of powers in Mr. Prescott's mind are more valuable to him as an accurate historian, than would be the impassioned imagination of Michelet, or the judicial understanding of Mr. Hallam.

The style of Mr. Prescott's works, as might be expected from his character, is manly, perspicuous, picturesque, lucid, equally removed from stateliness and levity, disdaining all tawdry ornaments and simulated energy, and combining clearness and simplicity with glow. In the composition of a long work it is a delicate matter to fix upon a proper form. The style which would delight in an essay might grow intolerably tedious in a volume. When brilliancy or dignity, intensity or melody, become monotonous, they tire nearly as much as dullness or discord. The only safe style for a long history is one without peculiarities which call attention to itself, apart from what it conveys. It must be sufficiently elevated to be on a level with the matter, or its meagre simplicity and plainness would distract attention as much as luxuriant ornament, while it must vigorously resist all temptations to display for the mere sake of display. Mr. Prescott has been compared with Robertson in respect to style. The comparison holds as far as regards luminous arrangement of matter and clearness of narration; but, with the exception, perhaps, of passages in his "America," not in the graces of expression. The manner of Robertson is a fair representation of his patient, passionless, elegant mind. Its simplicity is often too prim, its elegance too nice. The smooth-rubbed mind of the Scotchman risks nothing, is fearful of natural graces, fearful of English verbal criticism, fearful of violating the dignity of history. His diction loses sweetness and raciness in its effort after correctness, and, as a general thing, is colorless, characterless, without glow or pictorial effect. The water is clear and mirrors facts in beautiful distinctness, but it neither sparkles nor flows. His diction, however, has the rare quality of never being tedious, and fixes the pleased attention of the reader when the labored splendor of Gibbon would fatigue from its monotony. Mr. Prescott has the characteristic merits of Robertson with other merits superadded. His style is flowing, plastic, all alive with the

life of his mind. It varies with the objects it describes, and is cautious or vehement, concise or luxuriant, plain or pictorial, as the occasion demands. It glides from object to object with unforced ease, passing from discussion to description, from the council chamber to the battle-field, without any preliminary flourishes, without any break in that unity which declares it the natural action of one mind readily accommodating itself to events as they rise. Such a style is to be judged not from the sparkle or splendor of separate sentences or paragraphs, but from its effect as a whole. A person can only appreciate it by following its windings through a long work. Of course we speak of Mr. Prescott's style, in this connection, in its general character, after his powers of composition had been well trained by exercise. The diction of the earlier chapters of Ferdinand and Isabella displays an effort after elegance, and an occasional timidity of movement, natural to a man who had not learned to dare, and mistook elegant composition for a living style. He soon worked himself free from such shackles, and left off writing sentences. With the exceptions we have mentioned there is no fine writing—of writing for the sake of words instead of things—in Mr. Prescott's works. His mind is too large and healthy for such vanities. Perhaps the perfection of his style, in its plastic movement, is seen in the Conquest of Peru. There are passages in that which seem to have run out of his mind, clear as rills of rock water. They are like beautiful improvisations, where passions and objects so fill the mind, that the words in which they are expressed are at once perfect and unpremeditated.

We have thus attempted to pass beneath the surface of Mr. Prescott's works to show out of what combination of elements, moral and intellectual, they have taken their present form. It is only in this way that we can estimate the amount of industry, candor, intellect, and command of expression, he brought to bear upon his difficult labors. The analysis would have been easier had his mind presented more positive points, or his works displayed more stubborn individual traits. The different powers of his mind interpenetrate each other with such a plastic felicity, that the critic is puzzled to hit the right point which exhibits their relative size and strength. It is needless to say that intellects like that of Mr. Prescott are often underrated from the very harmony of their proportions. It is only by going carefully over their processes, that we appreciate their results.

Mr. Prescott's first work was the History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. It was the labor of ten years, and of ten years well spent. He was as fortunate in the selection of his sub-

ject as in its treatment. It was in this reign that the Spanish monarchy may be said to have been organized, and the Spanish character permanently formed. Yet either from the paucity of materials, or from an underestimate of its importance, European writers left to an American the honor of first writing a classic history of the period. Two inconsiderable compilations, one in French by Mignot, the other in German by Becker, were the only records of an attempt to grapple with the subject as a whole. At the time Mr. Prescott selected it, the materials for its proper treatment were more numerous and available than at any preceding period. The researches of Llorente, Marina, Sempere, Capmany, Conde, Navarette, and Clemencin, had cleared up the darkness which previously enveloped some of the most important and interesting features of the subject. Through friends abroad and at home he was able to collect almost everything, both in a printed and MSS. form, which could illustrate the period, comprehending chronicles, memoirs, private correspondence, legal codes, and official documents. Then occurred an untoward circumstance which cannot better be related than in his own words:—

"Soon after my arrangements were made early in 1826 for obtaining the necessary materials from Madrid, I was deprived of the use of my eyes for all purposes of reading and writing, and had no prospect of again recovering it. This was a serious obstacle to the prosecution of a work, requiring the perusal of a large mass of authorities in various languages, the contents of which were to be carefully collated and transferred to my own pages, verified by minute reference. Thus shut out from one sense, I was driven to rely exclusively on another, and to make the ear do the work of the eye. With the assistance of a reader, uninitiated, it may be added, in any modern language but his own, I worked my way through several venerable Castilian quartos, until I was satisfied of the practicability of the undertaking. I next procured the services of one more competent to aid me in pursuing my historical inquiries. The process was slow and irksome enough, doubtless, to both parties, at least till my ear was accommodated to foreign sounds and an antiquated, oftentimes barbarous phraseology, when my progress was more sensible, and I was cheered with the prospect of success. It certainly would have been a far more serious misfortune to be led thus blindfold through the pleasant paths of literature; but my track stretched for the most part across dreary wastes, where no beauty lurked to arrest the traveler's eye and charm his senses. After persevering in this course for some years, my eyes, by the blessing of Providence, recovered sufficient strength to allow me to use them with tolerable freedom in the prosecution of my labors, and in the revision of all previously written."

The range of Mr. Prescott's subject was extensive, and its different portions had to be taken up in their order, and their relative

importance and influence rigidly preserved. In a long and labored Introduction, imbodying a large amount of thought and research, he gives a view of the Castilian monarchy before the fifteenth century, and a review of the constitution of Aragon to the middle of the same period. This comprehends a luminous survey of all those manners, customs, and institutions, which represent national life and character; and it places the reader at once among the people of Spain as they were in the fifteenth century. His history, then, naturally divides itself into two parts; the period when the different kingdoms of Spain were first united under one monarchy, and a thorough reform introduced into their internal administration, and the period when, the interior organization of the monarchy having been completed, the nation entered on its schemes of discovery and conquest. The first part illustrates the domestic policy of Ferdinand and Isabella, and the second their foreign policy. Both are filled with great events and striking personages. In the first we have a detail of those measures by which two kingdoms, distracted by civil feuds or foreign wars, and seemingly without even the elements of national greatness and power, were united, reformed, and enabled to act with such effect abroad, as eventually to threaten the liberties of Europe. This part covers all those events in Castile and Aragon which preceded the marriage of Isabella with Ferdinand; the war with Portugal which followed; the measures by which the overgrown privileges and possessions of the nobles were reduced, the laws rigidly enforced, and the powers and revenues of the crown increased; the establishment of the modern Inquisition; the war of Granada, and the addition of that kingdom to the Castilian possessions, after a desperate struggle of ten years; the application of Columbus at the Spanish court, and his first and second voyages; the expulsion of the Jews; and a general view of Castilian literature.

The second part, which is about half of the whole work, opens with a masterly view of the affairs of Europe at the close of the fifteenth century, and the first invasion of Italy by Charles VIII of France. This we think unexcelled for that clearness of statement by which the most complex relations of states are rendered intelligible to the least informed reader. The narrative of the Italian wars then follows, and the steps are minutely traced by which the policy of Ferdinand, and the valor and ability of Gonsalvo de Cordova, eventually succeeded in expelling the French from Naples and adding that kingdom to Spain. The rise of Cardinal Ximenes, his ecclesiastical reforms, the terrible zeal with which he persecuted the conquered Moors of Granada into insur-

rection, and the wonderful conversions he effected by the logic of fire and sword; the third and fourth voyages of Columbus, and the general character of the colonial policy of Spain; the death of Isabella; the dissensions of Ferdinand with Philip, his son-in-law, with regard to the regency of Castile; the reign and death of Philip, and regency of Ferdinand; the conquests of Ximenes in Africa, and his foundation of the University of Alcala; the wars and politics of Italy, arising from the League of Cambray; the conquest of Navarre, by which the only remaining independent kingdom in Spain was blended with the Spanish monarchy; the death of Ferdinand and the administration of Ximenes; and a general review of the administration of Ferdinand and Isabella,— are the leading subjects of the second portion of Mr. Prescott's history.

Great events generally arise from the conjunction of powerful natures and fitting opportunities. We call a man great when he has the sagacity to perceive these opportunities, and the will to execute what they teach. Individual character never appears in such strength as when it works in harmony with the spirit of the age. It is strong not only in its own strength, but in the accumulated energies of vast masses of men. There is a mysterious power urging it on, which, for want of a more accurate name, we call the general tendency of the time. No human mind can possibly grasp all the elements which enter into the spirit of an age; for this spirit is but one expression of the general life of humanity, one step in its progress or retrogression, and holds inscrutable relations to everything which has preceded it. To give a perfect philosophy of an age would be to understand the philosophy of God's providence, and to know the history of the future as well as the past. The nearest approximation to correctness in history is where circumstances and men are properly connected in respect to the production of events. It will not do to refer events wholly to individual character or to the spirit of the age. In the one case the man is isolated from humanity, in the other a tendency is confounded with an act. Thousands of men have opportunities and inspirations to perform great things, but men of genius are none the less rare. The Almighty seems to endow some persons with the power to anticipate the progress of events, and to produce at once what the operation of a general tendency upon a generation of men would postpone for years. An historian, therefore, fairly to describe an age, must have the powers of characterization and generalization so related as to operate harmoniously.

The general tendency of the age, which forms the subject of Mr.

Prescott's history, was, in the domestic affairs of European nations, to a concentration of power; and, in their external relations, to combinations for conquest or defense, and contests for pre-eminence. The sovereigns under which this revolution in the domestic and foreign system of the European states was accomplished, were admirably suited to their task. By the union of Castile and Aragon under Ferdinand and Isabella, the subsequent conquests of Granada, Navarre, and Naples, the acquisition of a new world in America, and the marriage of the heiress of the Spanish dominions with the son of the emperor Maximilian, Spain, under the house of Austria, became the most important power in Europe, and long threatened its liberties. Robertson, in his History of the emperor Charles the Fifth, has taken up the history at about the period where Mr. Prescott's ends, and exhibited the Spanish-Austrian power in its most colossal form. Our countryman has traced it from its commencement, and developed the causes of its growth. To understand Robertson such a history was wanted, and certainly its subject would not yield in interest to that of the reign of Charles the Fifth. As the period which Mr. Prescott selected was that in which the modern system of Europe may be said to have taken its rise, and was in an especial degree encumbered with falsehood and sophistry, it was a subject which seemed at once to tempt the historian by its importance and repel him by its difficulties.

The history of Ferdinand and Isabella shows that Mr. Prescott thoroughly comprehended the revolution to which we have referred, and his exposition of it is admirable. His work accurately reflects the spirit of the age and the character of its prominent actors; and we have been especially struck with his felicity in developing character, not in an isolated analysis of qualities, but in the narration of the events which called them forth. He so blends character with events that their mutual relation is distinctly seen. The reader instinctively connects persons with actions,—what they are with what they perform; and, in doing this, he has not merely an idea of their external conduct, but a clear insight into their inward aims and motives. Thus to diffuse the subtlest results of analysis through the very veins of narration, and picture forth character to the imagination, is a fine triumph of art. That mechanical delineation of character, which consists in summing up a man's various qualities at the end of a narration of his objects and actions, Mr. Prescott also possesses; but in him it seems like a repetition of what he has continually suggested throughout his whole narrative. In his accounts of events we are able to estimate better the degree

of power in the actors, by his exhibiting them as following or resisting current tendencies.

Among the wide variety of persons and events to which Mr. Prescott's first history relates, five characters stand prominently forth:—Isabella, Ferdinand, Columbus, Gonsalvo de Cordova, and Ximenes. The character of Isabella Mr. Prescott has skillfully developed, through all her various relations as queen, wife, and mother. It seems to us that her moral qualities were fully equaled by her intellectual, and that she excelled Ferdinand in both. Indeed, the important events of the reign are all traceable, in a greater or less degree, to her. She obtained the crown of Castile as much by her virtue, prudence, and sagacity, as her right. Her intellect, as well as her affection, was shown in her selection of Ferdinand as her husband. It was she who made force yield to law in Castile, and the reforms in its administration refer to her as their source. The conquest of Granada might not have been achieved, had it not been for her providence, forecast, and determination. At the time almost every one else despaired, it was her indomitable resolution that infused new life into the army. It was she who appreciated and aided Columbus, when the sharp, wily intellect of Ferdinand was blind to the grandeur and practicability of his plan; and to her it was owing that the new world was added to the dominions of Spain. Against the advice and entreaty of Ferdinand she raised Ximenes to the see of Toledo, and provided a fitting station for the development of his vast energies. Her sagacity detected the military genius of Gonsalvo de Cordova, when he was acting in a subordinate capacity in the war of Granada, and to her it was owing that he had the command of the army in the Italian wars. It is conceded that her influence was paramount in the domestic policy of the kingdom, in all those measures which gave it power to act with vigor abroad; but it appears to us that, in her selections of Columbus and Gonsalvo, she was also the spring of the foreign acquisitions of Spain. Ferdinand, with all his capacity as a warrior and statesman, and with all that unscrupulousness which gave him a command of the whole resources of perfidy and craft, was too selfish ever to be wisely and greatly politic. He did the dirty work of government and conquest with inimitable ability and appearance of cleanliness. His dark and cunning mind fairly circumvented every crowned and triple-crowned contemporary plotter. But he had not sufficient elevation of character to comprehend a great nature. The great navigator, the great captain, the great priest, whose genius the genius of Isabella instinctively recognized, were all treated by him with suspicion and ingratitude. The faults

of Isabella were faults engrafted on her nature by superstition; and the persecutions she allowed or countenanced arose from a mistaken sense of religious duty, stimulated by a bigoted confessor. Ferdinand had no more religion than *Machiavelli*, and was a persecutor from policy or interest. The greatest satire on the Catholicism of the period is contained in his title of Ferdinand the Catholic. We are aware of no female sovereign with whom Isabella can be compared in the union of energy and intelligence with grace, sweetness, and humane feeling. Mr. Prescott has instituted an ingenious parallel between her and Elizabeth of England, in which he happily traces their points of resemblance and contrast. The Castilian queen differed from the great English virago in being a woman in reality as well as name.

In all of Mr. Prescott's histories he has to do with Spanish character, and this he has profoundly studied both in itself and as it was gradually molded by religious and political institutions. He has considered the Spaniard in his character as crusader and oppressor, and developed with exquisite skill the connection of his religion with his rapacity. Spain was especially calculated to be the Catholic country of Europe; for there Catholicism was associated with the national existence and glory, with the gratification of every selfish passion. For seven or eight hundred years previous to the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, Spain had been the theatre of a fierce "holy" war between Christian and Musselman, for the possession of the country. Under the banner of the cross the infidel had been gradually beaten back from position to position, until his power was confined within the kingdom of Granada. All the passions which Christianity would rebuke, all the passions which war stimulates, Catholicism sanctified. There was a fatal divorce between religion and morality. Lust, avarice, cruelty, murder, could all rage under a religious garb. Every devout Christian might practice any enormity upon the heretic or infidel; and devout Christians might plunder each other if the church sanctioned the robbery. The mischievousness of the system was, that the imagination and religious sentiments of the people were affected as well as their bad passions, and strong faith sided with devilish lusts. It is doubtful whether the Spaniard could have endured the privations which accompanied his conquests in America, unless he had been sustained by some religious fanaticism; yet his zeal did not stay his hand from pillage and massacre. His bigotry was strong enough to deceive his humanity, and endowed the wolf with the heroism of the missionary.

In the History of Ferdinand and Isabella we perceive the religion

of Spain, France, and Italy, in connection with public affairs, and are able to estimate the degree of moral control it exercised over the action of states. In the Histories of the Conquest of Mexico and Peru we see it more directly in its influence upon individuals, taken from various classes of society, and pretty well representing their age. No reader who profoundly studies both aspects of this phenomenon, can fail to acknowledge the wonderful flexibility and power of adaptation in Catholicism, at the same time he finds new reasons to rejoice in the Reformation. He will see clearly reflected, in Mr. Prescott's page, the ductility with which Catholicism adapted itself to the natural disposition of its believers, binding equally saints and sinners to its communion, and strong with the strength of the worst and best men of the time. The policy of Spain, during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, was to have all its enterprises stamped with a holy character. Its relations with the pope are among the most curious points in its history. It is hardly a paradox to say that Spain would have seceded from the church, had its interests or passions been crossed instead of aided by the Papacy. Ferdinand's dealings with the pope are exceedingly characteristic. When the latter interfered with the internal affairs of his kingdom, or opposed him abroad, he had no scruples in covering him with public disgrace or in making war upon him. He found the pope a very convenient person to use, but he took care not to be used by him.

The second work of Mr. Prescott, the History of the Conquest of Mexico, appeared in six years after the publication of his first. The materials for this were such as no other historian had ever enjoyed. From Madrid alone he obtained unpublished documents, consisting of military and private journals, contemporary chronicles, legal instruments, correspondence of the actors in the conquest, &c., amounting to eight thousand folio pages. From Mexico he gleaned numerous valuable MSS., which had escaped the diligence of Spanish collectors. These, with what he derived from a variety of other sources, including the archives of the family of Cortés, placed in his possession a mass of materials sufficient to give a basis of undoubted facts to his wonderful narrative, and subdue the skepticism of the modern reader by the very accumulation of testimony. It is needless to add that he also obtained everything in a printed form which had reference to his subject. The result of all his labors, of research, thought, and composition, was a history possessing the unity, variety, and interest, of a magnificent poem. It deals with a series of facts, and exhibits a gallery of characters, which, to have invented, would place its creator by

the side of Homer; and which to realize and represent, in the mode Mr. Prescott has done, required a rare degree of historical imagination. It may be that the imperfection of the historian's eyes was one cause of his success. He was compelled to develop his memory to the full extent of its capacity; but memory depends, in a considerable degree, upon understanding, sensibility, and imagination. To recollect facts they must be digested, methodized, and realized. The judgment must place them in their natural order; the heart must fasten its sympathies to them; the imagination must see them as pictures. They are then a possession for ever. To the inward vision of the mind they are as much living realities as though they were present to the outward eye.

In our limited space we cannot give anything which would approach an account of this work. In its general plan and composition it illustrates what we have previously said of Mr. Prescott's processes as an historian. We had marked our copy on every page, intending to notice numerous passages for comment or quotation; and certainly the work is full enough of strange facts and wonderful adventures to awaken new views of the powers and perversions of human nature. Mr. Prescott first introduces the reader to the people and country of Mexico, and gives a luminous view of the ancient Mexican civilization. In the space of two hundred pages he comprehends a survey of the races inhabiting the country, and brings before us their character, history, government, religion, science, arts, domestic manners, everything, in short, necessary to a comprehension of their intellectual, moral, and political condition at the period Cortés commenced his enterprise. This introduction is mostly confined to the Aztecs, as they were the fiercest, most sanguinary, most intelligent, and most powerful, of the Mexican races; and as it was against their empire that the efforts of the conquerors were principally directed. Then follows the story of the conquest with all its remarkable features of heroism and cruelty. Cortés is, of course, the central figure of the group, the soul and the body of the enterprise, and around him are gathered some of the bravest warriors that romance ever imagined, encountering dangers and surviving miseries which, in a romance, would be pronounced impossible. The picture presents the meeting of two civilizations, brought in a rude shock against each other, and the triumph of the race which was superior in craft and science. In the followers of Cortés we have, what we would now call a gang of thieves, pirates, ravishers, and assassins, displaying in their worst excesses the courage and endurance of heroes, and

sustained in their worst calamities by what they were pleased to call their religion. The pagan Aztec gave the first place in his bloody pantheon to his terrible war-god, and with a cannibal appetite devoured the body of his captive. We have some consolation for this in knowing the Aztec was a heathen, and his god a chimera. But the deity the Spanish Catholic worshiped, and to whom he prayed for aid in his schemes of avarice, lust, and murder, was also of the family of Mexican deities, however much he may have deceived himself into the belief he was addressing the Christian's God. Moloch, Mammon, and Belial, were the inspiration of his schemes of conquest and deeds of massacre.

The great checks upon rapacity are conscience and natural humanity. It is one of the objects of true religion to strengthen and increase these natural obstacles to crime. When, however, bigotry sides with rapacity against human feeling, and breaks, instead of tightening, the bond of brotherhood, it produces those monstrosities of action so difficult to reconcile with the common principles of human nature. We can conceive of men as becoming demons, but the difficulty is to conceive of them as performing demoniacal acts from motives partly religious, and preserving any humanities in their character after the performance. Yet this we are compelled continually to do in following the Spaniards in their American conquests. It is one of the charms of Mr. Prescott's history that his worst characters are so fully developed that we perceive their humanity as well as their rascality. They never appear as bundles of evil qualities, but as men.

Mr. Prescott places his readers in a position to understand the moral condition of his personages, as that condition was influenced by the current practices of their age, and by their individual lives. Crimes, in their effect upon character, change their nature as the conventional standard of morals varies. To commit any delinquency whatever exercises a pernicious effect upon character; but its effect is not so pernicious when it is hailed as the sign of the hero, as when it is hooted at as the brand of the felon. In the one case a man may discharge many of the social and public duties of life, and preserve that degree of morality and religion conveyed in the phrase of "a respectable citizen;" in the other case he sinks into the common herd of profligates and criminals, and makes war upon respectable citizens. In one sense shedding blood in battle is murder; yet there is still a great difference in the moral character of General Scott and Gibbs the pirate. No well-minded person can now follow the career of Cortés without an expression of horror and indignation; yet the countrymen of Cortés applauded

his exploits as our countrymen applaud those of the victor of Monterey and Buena Vista.

There is another very important fact to be considered in our estimate of the Spaniards. The pope, in whom was lodged the power to dispose of the kingdoms of the heathen, had given the new world to Spain, to be conquered and converted. Cortés, as a devout Catholic, had no scruples about the right of conquest. Mexico was clearly his, or his sovereign's, provided he could get it. Now, assuming the right of conquest, all the crimes in which he was directly implicated might be extenuated by the right of self-defense. The truth is, he had no right to Mexico at all; and the chief crime he committed was in its invasion: but the head of Christendom had decided for him that this was not a crime, but a right. Many good Catholics might have been, and doubtless were, shocked at the barbarities which accompanied the conquest; but Cortés might have replied that what he did was necessary to obtain his rightful objects; that the question simply was, whether he and his followers should be sacrificed to the Mexican gods, or a certain number of Aztecs should be massacred. We know that his cruelties sprung from no disregard of his religion, such as it was. For that religion he was ready to die at any moment; for that religion he repeatedly risked the success of his enterprise; and it required all the address of father Almedo to prevent his zeal for the conversion of the natives and the overthrow of their gods from involving himself and his cause in a common ruin.

Cortés was in all respects a remarkable man, whether we consider the strength or the versatility of his genius. He attempted an enterprise as daring as ever entered the head of a maniac, and brought it to a successful result by the resources of his own mind. He was at once the most enthusiastic and most prudent of men,—a heart all fire, and a head all ice. His intellect was large, flexible, capacious of great plans, inexhaustible in expedients, and preserving, in the fiercest inward excitement of his passions, a wonderful coolness, clearness, and readiness. He seems to have been naturally a man of quick sensibility, rather than of deep feeling,—a cavalier elegant in person, lax in morals, with much versatility but little concentration of power, and chiefly distinguished for qualities which captivate, rather than command. It was not until his mind had been possessed by one dominant idea that the latent powers of his nature were displayed. This idea he held with the grasp of a giant, and it tamed his volatile passions, and concentrated his flashing powers, and put iron into his will. Everything, including life itself, was to him of little importance compared with

the conquest of Mexico. In his darkest hours of defeat and despondency, when hope appeared to all others but the insanity of folly, he never gave up his project, but renewed his attempts to perform the "impossible" with the coolness of one setting about a common-place enterprise. It is needless to say that this idea made him unscrupulous, and silenced all objections to the commission of convenient crime. He was not cruel by nature; that is, he took no pleasure in viewing or inflicting pain: but his mind was remorseless. Like other conquerors, he never allowed his feelings to interfere with his plans, and carelessly sacrificed friends and foes to the success of a project. His hand executed at once what his mind conceived, not so much because he excelled other men in vigor, but because he was not deterred from action by any scruples. Remorselessness is almost ever the key to that vigor which is so much praised in great warriors and statesmen. If human nature consisted simply of intellect and will, the world would be full of vigorous characters; but the vigor would be demoniacal. To a cruel man the bloodshed which attended the conquest of Mexico would have been pleasant of itself; to Cortés, who was its cause, it was a mere means to an end. The desolation of a province and the butchery of its inhabitants were merely processes of working out a practical problem. The remorselessness of thought produces more suffering than the cruelty of passion. The latter may be glutted with a few victims at a time; the former may scatter firebrands, arrows, and death, over an empire. Cortés, in this respect, was not worse than a hundred others whose "vigor" is the admiration of the world, and the inspiration of the devil.

No general ever excelled Cortés in the command he exercised over the minds and hearts of his followers. He knew them better than they knew themselves, and his ready eloquence reached the very sources of their volitions. He was at once their commander and companion. He could bring them round to his plans against the evidence of their five senses, and made them dance in the very chains of famine and fatigue. The enterprise would have been repeatedly abandoned had it not been for his coolness, intrepidity, and honeyed eloquence. His whole lawless and licentious crew he held by a fascination for which they could not themselves account. They suspected him of making their lives and fortunes subsidiary to his ambition; they taxed him with deceit and treachery; they determined again and again to leave him; and yet they followed him—followed him, against their desires and reason, to encounter the most appalling dangers, for an object which receded as they advanced, and which they constantly pronounced a chimera.

The speeches of Cortés, given by Mr. Prescott, are master-pieces of practical eloquence. Indeed, wherever Cortés was, there could be but one will. What authority was unable to do he did by finesse and persuasion. That irritable temper and that impatient intellect bore all vexations patiently, intent on one object, and ready for all obstacles which stood in its path.

Cortés was brave in almost every sense of the term. He combined the courage of the knight-errant and the martyr. His daring in battle, perhaps, was not greater than that exhibited by some of his officers, Alvarado, for example; but he excelled all in the power of endurance. His constancy of purpose had the obstinacy of sheer stupidity, and seems almost incompatible with his fiery valor. Famine, fatigue, pestilence, defeat, every extreme of mental and physical wretchedness, could present no arguments sufficiently strong to shake his purpose of conquest. What depressed his followers only called forth his courage in its most splendid light. When he himself had most cause for despondency, his serene courage not only mounted above his own miseries, but enabled him to use all the resources of his fertile mind in cheering his followers. Wounded, bleeding, wasted by famine, broken down by disease and despair, there was always one voice whose magical tones could make their hearts leap with their old courage, and send them again on their old enterprise of peril and death.

We cannot follow the genius of Cortés as it was developed in the events of the conquest, and attempt an abstract of what Mr. Prescott has performed with such fullness, richness, and power. Rarely has so splendid a theme been treated by an historian so fortunate at once in the possession of requisite materials and requisite capacity. Among the many characteristics of the work, that which will be most likely to strike and charm the general reader, is its picturesqueness of description, both as regards incidents and scenery. The freshness and vividness with which everything is presented is a continual stimulant to attention; and there is a nerve in the movement of the style which gives to the narrative a continual vitality. Among these descriptions we would particularize the account of the retreat from Mexico in the second volume, and the battles which preceded its final conquest and destruction in the third, as being especially pervaded by intense life. The critical reader, also, will not fail to perceive that the interest of particular passages is subservient to the general effect of the whole, and that the author has produced a work of art as well as a history. That quality of objectiveness, which we have mentioned as characterizing the mind of Mr. Prescott, and favorably distinguishing him

from many eminent historians, is especially obvious when we contrast the representations in "Ferdinand and Isabella" with those in the "Conquest of Mexico." The objects are different, and in each case they are presented in their own form, life, and character. We can conceive of the two histories as the production of separate minds. But few historians are thus capable of representing objects in white light. To see anything through the medium of another mind is too often to see it caricatured. Objects to the egotist, whether he be called thinker or coxcomb, are commonly mirrors which more or less reflect himself. Nature, events, and persons, are considered as deriving their chief importance from their relation to him. This relation, and not their relation to each other, he is prone to call the philosophy of history.

Here, for the present, we must pause. We intended to include a review of Mr. Prescott's last history in this general survey of his works; but its subject is so interesting and important, and presents so many characters and topics for reflection and criticism, that we should be compelled either to pass it over with a superficial consideration, or to swell our article beyond those bounds which the patience of readers has fixed to the garrulity of critics. Few books published within the last twenty years have produced a stronger effect upon the public mind than the "History of the Conquest of Peru;" and as it exhibits, in many respects, the finest qualities of Mr. Prescott's historical method, and indicates in its style and general character the ripeness and maturity of his powers, we have concluded to postpone its consideration to our April number. We confess that such a course to many writers, whose popularity rushes up like a rocket, explodes at once into sparkles of momentary brilliancy, and then descends into darkness a mere worthless stick, would be sadly out of character with the objects of a review; but it is the great merit of Mr. Prescott's books that they never grow old, and we have no fear that the interest of the thinking classes in the "Conquest of Peru" will have abated at the period when we next appear before our readers.

ART. II.—*Association Discussed, or the Socialism of the Tribune Examined; being a Controversy between the New-York Tribune and the Courier and Enquirer.* By H. GREELY and H. J. RAYMOND. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

IN reviewing the discussion, the title to which is placed at the head of this article, we shall affect no impartiality that we do not feel. With every disposition to concede talents and integrity to both parties in the controversy, still we have a decided opinion that, in the main, one is right and the other grossly wrong. Fourierism, or associationism, as it is often styled by its friends, we cannot help regarding as a mischievous thing, and with equal frankness would we say, in the outset, that its pernicious tendencies have been most conclusively shown in the course of the above entitled discussion. At the same time, there may be conceded to its advocate not only the intellectual merit of an able and adroit defense, but also integrity of purpose, and a sincere, though misdirected, devotion to what the party doubtless deems the truest interests of humanity. Our remarks will relate, in some degree, to the logical management of the controversy, but chiefly to the essential merits of the question itself, in its relation to morality and the highest well-being of our race.

A considerable portion of the discussion on both sides will be found to have reference to certain questions of fairness or unfairness of argumentation. These arose out of the terms of the debate, and will be best understood by means of a brief outline of the history of the controversy, a sketch of which is given in the preface to the published work before us.

The Tribune—we say it without any intention to disparage, for it is only repeating its own boast—has been for several years known to the community as the leading advocate of some of the newest and most startling ideas which now generally pass under the name of *reforms*. In the prosecution of this course, it commenced, about six years ago, the publication of a series of papers in defense of the peculiar social doctrines of Charles Fourier. These were afterward collected into a volume, purporting to be chiefly from the pen of Albert Brisbane, with continuous and copious extracts from the writings of the first apostle himself. They are written with much ability, much consistency, and with a great deal of enthusiasm, having every appearance of sincerity and honest devotion to what the author doubtless regarded as the sacred cause of truth. They profess to present a thorough examination of the main sub-

ject, and of all the collateral topics connected with it. Hence the writer goes very fully, not only into what may be called the economical department of the system, but also into a discussion of the family or household state, with all its alledged evils. He dwells at length upon the filial and paternal relations, the bearing of the association scheme upon religion, education, crime, punishment, and all related social or domestic institutions.

There certainly must be conceded to this writer, to whom the columns of the Tribune were so freely granted, the merit of boldly tracing out many of his positions to their logical consequences; although even he thinks that the age is not yet fully prepared for *all* the doctrines of Fourier. In the main, however, he does not shrink from presenting a full view of the system in almost all its bearings, and does not hesitate to avow, that it will necessarily come in direct collision with many cherished notions respecting the "isolated family state," paternal authority, the education of children, social institutions, and the position and doctrines of the church. This writer, too, it should be said, professes to be a warm *patron* of Christianity, and to have *great respect* for Christ. Few readers, however, can fail to perceive that this Christianity has nothing to do with the Bible—a book to which, as *authority* for his views of man, and human nature, and human relations, he never refers—but that it is only another name for the system professed to be revealed by Fourier himself. He reasons thus—and it is a syllogism which in some shape meets us in almost every chapter—*God certainly intended a true social order for this world; this is not to be found in the present institutions of society, or in the present teachings of the church; but Fourier has discovered and proved a scheme the direct opposite of all these jarring developments; therefore Fourier's theory is the true interpretation of the gospel, it is true Christianity, it is the kingdom of heaven on earth.*

This was regarded as a much better way of proving the identity of Fourierism and Christianity than any obsolete method of argument from texts or passages of the written word. Christ himself constantly appealed to what was written, and often chose this as the best mode of conveying his own instructions. Contemning, however, all such methods of arguing from texts, as utterly unphilosophical, the writer professed to go above them all directly to the "spirit of Christianity;" or, in other words, what Christianity ought to be when read by the higher light of the French prophet. In short, in some way, as John the Baptist was to Christ, so was Christ to Fourier.

We have dwelt the longer on this, in our introductory history, because this book did contain the best exposition ever made in this country of Fourier's doctrines. Because, too, of its first publication in the Tribune, and the fact that the other party was afterward referred to it as a work of authority, it has an important bearing upon some of the points subsequently presented in the controversy.

After the completion of this series of papers, various articles appeared from time to time in the Tribune, advocating the same general views. These were occasionally noticed in the columns of the Courier and Enquirer, until it finally resulted in mutual propositions for the discussion which has occasioned the volume under review.

In the final agreement that followed, there was only one item in any way unusual, and which therefore it becomes important to notice. The reader will find it on the fourth page of the preface. It was a stipulation which never should have been demanded by one party or assented to by the other. Instead of a general examination of Fourierism, or associationism, as a well-settled system, grounded on certain fundamental principles, and having certain standard writings, the Tribune insisted that it should be "associationism *as he understood it*." Here certainly was presented a new and most unusual feature in the ethics of controversy. It, however, defeated itself by its own intrinsic absurdity. It could not be strictly carried out, because, in such case, it must at once, whenever rigidly and consistently applied, have put a stop to the discussion. A debate of this kind must always be mainly carried on by way of deductions from admitted or proved facts. Of course, then, the party who shields himself under such a stipulation need not reply by disproving the opposing argument, or showing it to be unreasonable; he may simply deny that *he* accepts the inference, or that he thus *understands it*, and he is at once perfectly unassailable in this quarter. And so it must be of every other, and indeed in respect to the most general statement of the matter in dispute. He chooses to view associationism under a certain aspect; this embraces all its assumed good, and excludes all its inferential evils. He does not, of course, "*understand*" it to have bad tendencies, or he would not advocate it; for no man ever professedly favors that which he understands as being hostile to the true good of humanity.

It is argued, for example, that the theory of Fourier (even had not Fourier expressly avowed it) necessarily involves a mode of education which must tend to sunder the filial and parental relations. The disputant replies that this is not associationism as *he*

understands it, and at once demands that all this important branch of the argument must be cut off. In the same way all inferences in respect to any irreligious tendencies, or any immoral or licentious tendencies, are at once excluded; until nothing is left but the *fair* aspect in which one party chooses to *understand* the subject, and which the other is unable to deny, because he is cut off from all deductions which may even seem to be in conflict with this his opponent's understanding.

Such a stipulation, moreover, presents a very degrading view of the subject proposed, and, if insisted on, makes it utterly unworthy of any serious argumentation. It assumes that it is something which cannot be at all determined,—that it has no fundamental principles, no consistency, no coherency, no unity;—in short, nothing, by virtue of which it could with any justice be called a *system*. It rejects everything which may be appealed to as fundamental, aside from any opinions which any individual may choose to associate with the term. It denies that it has any standard writings, or authorities, to which the inquirer may be referred in determining *what it is*. It most irrationally excludes the question, *what it really is*, from being regarded as any branch of the argument. In short, it makes out its name to be an absurdity, because there is nothing fixed and exclusive to which it can be consistently applied.

Certainly this would be deemed most absurd in reference to anything else. Who would dream of discussing the merits of Epicureanism, or Platonism, or Christianity, as any one of the parties might choose to understand it? Some things, it is true, might require to be settled, and some metes and bounds to be assigned, to prevent unnecessary rambling; but still, in reference to the above and similar examples, the mind at once calls up some tolerably definite series or *syntagma* of doctrines passing under the appellation; or, at all events—and this consideration shuts out every ground of cavil—some *standard scriptures* universally acknowledged to contain them.

What makes this more absurd in reference to Fourierism, or associationism, is the fact that nothing has ever been more extravagantly lauded for its perfect system, its solidly laid foundations, and the profound philosophy by which it was said to be everywhere pervaded. Fourier, it was boasted, had at length discovered the essential harmony of the universe; and that, too, not only in its moral and political, but even in its physical, developments. In the *fêtes* of his almost adoring disciples, especially in this country, no eulogiums on their revered master were deemed too extrava-

gant. He had discovered the mystery which had been hidden for ages; he had opened the seal and read the book whose meaning had never been fully apprehended by prophets, or apostles, or even Christ himself.

The consideration of this claim by one party of a right to discuss the question solely as he understands it, without any reference to authorities to determine whether or no that understanding in any particular case be correct, is intimately connected with the intrinsic merits of the question, from the fact of its being the method often employed to present associationism in its fairest light, to the exclusion of all exceptionable features or unfavorable inferences. Any one who reads the book under review, or who has bestowed any attention upon the system it professes to discuss, must be aware that that system has two distinct and important aspects. One, for the convenience of definition, may be styled the economical, and the other the moral. Under the first it proposes, and with much plausibility, immense advantages in respect to economy in the means of subsistence. Through the association of great numbers in one place, on one domain, and in contiguous apartments of one dwelling, it professes to effect vastly more, in this way, than could be ever accomplished by the separate labors of households or individuals. There would be, it maintains, a most profitable division of labor; there would be room for a choice in respect to it, which might, for awhile at least, take off some of its asperities; there would be improvements in machinery; there would be ambitious excitement, by which the same labor would be productive of more wealth and more physical comforts than under the separate or household system. So far everything is plain and perfectly intelligible. No doubt, as has been observed, a dozen families might cook their victuals more cheaply in one large kitchen, and at one large furnace, than they could in a dozen small ones. Ten families combined might cultivate a thousand acres to greater pecuniary advantage, than though each occupied separately a single farm of a hundred. And so we might say of many other things, which are connected alone with what we have styled the economical aspect of the question.

This, we say, *might* be the case; although even here causes would be at work, which, it might be contended with great justice, would make even the merely economical results very different from the anticipations. It might be found, after the novelty had in some measure passed away, that the ambitious stimulants of the phalanx had far less of permanent power to render labor "attractive" than those which are connected with the security of separate

property, and the desire of laboring directly for the beloved objects of a separate household. But let it be conceded, for the sake of argument, that the economical advantages would be equal to the most sanguine anticipations; still, he must be blind indeed who does not see that there is another and far more important aspect to this question. These advantages may be purchased at the cost of something immensely outweighing all merely physical comforts or enjoyments. This presents the great point, and, in fact, the only one worth discussing, in the whole controversy.

So far the matter is as yet only hypothetical, even should these pecuniary advantages be vastly greater than they have been ever represented. It all yet depends upon the settlement of an *if*. *If* men can live more cheaply and have more of the comforts of life with less labor,—*if* they can avoid the toil, and the anxiety, and the thousand nameless cares, that, with a large portion of mankind, attend the isolated household state,—*if* all this can be without the risk of any moral or spiritual damage far surpassing all physical benefits,—*if* it can be done without at all interfering with paternal authority, or filial obligation, or affecting any of those sacred domestic institutions which are the nurseries of almost all the native virtues to which fallen human nature may yet lay claim,—*IF*, we say, all this could be safely effected, then certainly the doctrine of associationism would be worthy of our most ardent support;—*if not*, then all the riches, and plenty, and physical comforts, and gratifications of art, and pleasures of the eye, and of the ear, and of the fancy, that are so glowingly set forth on the pages of Fourier and Brisbane, would not even begin to compensate for the moral sacrifice. Aside from this, carry the economical argument without contradiction to its utmost extent of advantage, and it is of no value in the right decision of the question.

But this is the very matter in controversy; and which no party has a right to understand as alien to it. It is contended that there *are* moral and religious considerations far outweighing any economical advantages; that a life of toil, of anxiety, of poverty even, if it be accompanied with the preservation of these sacred institutions, is to be preferred to any amount of physical comfort which may be purchased by their loss; even if, without them, such physical comforts could be really supposed to have any long-continued permanence. It may be contended, in short, that a ruder state of society (should it be admitted that such might be the result) is to be chosen rather than what might be thought to be physically the highest civilization, when there is no longer that peculiar virtue and that peculiar religion—*sacra Dei, sanctique patres*—the reve-

rence for which can never truly exist separate from the divinely instituted family state.

Now, in this view of the matter, upon what ground can any one who makes pretensions to fairness in discussion, claim the right of *understanding* this question only in its first or economical aspect? And does not this, of itself, exhibit evidence that its moral bearings cannot bear the light of rigid examination? The party insists upon regarding it simply as a question of cheap living; and if his opponent chooses to take a wider view of the matter, and to trace it in all its moral and social relations, he would spring upon him the previous question, and exclude it as not coming within his *understanding* of the subject.

Certainly neither Fourier nor Brisbane was willing thus to treat it. To the great apostle of the doctrine must certainly be conceded the acuteness and consistency of seeing that the successful carrying out of his scheme, in any aspect, necessarily involved the most radical changes in almost all the moral and social relations; that it must greatly modify, to say the least, all the common views in respect to marriage, filial obedience, paternal authority, religious doctrine, and education. He saw how utterly inconsistent with his new revelation must be the maintenance of certain religious creeds, and therefore the infidel Frenchman coolly set forth as the religion of the phalanx a Christianity which should have no dogmas—or, rather, only one, namely, that which most dogmatically denied and condemned all dogmas. In the favorite language of a certain transcendental school which coalesces most naturally with the philosophy of associationism, it was to be all *religion* and no *theology*. Hence Fourier most consistently enters into a close examination of all these topics as inseparable from his theory. He discusses carefully the subject of education, boldly tells us that the paternal authority must give way to that of the phalanx, and condemns the "isolated family" relation as utterly inconsistent with the very first principles of his scheme. He shrinks from none of the legitimate deductions which inevitably flow from his starting doctrine of passional attraction, but boldly traces it out to the weakening and overthrow of the permanent marriage institution. The two principal writers among his followers in this country keep close, in the main, to the same track; except that they stand back a little from some of those conclusions so much better adapted to the meridian of France, in Fourier's day, although they find it impossible to deny the rigid logic by which they are derived from fundamental premises, admitted by them as fully as by their master.

In the discussion of this question, it was clearly the part of the asserter of the new scheme—and especially in view of this remarkable stipulation—to have presented distinctly what he understood associationism to be in that financial, *practical*, or economical aspect to which he intended to confine it. Instead of this, however, his commencement is marked by the widest *theorizing* about the laws of nature and natural rights; thus himself betraying a consciousness that there was far more included in the question than he had at first chosen to regard as contained in its terms. A succinct statement of those merely practical and financial results, which were expected from it under the aspect of an enlarged partnership, might have presented a case to which the other side would, perhaps, have made no objection; especially if there had been an express exclusion of those features of association from which the moral objections arise. But then it would have been no longer Fourierism, and there would, perhaps, have been no ground of discussion. It would hardly have been worth the while to occupy even one large column of a newspaper with a controversy respecting the merits of any mere scheme of partnership, or tenancy in common, or mutual insurance, or the formation of a trades-union, or any other project of association for pecuniary benefit, which left all the social and domestic relations, and all educational institutions, untouched. And so the leading party himself evidently felt it; for he very soon finds himself brought up against that most perplexing subject of education. Here the real difficulty, the very pinch of the controversy, commences. Now neither Brisbane nor Fourier had had any trouble about this. They most consistently march right up to the only conclusion which the social philosophy of the phalanx will admit. They lay it down, in the most explicit and unmistakable terms, that parental authority is no longer to have any control in this matter. The will of the phalanx must supersede that of the parent; and that, not only on the ground that this course cannot be avoided in consistency with the higher regulations of the general body, but because their doctrine of *passional attraction* brings out the conclusion, that the father is often the most unfit person to direct in the education of his own son. The reason assigned for this is, that "he is most likely to impose upon him his own tastes, which may be very different from the passional attractions of the child." The latter is even to be more influenced by other children of nearly his own age, than by the advice and authority of the author of his being. "*The whole mechanism of the passional series*," it is said, "*would be destroyed, if the son inherited the tastes of the father.*" Again

we are told, that "*nature, in order to counteract all these defects of paternal education, gives to the child a* REPUGNANCE *for the lessons of the father and tutor; the child wishes to* COMMAND *and not to* OBEY *the father.... The natural instructors of children are those a little superior in age.*" We have not quoted the worst of it. Those who wish to see much more to the same effect, may consult Brisbane's book, from page 412 to 428; and also the work under review, pages 28, 29, &c.

Here is the fifth commandment, and all the train of virtues and promised blessings which spring from its observance, banished at once from this new social polity. Now the leading party in this discussion—we are glad to do him the justice to say it—was not prepared to go this length; neither was he well able to stop short of positions reached by these founders of the school, without departing from that idea of the phalanx which was fundamental in the lowest ground of associationism.

The subject of education could not be wholly avoided; but a most general statement is made, "that it would be the special charge of counselors elected by all the adult members, who would take care that the very best talents were to be from time to time employed in this department." This is accompanied by the declaration of an opinion, "that all true teachers are *created* such, not *manufactured*;" (see page 21;) and here is about all that we have on a subject to which Fourier and Brisbane consistently devote a large part of their works, and which, it is admitted, association must most essentially modify in all its features and fundamental principles. In reply to a complaint of the poverty of this answer, and to inferences deduced from the admitted doctrines of Fourierism, the respondent is unguardedly referred to the acknowledged "writings of associationists," and is told that "if he had attended to them he might have seen how his obstacles were to be surmounted." In return, the other side draws largely upon the works of those associationists who must be regarded, above all others, as standard authorities, if any such the system can claim.

The respondent regarded this as fairly opening to him ground from which the letter of the terms of discussion might seem to have excluded him. Our own opinion of the matter may be expressed in few words. The stipulation aforesaid was absurd, and of a nature very soon to defeat itself. It could have no effect to shut out the respondent from any conclusions he might logically draw from any *first positions* of the school. The other party, in reply, had no right to say that he did not *understand* those inferences as forming any part of the doctrine of association, but was

bound to show, if he could, the unsoundness of the reasoning by which they were deduced. In another point of view it was equally nugatory. In showing that such and such conclusions result from certain acknowledged positions, it is a mode of reasoning perfectly fair and legitimate, to appeal to the effect they have produced on the minds of others who have given the closest attention to the system,—who were its most ardent and consistent advocates,—who were placed in most favorable situations for its examination, and who were the most free from any counter influences which might prevent the doctrine from maturing (in their study of it) into its legitimate developments. This is a proper and very good collateral argument in showing the natural termination of certain courses of thought. We see where the most consistent travelers invariably *come out*, and we say, without hesitation, that the road must necessarily lead directly there. The argument has great weight for almost any class of minds, and the respondent might therefore justly resort to it for the legitimate purpose of showing his readers that the "*understanding*" of the other party was wrong. Such and such, he might say, and does say, are the natural results of your scheme, and its admitted fundamental dogma of "*passional attraction*," in respect to education, marriage, religion, &c. I do not thus "*understand*" it, says the other party, and therefore you have no right to use it against me. Your *understanding*, it is replied, is wrong; and, among other arguments, I prove it by the fact that such were the understandings and inferences of the very founders of your school,—of your most eulogized and almost deified apostle,—of your ablest reasoner, placed in the most favorable circumstances for the investigation and *free utterance* of the only possible conclusion.

In discussions like this, it is the part of wisdom to seize at once on some strong ground or grounds, which, with the least waste of collateral argument, may command the most speedy and conclusive decision of the whole matter. The respondent, we think, has done so. There are one or two positions of this kind that he keeps in view throughout, never suffering any considerations drawn solely from the economical aspect of the question, or any moving appeals which the other party so skillfully introduces respecting the miseries of the present social state, to draw him from these impregnable strongholds. One of these has reference to the bearing of association on the domestic relations. Would it in fact destroy the family, or what Brisbane and Fourier ever condemn under the opprobrious name of the "isolated household?" If so, there is no great benefit or wisdom in discussing other points of

mere economy. This, to borrow one of the favorite technics of the Fourier school, is the "pivot" question, which, in the minds of all serious and religious men, should settle the whole matter. We know that association is regarded as having this effect by all the most consistent writers of the sect. They glory in it on this very account, as destroying a mischievous institution which they regard as the nursery of all narrow, and selfish, and unsocial feelings. There is, moreover, nothing in association which can be at all said to resemble or to take the place of the secluded household, —that ancient kingdom ordained of God, where the father is both king and priest, where the mother is the subordinate though counseling authority, and where the children, when taught as they should be taught, grow up into the idea and feeling of filial reverence and filial piety, as the earliest and most abiding types of the reverence due to the "*God of families*" and Father of the race. In the phalanx there can be no feeling of *home*, as the parents' home, with all the associations connected with that holy word. The nearest approach to it might consist in the temporary inhabitation of contiguous apartments, like the boarders in a large hotel; and even this would be liable every moment to be broken up by the distribution of the groups and series into which the anti-domestic band must constantly be arranged and rearranged in following out the law of passional attraction. Mothers, even, must be separated from their children, we are told by the best authorities, and immense nurseries take the place of that secluded apartment which is all the world to its tender inmates, and where God designed they should be taught those first lessons of authority which inculcate the doctrine that the highest good, and the most useful discipline, can only be secured by early putting their passional attractions under wholesome, although it may be severe, restraint. How can a man read his Bible, and its most solemn declarations respecting the duties of husband and wife, parent and child, master and servant, without feeling that God does most expressly sanction the family institution? And who that has any thorough experience of mankind but must confess, that the early associations of home, and its wholesome authority, are the great defense of almost all the virtue there is in the world, and one chief cause which prevents earth from presenting a picture of hell?

It is the holy institution which secures to us at the same time the blessings of society and seclusion; the one as the rule, the other as the salutary exception. The best of all possible conditions for the human soul, is found in that blessed state in which the most of our time is passed in the retirement of the family to

which we belong, as head or members, with the occasional meeting of our fellow-men in the friendly visits of social intercourse, or in the transactions of necessary public business, or in the house and worship of God on the holy sabbath. In this condition, one mode of life sweetly tempers and relieves the other. The social feelings are cultivated without interfering with the discipline which requires meditation, either in solitude or surrounded only by those whom we can almost regard as part of ourselves, and to whom our inmost thoughts may be communicated without restraint. "*It is good for man that he sit* (*or dwell*) *alone*;" and that he be thus much in the company of his own thoughts. It is the great evil of the present day that this is almost reversed. Society, with its many means of frequent and public intercourse, is becoming the rule, and family seclusion the exception. In proportion, however, as this gets to be the case, the effects are found to be most pernicious, not only on the minds of children, but even of the older members of the family. A man might better suffer many privations, and the inferior comforts of a much inferior dwelling, and of a much plainer table, than to bring up his children in a boarding-house, even if much cheaper; or in any condition in which *they never strongly form the idea of home*, or of the wholesome conservative associations connected with it. At the utmost peril to their offspring do parents follow a mode of life that ever prevents their feeling the force of that word and that impression.

It is ever found that even the best men lose some of the restraints of virtue when abroad in the world, and away from the bosom of their families. They feel themselves without restraint, because all around them are relatively in a like condition, unfettered by domestic duties, and therefore irresponsible. Hence life in cities is ever more relaxed than in the country; and just in proportion as we approach the anti-domestic and public state required in association, vice is ever found to increase. The *same men* are ever worse when acting in masses and phalanxes than when alone. A public or corporation conscience is ever weaker than the individual Without the family and the family altar, the church, we verily believe, would not long be continued on earth; and without this *imperium in imperio*, which is the nurse of all the social affections, and of the first ideas of authority and obedience, the state would soon cease to exist, as a power ordained of God. Even a heathen philosopher could say—*In aris et focis est respublica;* and the earliest religions, in their symbols of the eternal fire, intimated that all political life came from ever cherishing the fructifying warmth of the sacred domestic feelings of the family hearth. We cer-

tainly would not bring back the worship of the Lares and Penates, but we would rather have our children deeply imbued even with superstition, than see them given up to the ungodly influences of the anti-domestic, and therefore—notwithstanding all its contrary pretensions—the really and ultimately anti-social phalanx.

We know that the home does not always realize the picture that has been drawn; and nothing is more common than for the enemies of the "isolated household" to talk of the "domicils of wretchedness" that are often found in large cities. Even these poor homes, we contend, are better than none; but they have no right to resort to the Five Points for illustrations of what God intended the family should be, and what, with all its imperfections, it ever tends to be, when the furthest removed from that crowded state in which it becomes more and more assimilated to the opposing system.

If association, then, must, in its practical operation, break up the household, it is enough for every serious and religious man. This point once established, and there is no need of rambling over any wide extent of collateral argument. Its advocates may paint in the most gloomy colors the miseries of the present social state; yet still, if their remedy require the dissolution of the family, it is worse than any aspect of the disease. Whatever advantages of a physical or economical kind it may offer are too dearly paid for. That such is its tendency and inevitable result, we need not stop to prove. It is not only admitted as one of the best-established facts in respect to association, but is even gloried in by Fourier and his most consistent disciples, as one of the chief excellences of his scheme. There is nothing against which they exhibit a more violent dislike than what they are fond of terming the "narrow," the "selfish," the "anti-social," "isolated household."

Another of these fundamental positions in the Fourier theory, the proper decision of which disposes of the whole matter, is found in their favorite doctrine of "*passional attraction;*" and to this, too, the respondent, in the discussion under review, has directed his attention in a manner worthy of its supreme importance. The other party is evidently disposed to regard it as "*mere theory,*" or as one of those incidental speculations which have little or no bearing on what he would style the "*practical*" aspect of association. Now if there is any one thing fundamental in the scheme of Fourier, it is this doctrine of passional attraction. We do not mean by this, however, that it is anything new or peculiar. It is the old form of error pervading almost every system of irreligious philosophy or sensual ethics. It is the old Epicureanism, appear-

ing under the more alluring guise of the sentimental school of Rousseau. According to it, the great end of existence is *enjoyment*. Man's chief end is to *enjoy himself*. It is, as some of the old heathen taught, *vivere secundum naturam*—"*to live according to nature*," as the highest rule of action, revealing itself, not in the conscience, but in the prompting desires of the individual; or, as it has been termed by a leading writer of the Fourier school, "*the decrees of the heart*." We certainly do Fourierism full justice, and fairly state its leading doctrine, when we say that it designs to discover a method in which *every passion* of *every individual* shall promptly find its gratification, with no obstruction, or the least possible obstruction, to the full gratification of the desires of others. In regard to the society taken collectively, as one existence, it is true without any qualification whatever. Its great end is the most intense enjoyment, unmeasured and unchecked by anything but its ability, and means of gratification. Of such a state, even if it could be secured, and secured to all eternity, we hesitate not to say, that instead of being a blessing, no greater curse could ever be inflicted by Heaven on those whom it had wholly abandoned to themselves. If enjoyment be *the end*, it must of course give the law, if law it can be called, to all below. Virtue, then, if there be any virtue, can only exist in the subordinate station of *a means;* and as this implies a contradiction—as virtue must be an end or nothing—it follows that, in such a scheme, there can be no true morality, which always must have regard to a law above nature, of which enjoyment is the *reward* and not the *end*. Fourierism would, in fact, destroy licentiousness, by making all things licit.

The respondent has given a most thorough examination to this main feature in the Fourier doctrine of association. He regards it as containing, more than any other part, the concentrated poison of the whole scheme, and as presenting a polar opposition to the cardinal precept of Christianity. It is in this point that the two systems directly repel each other. The doctrine of passional attraction is the direct antithesis of the self-denial of the gospel. Christianity and the Scriptures treat man as being now lost, because he is in that *state of nature*, which—if by some scheme it can only be enjoyed without interruption—Fourier regards as his perfection. He is now turned away from God to the following of his own will, and this will *follows* instead of *governing* his passional attractions. His *voluntas* is ever in some shape *voluptas*, whether in a higher or lower, a more gross or a more refined, manifestation; whether it be the "lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, or the pride of life." This in his natural state he calls his

freedom; the Scriptures style it—"*walking after the desires and imaginations of his own heart.*" Now the design of Christianity is to bring man back from this *state of nature* into a *state of grace*—to deliver him from the cruel bondage of the flesh and the desires thereof, and from the tyranny of his own will, itself held captive by the passional attractions of things without. It aims to introduce him to the "*perfect law of liberty,*" or that liberty which is only found in the voluntary submission of the soul to a law *out of itself* as its highest and most blessed state. To this *state of grace*, so utterly unknown to the Fourier philosophy, Christianity has respect in its leading article of faith, and in its leading practical precept in harmonious combination. The first is the cross of Christ as the sole ground of justification, and the other the doctrine of self-denial. The soul is justified through the self-denial of Him who, although "in the form of God, humbled himself to the form of a servant," that we might be exalted; who became poor that we might be rich; who died that we might live. And this life into which he saves us is the new life of the soul, denying the passional attractions of the flesh, and the world, and nature, and ever rising above them into higher and higher degrees of freedom, until it reaches the "glorious liberty of the sons of God"—that liberty which finds deliverance from the tyranny of nature in a voluntary submission to a law above it.

The self-denial of the gospel, then, is a very different thing from that Epicurean counterfeit which might have place, for a time, even in the Fourier ethics, and which simply consists in refusing a present enjoyment as a means to a higher future gratification; or, to use a homely yet just comparison, might induce a man to go without his dinner that he might have a better appetite and a larger enjoyment in his supper. Instead of this refinement of Epicureanism, the self-denial of the gospel is a *good per se;* it is an *end* in itself, although ever advancing to a higher valuation of the essential good contained in it. It is good for the soul thus to live a life above nature. It is its health, its well-being, its blessedness, thus to be in harmonious subjection to a law out of and above itself, instead of being under the never-satisfied and never-yielding tyranny—the *κόλασιν αἰώνιον*—of its own raging passions, or passional attractions.

Hence it must begin its Christian course by opposing nature, and opposing itself. It must go back to God by reversing the steps it took at its departure, when it was induced by the serpent temptation to seek that good in nature which can only be found in obedience and in law. Ever since it desired to have its portion of goods

in this world, it has been floating down the stream; if it would ever return to God and true happiness, it must go back against the current. Its first sins were pride and unbelief; its first virtues, or its first exercises of spiritual life, must be faith and repentance. The first fruit of its false liberty was the following its passional attractions; its first steps toward true freedom must be in the road of self-denial and the cross. Now how utterly out of place must all this be felt to be in the Fourier scheme, even although it had uttered no direct word in opposition; how irreconcilable the ideas; how alien to each other the spirit of the two philosophies!

Hence the Scriptures represent the present life as intended for a scene of conflict and discipline. In this way the very curse is converted into a blessing. Instead of its being the end of man, *vivere secundum naturam*, it is rather to contend with nature every day of his existence. Instead of its being his highest duty to study and observe her laws—according to the favorite philosophy of a numerous school, of which the disciples of Fourier form only one phalanx—he is often called to break them. He must sometimes even give his body to be burned; he must take up his cross, though in direct defiance of all his most cherished passional attractions.

Hence, too, there are many things in human life, of which the Fourierite complains, that Providence intended should exist as the necessary means of this salutary discipline through which men travel from nature to grace—from the liberty of passion to the liberty of law. All false schemes of reform are as powerless to prevent them as Julian was to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. Hence there must and ever will be, and it is good for man that there ever should be, in this world, severe toil, and many privations, and many desires ungratified. It is a yoke imposed upon the sons of Adam, but ever becoming lighter, just in proportion as men submit to it, and learn the ends for which it was designed. Those are very far from blessed who succeed in making their escape from it, and most accursed is he whom Heaven has given up to the gratification of every passion, even although such a state could be conceived of as extending through eternity.

The design of law, as revealed in the Bible, is not alone to keep one being from interrupting the gratifications of another, but to produce a salutary restraint that would be needed, even if there were but one moral agent except God himself in the universe. It is not a necessary evil, the less of which the better, but the soul's moral health. It is a good for man—a good in itself—that he should be governed, that he should be subject to law, and that, too,

to all eternity. "Heaven and earth," says Christ, "shall pass away, but one jot or tittle of the law shall never fail."

Hence also the disciplinary importance of many of those institutions with which Fourierism would dispense as hinderances to the unchecked developments of passional attraction. In this light, too, as well as in the other aspects in which we have viewed it, we see the immense value of the secluded family discipline. Here the child should be—and to some extent, undoubtedly, even in the most imperfect households, ever is—initiated into that first mystery which is *above nature*, namely, submission to lawful authority, leading to a recognition of the higher authority of the State, and of that still higher law from which must be seen to flow the true life of all subordinate institutions. Here he begins to learn the doctrine, so strange at first to the human soul, that there really are passional attractions to be opposed, and that there is a nature which we are to resist. In regard to the early discipline of children, the Scriptures and Fourier are in a state of direct antagonism. "*It is good*," says the Bible, "*that a man should bear the yoke in his youth.*" It is not a result of the false institutions of society, but it is a wisdom higher than human, which gives us up, first to the restraint of parents, then of schoolmasters, then of civil rulers, then of church authorities; so that the whole life of man becomes a scene of discipline, the more rigid and extensive, the better for the soul.

There are many other topics of deep interest suggested by the perusal of this discussion, but our time and space will not permit us to dwell upon them. We cannot help, however, adverting to some of the peculiar methods of argumentation employed by the leading party. He evidently feels pressed by the immense difficulty of excluding the moral aspects of the question, in the effort to treat it simply as one of finance or practical economy. He is like Mr. Webster's strong man in a morass. The logical power, acuteness, and strong common sense, for which the writer is so justly distinguished when unembarrassed, seem here to have deserted him. In endeavoring to parry the irresistible blows by which his system, in its moral aspects, is assailed, he seems frequently to abandon facts for sentiment, and reasoning for those declamatory rhapsodies, which, whether true or false, leave entirely unaffected all the strong points of the argument. He dwells much—and invariably when most pressed—upon the miseries of the present social state, and the inefficiency of the church. He draws the most striking pictures of the selfishness of mankind,

and the recklessness with which every one pursues his own interest without caring how, in so doing, he may trample on the rights and interests of others. In all this, he never seems to feel how strongly it bears against those views of human nature, and its freedom from any evil passional attractions, which are fundamental in the Fourier scheme. Neither does he seem to be aware how it confirms the strong position so often and with so much power presented by his opponent,—namely, that the rectification of the moral disorders of society is to be found in the efficacy of the gospel upon individual souls; a gospel which shall teach the rich humility, the poor content;—which shall subdue the strife of conflicting passional attractions, by steadily directing the mind to that high ground of a future life, from whose sublime elevation the jealousies and inequalities of this probation scene vanish into utter insignificance. There is more wisdom and more Christianity in one sentence in Aristotle's Politics, than in all the philosophy of Fourier. "It is of far more importance," he says, (Politic., lib. ii, 4,) "to equalize the passions of men than their estates"—*μᾶλλον γὰρ δεῖ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ὁμαλίζειν ἢ τὰς οὐσίας.*

Admitting, however, all that is said respecting the miseries of the present social state, still it by no means follows that Fourierism is the remedy, or that it may not be far worse than the disease it professes to cure. In this respect the leading party seems to be under a perfect hallucination, if he does not rather betray the fact, that his predominant principle of feeling and action is to rail at all existing institutions, and especially the church. All the evils of the world, all cases of oppression, of famine, of pestilence, of crime and licentiousness, he seems to regard as being necessarily so many arguments on his side of the question; just as though a man should regard it as establishing the truth of hydropathy, or homœopathy, simply because he had shown that the world was full of disease and death. In pressing such arguments he seems to have no regard to resemblances or analogies. He does not hesitate to reason from the case of the starving Irish, to that of the farmers of Albany or Columbia counties, groaning under a feudal tyranny which enables them to have fuller barns and longer purses than the great mass of the allodial fee-holders in the state.

A similar device of reasoning is employed, when the party presses into his service every institution which bears any resemblance to association in its merely economical aspect. Does any one, for example, recommend a scheme of mutual insurance, it is at once claimed as an argument, and frequently styled a *concession (!)* in favor of Fourierism. And so in regard to any notice of an Odd-

Fellowship association, or of any union of men professedly for any purpose of rendering assistance to each other; it is at once pronounced an encouraging omen of "the good time coming," and all who speak favorably of anything of the kind are hailed as "already having commenced the alphabet, and mastered the first letters of Fourierism." So, too, let a word be said by any writer or speaker in favor of any scheme for improving the condition of the poor,—for diminishing the number of hours of daily labor, or for giving more time to mental improvement,—does any one, in short, even speak of the "toiling millions" in tones of commiseration, straightway with an absurd and even ludicrous self-complacency he is claimed as a Fourierite. Should he be an open opponent of associationism, all such language is most sapiently urged as triumphant proof of the writer's inconsistency, or as furnishing an unanswerable argument against himself. We know too well the power and clearness of logic often manifested by the editor of the Tribune, to believe for a moment that he really can regard as legitimate or cogent reasoning, assumptions so unfounded as these.

Such combinations for mutual benefit differ from associationism as taught by Fourier, and, as the latter is essentially constituted, just in the very points where it is most objectionable. In other words, they leave unaffected all the social, domestic, parental, filial, and conjugal relations. If Fourierism did the same, it would become identical with them. It would, however, in that case, have no philosophy, no parade of science, nothing new, nothing to justify the extravagant encomiums which have been bestowed on the "immortal Fourier,"—in short, nothing at all worthy of the elaborate discussion which has been given to it.

In the minds of serious and Christian men it should be a conclusive argument against Fourierism, that it does not rest at all on the Bible. Indifference here, or mere negative exclusion, is infidelity. There are many subjects on which it would be out of place to refer to the authority of the Holy Scriptures, simply because such subjects belong to departments in which revelation does not assume to enlighten us. This may be said to be the case in matters of strict science. It may also be true in some branches of political philosophy; though here we are inclined to think the word of God should have an authority which many are not disposed to concede to it. But in schemes for social regeneration, in which the great and fundamental questions are, or ever ought to be,—What is man? What is his true nature? What is his moral state? What are his true relations to the world of men around him, to the material and animal world beneath him, and to the spiritual world above him?

—in such schemes, we say, involving such questions, to leave out all consideration of the authority of that book which professes to contain, not only a revelation of God and divine things, but also, and in a main degree, a revelation of man unto himself; to have, in short, no recourse to the Bible in such examinations, or not to have frequent and confiding recourse to it, or to build up a social scheme without it, and to the exclusion of no feature which would have been admitted had the Bible never been known to have had existence,—this is sheer infidelity—heartless, contemptuous infidelity. No matter what eulogiums some of the writers of the school may pronounce on Christ; no matter how they may employ two or three grossly perverted texts about the kingdom of heaven on earth, and good-will to man, and the law of love; it is a disparaging rejection of that which professes to be a light from heaven shining in a dark world, and from the illumination of whose rays no truly Christian mind would ever think of straying for a moment, on any question connected with the moral nature of man. We say, then, that, whether it rail or not, it is infidelity of the most heartless kind. Its studied silence is more contemptuous and insulting when regarded in its connection with such themes, than the openly malignant opposition and profane ribaldry of the scoffer.

On this ground alone we hesitate not to say that Charles Fourier was an infidel, without any faith in the supernatural character of either the Old or the New Testament. But this is not all. His fundamental positions in respect to human nature and human destiny are in diametrical opposition to those of the Scriptures. His whole philosophy on these points is alien to that of Paul and Jesus. This is most conclusively shown by the respondent in the discussion; and to it we refer the reader for much fuller detail of argument than we can bestow in this review. Suffice it to say, that the French reformer utterly denies the facts of the fall and of human depravity, coolly assumes grounds which totally nullify all the great doctrines of atonement, of regeneration by a divine power, of self-denial, and of the cross; and then, in contemptuous disparagement of the revealed wisdom of God, would most absurdly attempt to prove that the evils of human nature proceed from society, rather than that the evils of society are the direct result of the corruption of human nature. In the face, too, of all this, they still have the folly, if not dishonesty, to insist that in the Fourier society all denominations of Christians may engage on an equal footing, and with equal consistency.

Such is the scheme which, along with a kindred philosophy on many other points, has been for years circulated through our land

in the columns of the New-York Tribune. This journal puts in ever a great claim to the merit of fairness and neutrality in respect to theological opinion and discussion. Sometimes, in answer to the complaints of correspondents, it takes a position which, when viewed in connection with the facts, is absolutely ludicrous. "We cannot have our columns," it often says, "occupied with matters of theology or the discussion of controverted religious points." Now, is it possible that any one could have read the New-York Tribune for years, and yet have been ignorant of the length, and breadth, and depth, and real nature of its theology? Does the editor imagine that by such declarations of neutrality, there can be kept out of sight what is so perfectly transparent as the religious opinions which are known to find favor in his journal, and which he has so long, and so indefatigably, and under so many appearances, and in so many modes of conveyance, been infusing into the public mind? There are many newspapers which we might read for years, and yet be ignorant of anything beyond the political, and literary, or scientific opinions of their conductors. But who is ignorant of the theology of the Tribune? What reader can be so simple as not to know—and that, too, judging solely from its daily perusal—that this theology is the same with that of Parker and the Roxbury associationists, and the Harbinger, and Ralph Waldo Emerson, and George Sands, and Charles Fourier, and that whole class, who, with some shades of difference, do all unite in discarding the supernatural character of the Bible as conclusive authority in any social or moral question? This journal has been unable to conceal either its likings or its dislikes,—its prompt and lauding reception of all new and startling ideas at war with the old faith of the churches, or its hearty and unrelaxing enmity to what the great mass of believers regard as evangelical Christianity. It has made no coarse and railing assaults, but its constant and most adroitly managed influence has been ever steadily in favor of the one, and against the other. Wherever it has been continuously read from year to year, this unvarying prominence given to certain aspects of theology (without the alarm that might have been excited by the use of plain and open language) must have told powerfully on the minds of the young. The children of pious parents who have for a long time been permitted to read such a journal, must have had their faith insensibly weakened in the Scriptures and creeds of their fathers, and unless divine grace restore them, cannot hereafter look upon the Bible in the same light as though their unformed opinions had never been subjected to this hostile influence.

It is, too, among just such a class of readers that peculiar circumstances have given it a most extensive circulation. Commencing as the organ of a large and most respectable party, it found its way into thousands of families it would never have reached, had all the marked features of its subsequent course appeared plainly and frankly set forth in the original prospectus; if it had openly said in the start, We intend to devote much of our space to the advocacy of the doctrines of Charles Fourier; we mean to be zealous for the right of tenants to treat as feudal tyranny the performance of their stipulations with their landlords; we mean always to make room for every atheistical tirade of Robert Owen, whatever may be its length; we mean warmly to advocate some of the most ultra and unconstitutional measures of abolitionism.

But not to dwell on its connection in other respects with almost all the radicalism and infidelity of the day,—what right, we ask, had it to open its columns for so long a time, for the spreading of these abominable tenets of Charles Fourier? What right had it to present this infidel philosophy to the children of those who had taken it for so very different a purpose, and who composed in the main a portion of the community inclined, professedly at least, to conservative views both in politics and theology? It is all trifling to say that this was a separate concern, a private matter of dealing with the Fourier lecturer. All who are known to be in the habit of reading the journal, and on whose patronage it was expected to depend, had an interest in such a contract. A man publishes a bad book on his own responsibility. People may buy it or not as they choose. But the known circle of readers of a daily journal, especially if they had been induced to take it on well-known grounds of a political nature, have certainly some right to a voice in the question, whether or no it shall be the vehicle of what they must regard as a daily stream of infidelity. As well might a clergyman, pretending to be orthodox, claim the right of permitting an infidel or a Universalist to occupy his pulpit every afternoon, or, at least, in the evening, if the regular occupant had punctually discharged his duties during the day; with as much justice might he tell those who complained of such a proceeding, to leave, or stay away from, the church, as the editor of such a journal to assume that his highly respectable circle of readers—a very large portion of them serious and religious men—or the numerous party of which it professed to be the organ, had no right to find fault with any such *private* sale and arrangement of his columns. The forbearance of the readers of this paper has been astonishing. It has doubtless been caused by a strong conviction that its editor has many redeeming qualities,

both of mind and heart, which tend to palliate the mischief of his false philosophy. They justly give him credit for talent of the highest order, for honesty of purpose, and a sincere feeling of philanthropy. Surely, in gratitude for this, he is bound to keep from his columns whatever may offend the religious feelings of that large class of serious men by whom such forbearance has been so long and so kindly exercised.

Art. III.—*History of the English Revolution of* 1640, *commonly called the Great Rebellion: from the Accession of Charles I. to his Death.* By F. Guizot, the Prime Minister of France. New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. 1846.

The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, with Elucidations. By Thomas Carlyle. New-York: Wm. H. Colyer, No. 5 Hague-street. 1846.

The Protector: a Vindication. By J. H. Merle D'Aubigne, D. D. New-York: Robert Carter, 58 Canal-street. 1847.

Although two articles, written with distinguished ability, have already appeared in this Review on the subject of Oliver Cromwell and the revolution with which his name is connected, yet, as no portion of English history has been so studiously misrepresented, or is of deeper interest to the present generation, it is not, perhaps, presumptuous in the writer to think that the subject is still unexhausted, and will bear to be brought to the attention of the reader again.

After the death of Cromwell the reins of government fell back into the hands of the Stuarts, and the task of giving to posterity a record of the events connected with his administration devolved on those who were interested to heap indignity and disgrace on his memory. Hence the stream of history has been polluted, and the character of the Protector comes down to us distorted by the prejudiced and malicious colorings of Hume and Clarendon.

The professed object of the volumes quoted at the head of our article is to correct these errors, and to set Cromwell right before the world. The work of M. Guizot is incomplete, the present volume being only a prelude to the History of the Commonwealth, which is yet to be published. It takes us down only to the death of the king, and breaks off when the story is at the height of its interest. The author has sought out his facts diligently, but he

has discriminated badly in the choice of his authorities, and has followed too much in the beaten track of English history. He does not appear to have properly understood or appreciated the character of Cromwell.

The book of Mr. Carlyle is of a very different character. That original and extraordinary genius has discarded altogether the colorings of prejudiced historians, and, collecting together the letters and speeches of Oliver, has enabled us to judge of him by his own words and acts, without the comments of infidelity or the prejudiced insinuations of royalty. His book completely rescues the character of Cromwell from the odium which has been attached to it, and awards to him the place in history to which his great abilities and his distinguished services entitle him. It is worthy of the eminent man whose name it bears.

The work of D'Aubigne is more unpretending than either of the others, and better calculated for popular use. The author follows in the track which Carlyle marked out before him, and has drawn his facts almost entirely from the work of his industrious predecessor. It is written in a neat and flowing style, and cannot be read without producing a strong impression in favor of the Protector. Indeed, the character of the work is well described by its title.

That portion of English history brought under review in these volumes possesses a very peculiar interest in this country, and indeed wherever true liberty is cherished. The great battle between Charles and his subjects—between despotism and freedom—between the dead formulas of an established church and the fundamental essentials of a spiritual religion—was fought for no single generation, for no isolated land; but its fruits have been particularly abundant and glorious in the broad and beautiful country which we are proud to call our own.

Popular liberty was at this time almost quenched in every country in Europe. In the strife between the great barons and the crown, during the earlier days of the feudal system, the people held, as it were, the balance of power, and, being courted by both of the contending parties, grew gradually into consequence, and exercised a large influence in the government. It was during this period that parliaments were established; and the principle of popular representation was introduced to check the power of the nobles on the one hand, and of the king on the other. But, as the barons lost their power, and sunk quietly under the shadow of the sovereign, the motive for allowing the people to share in the government was greatly diminished, and the whole power of the state fell into the hands of the sovereign.

This retrograde revolution—a revolution in favor of despotism, and adverse to liberty—was, at the period of the Rebellion, accomplished in all the nations of the continent, and royalty, freed from its ancient trammels, had become well nigh absolute. The pomp of courts, the lust of conquest, the perpetuation of wars, the discontinuance of popular assemblies, the passive obedience of the people, all proclaimed the strong preponderance of royal power.

England was among the last to yield to these adverse influences. She had, many years before, wrung from King John the Great Charter, and she had continued to maintain a representation in the government through the House of Commons; but these did not prevent her from ultimately falling into the same current with her continental neighbors; and every successive reign seemed to gain some new advantage over human rights, till the last remnant of liberty was nearly extinguished.

Under the haughty tyranny of the last Henry the royal prerogative was scarcely questioned. Parliament was still called together, but it was only the pliant instrument of the king's despotism. The courts of law, the ministers of religion, the haughty nobility, and the obsequious commons, all strove which should be beforehand with the others in ministering to the king's capricious desires.

In the height of his arrogance he quarreled with the pope, and caused his parliament to set up an independent religious establishment, and to proclaim him "the only supreme head of the Church of England on earth." The Reformation under Luther had prepared the way for this daring measure, and a new and powerful element was thus introduced into the state, which was destined to shake the arbitrary power of the throne, and re-establish the rights of the subject.

To give success to his daring measures, the king was obliged to countenance the disciples of Luther, foster the great Reformation, and expose the practices of Rome. The public mind, aroused from the stupor of so many years, and released from the powerful superstitions under which it had bowed itself, plunged at once into a sea of bold and daring speculations, in pursuing which it neither consulted the new head of the church, nor the spiritual authorities which he had established.

Henry was alarmed, and proclaimed the fundamental principles of his new faith, beyond which his subjects were not to pass: but although he persecuted Catholics and Protestants alike, piling up fagots for the one, and building scaffolds for the other, yet he could not restrain the minds of men from rioting in that freedom which he had been instrumental in bestowing. His subjects willingly

broke from the old establishment, but no power could hold them to the new. Catholics not only became Protestants, but Protestants became Puritans, and Puritans soon began to question the authority by which a wicked king imposed on the church of God the forms of its worship and the doctrines of its belief.

Here was the commencement of the great English Rebellion, which resulted so gloriously for the cause of human rights. It is true that the strong arm with which Henry ruled the nation, and the steady and popular reign of his daughter Elizabeth, smothered for awhile the flame which was thus kindled; but the death of Elizabeth made way for the house of Stuart, with its succession of weak and contemptible sovereigns, giving full scope to the bold and independent elements which had been silently gathering strength in the heart of the nation.

The twenty-two years of James were marked by some disorders and many bold complaints on the part of the people; but it was reserved for the tyranny of his son Charles to drive the people into acts of open resistance. During the first three years of his reign he dissolved three successive parliaments, because they sought to redress some of the grievances of the state; and, having thrown into the tower the boldest advocates of popular rights, he resolved to govern without the aid or counsel of his people.

Tyranny now took the place of law. The "Petition of Rights," which Charles had subscribed with his own hand, was disregarded; ancient laws and the most solemn recent pledges were outraged; the courts of justice were made the corrupt instruments of the king's rapacity; monopolies for the manufacture of soap and other articles were sold to favorites; ship-money was levied; the militia disarmed; troops quartered on the people, and the prisons filled with those who had dared to raise their voice against the king's oppressions.

In the church, Laud, the archbishop, undertook to establish uniformity, in doing which he proved himself even a greater despot than the king. The least derogation from the canons or liturgy was punished as a crime; the pomp and ceremony of the discarded Catholic worship were everywhere revived; magnificence adorned the walls of the churches; consecrations were performed with the most ostentatious ceremonials, and a general belief in the speedy triumph of Popery prevailed. "I hate to be in a crowd," said the Duke of Devonshire's daughter to Laud, in apology for having gone over to the Catholic communion; "and as I perceive your grace and many others are hastening toward Rome, I wish to get there comfortably by myself."

Nothing could be more uncongenial to the feelings of the English people than this retrograde movement toward the high church authority of old Rome. For nearly a century they had been struggling on toward reform; the Bible had been printed in the English tongue, and was widely diffused; the simplicity of its doctrines had made a strong impression on the heart of an honest, thinking people, and the proceedings of Laud excited a general feeling of repulsion. The churches were in consequence mostly deserted, and in a few instances the bishop, in order to gather congregations for his splendid and gorgeous temples, was actually obliged to have recourse to compulsion.

This absurd policy was followed by its natural consequences. Nonconformity, at first confined to the few and the obscure, was embraced in the towns by the better class of citizens, and in the country by the freeholders, the lesser gentry, and a few of the higher nobility. Disgusted with the high pretensions and harsh measures of the primate and his spiritual hierarchy, the people took to their embrace the persecuted and rejected nonconforming ministry; and under their guidance and teachings a deep vein of piety was opened in the heart of the English nation, from which sprang a religion remarkable for the simplicity of its forms and the spirituality of its worship.

But the new religious tendency was not toward regularity and uniformity. On the other hand, many little independent sects sprang up under the influence of that repulsion which was the natural effect of Laud's stringent measures, and, in disgust at his high-church dogmas, they rejected all general church government, and claimed the right to regulate their own forms of worship as they chose.

Persecuted, these various sects clung together, and constituted a strong party, opposed alike to the high pretensions of the archbishop and the arbitrary measures of the king. They took the Bible as their guide; its doctrines were the theme of constant discussion; its teachings were the only acknowledged rule of right; and truth, honesty, industry, self-denial, and holiness, were inculcated in the shop and in the field, at the family altar and the fireside; and a new race of men sprang into existence, whose integrity, patient endurance, steadfast firmness, and sublime dependence on God, made them capable of the highest efforts and the most daring enterprise.

Individuals, and in many instances whole congregations, wearied with opposition and persecution, sought some retreat where the arm of power could not so easily reach them. Many retired to

Holland, and many more sought a refuge in the forests of the new world. Whole families sold their property, and, embarking in companies, under the charge of some minister of their own faith, prepared to give up home and friends, their old ties of locality and brotherhood, for the unmolested worship of the Most High in the distant wilderness. Educated, intelligent, moral, industrious, patient, and self-denying, they went forth, the pioneers of liberty, to give tone and energy to the character of a whole people, and to lay the foundations of this great and glorious republic.

Many expeditions of this character took place silently, and without any obstacles on the part of the government. But all at once the king perceived that they had not only become numerous, but that many considerable citizens were engaged in them, and that they were carrying with them great riches. It was no longer a few weak and obscure sectarians who felt the weight of tyranny, but the feelings of these were now shared by men of every rank. It was necessary to stop this outflow of the discontented; and accordingly an order from council was issued, forbidding the expeditions in a state of preparation to sail. O, blindness to the future! At that very time (May 1, 1637) eight vessels, ready to depart, were at anchor in the Thames. On board of one of them were Pym, Haslerig, Hampden, and Cromwell. The king's order probably sealed his own fate.

The archbishop, in attempting to carry his retrograde reforms into Scotland, aroused the spirit of resistance in that hardy and independent people, and he ceased not to add fuel to the flame till the Scots flew to arms. The war with Scotland called for resources which the king could not command without the concurrence of his people; and he resolved, after an interregnum of *eleven years*, once more to assemble a parliament.

But during these long years of oppression and tyranny the minds of men had not become reconciled to the yoke; and on coming together again in their legislative capacity they immediately began to deliberate on the old subject of grievances. The king wanted money, and not complaints; and after testing their temper for three weeks, he grew angry, and, ordering them before him, pronounced their dissolution. But he soon repented of his haste. Strafford was defeated almost without striking a blow; and Charles, pressed with difficulties on every side, found it necessary to call another council of his people, and on the third of November, 1640, was assembled at Westminster that famous body, destined to be known through all time as the *Long Parliament*.

It was now fifteen years since Charles ascended the throne.

For the half of a generation England had been without a parliament. The constitution lay in ruins, and arbitrary force had been substituted for popular law. Three successive parliaments had been dissolved in as many years, for daring to assert the rights of the people, and now another had shared the same fate. What was to be done? Were the people to recede or go forward; to abandon their rights, or maintain English liberty in its original strength? Fortunately, the late war had just then fully revealed the king's weakness, and the people resolved to strike for liberty. "Never," says Clarendon, "had the attendance at the opening of a session been so numerous; never had their faces worn so proud an aspect in the presence of sovereignty."

The new parliament commenced the work of reform with a bold hand. The innovations of the archbishop were attacked, and finally abolished; the star chamber, the north court, and the court of high commission, were annulled; a law was passed taking from the king all power to dissolve parliament without its consent; Strafford and Laud were impeached and thrown into the tower; the bishops were excluded from their seats in the upper house, and finally seized and cast into prison; Prynn, Burton, Bostwick, Leighton, Lilburne, and others, were released from their dungeons; the dissenting sects reappeared from their hiding-places, and the power of the state was again exerted to protect the rights of the citizen.

The king subdued his resentment, and, feeling his weakness, quietly yielded to the storm; giving a reluctant approval to all these sweeping reforms, and even consenting to the death of Strafford, an active, able minister, from whose talents and boldness the people had suffered much, and from whom they had most to apprehend in the future. His execution relieved them from a pressing danger; but the contemptible conduct of the king, in thus sacrificing his ablest and most faithful minister, shows how little faith could be reposed in him, even by his partisans. Mr. M'Cauley tartly observes, that it is good there should be such a man as Charles in every league of villany. It is for such men that offers of pardon and reward are intended. They are ever ready to secure themselves by bringing their accomplices to punishment.

The abortive attempt of the king to seize the five members brought his affairs to a crisis. Five days after, he quitted Whitehall to enter it no more as an independent sovereign, and retired to the north for the purpose of assembling an army in order to regain his lost prerogative. At York he was overtaken by commissioners authorized to propose terms for the settlement of all differ-

ences between him and parliament; but Charles was now surrounded by his cavaliers, and inspired by too many high hopes to yield anything to the demands of his people.

Both armies took the field in 1642. On the part of parliament the command was given to the Earl of Essex, a brave and experienced officer, but by no means equal to the temper of the times. The war was consequently conducted without energy, and resulted in no decisive advantages to either party down to the battle of Marston Moor, in 1644, two years after. It was at this battle that Cromwell appeared for the first time distinctly as the hero of a well-fought field. It was his energy and skill which determined the fate of that great battle, and henceforth he was to take a conspicuous part in the conduct of public affairs.

As a public man he was not altogether unknown. He had been a member of Charles's third parliament, also of the short parliament of 1640, and now held a seat in the Long Parliament. In these bodies he was known as one of the firmest and most consistent supporters of the popular cause, and was always found by the side of Pym, Hampden, &c., in their resistance to the arbitrary measures of the king.

He entered the army as a captain of horse, but was soon placed at the head of a regiment which he had raised among his own acquaintance. His men were remarkable for their orderly conduct, piety, and conscientious support of the popular cause, and were organized into a church under Cromwell's immediate eye. In this regiment no swearing was allowed, no plundering, drinking, or other disorders; and, having the *fear of God* before their eyes, they soon lost all other *fear*.

Such had been his success in the discipline and management of his men, that before the battle of Marston Moor he had been promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general. New-Castle, with six thousand troops, was shut up in York, and in the latter part of June, Prince Rupert, the boldest and most dashing leader of his time, appeared from the hills of Lancashire with an army of twenty thousand fierce men to relieve the place. The parliamentary army under Manchester and Cromwell drew out on the moor to meet him, and the result was, to use the quaint words of Carlyle, "four thousand one hundred bodies to be buried, and the total ruin of the king's affairs in those northern parts." The prince had been successful in his first assault, and the parliamentary army was routed on the right wing; but the squadrons of Cromwell bore down with such overwhelming force as to retrieve the fortunes of the day,

and bring out of the jaws of defeat the most glorious and complete victory which had yet crowned the arms of the popular cause.

The circumstances of this great victory were such as to bring Cromwell more prominently before the people, and make him at once the object of admiration and of jealousy. The old generals, naturally enough, saw in his rapid advancement danger to their power, while the Scots and Presbyterians regarded his influence as the chief obstacle to making their religion the religion of the state.

Since parliament had taken the "covenant," the Presbyterians had made a bold push to suppress the smaller religious sects and establish uniformity throughout the kingdom. The assembly of divines had received orders to prepare a plan of ecclesiastical state government, and four Scottish commissioners were appointed to act in concert with them, that the established doctrines and forms of worship might be the same in both kingdoms. Commissioners had also been appointed in each county to investigate the conduct and faith of the clergy, and no less than two thousand ministers were, in a brief space, ejected from their livings.

Cromwell looked on these proceedings with decided disapprobation. In religious matters he adhered to the Independents, and, as the army was generally of the same religious faith, they rallied around him as their leader, and formed a party adverse to the parliamentary movement. In waging war against the tyranny of the English hierarchy, he had not anticipated the establishment of another tyranny equally odious, but had contended for that free toleration without which there can be no true liberty. He therefore raised his voice and exerted his influence against this new form of religious proscription, and presented an opposition so formidable as to excite the particular displeasure both of the English Presbyterians and their Scottish allies. One species of opposition led to another, and Cromwell turned the tables on his enemies by censuring the conduct of the leading officers, and the general management of the war. He and Major-general Crawford, a Scottish officer of some prominence, became accusers of each other before a committee of war, and the feelings of the generals being shared by their followers, the dispute soon brought within its vortex the principal circumstances connected with the two campaigns.

Essex and Waller had been fitted out with armies no less than four times, and the resources of the nation had been tasked to their utmost to furnish supplies; but, down to the last battle, nothing had been accomplished. The timorous, undecided policy of the

commanders had already protracted the war two years; negotiations for peace and the restoration of the king had been regularly opened after every battle; and the covenant, which brought the aid of Scotland, bound the army to the defense of the tyrant against whom they were waging a deadly warfare.

These circumstances gave Cromwell an advantage of which he well knew how to avail himself, and he spoke out plainly. Indeed, such a war little suited his direct and straightforward mind. "I will not deceive you," said he to the men about to enlist under his banner, "nor make you believe, as my commission has it, that you are going to fight *for the king* and parliament. If the king were before me, I would as soon shoot him as another. If your consciences will not allow you to do as much, go and serve elsewhere."

Feeling thus, he acted accordingly. At the second battle of Newbury, in October, the royal forces rather had the worst, and Cromwell pressed Manchester, the commanding general, to follow up his advantage, fall upon the king's rear as he retired, and make an end of the war at a single blow. But Manchester refused. Twelve days after, when the king marched back to the relief of Donnington Castle, he again pressed the importance of an immediate attack, in which the king must necessarily have been overthrown, but his advice was again overruled.

It was evident that these Manchesters, Wallers, and Essexes, must in some way be got rid of; and Cromwell, being now assailed, came out boldly and returned the attacks of his enemies. He brought charges against Manchester before parliament; but, as this did not reach the root of the evil, he soon after originated the famous "self-denying ordinance," a scheme to cast off all these dead weights at once. "What do the enemy say?" said he in his speech on the occasion; "nay, what do many say who were friends at the beginning of the parliament? Even this—that the members of both houses have got great places and commands, and the sword in their hands; and what by interest in parliament, what by power in the army, will perpetually continue themselves in grandeur, and not permit the war speedily to end, lest their own power should determine with it."

The design of the "self-denying ordinance" was to deprive the "members" of their "great places." It proposed that they should be recalled to their seats in parliament, and that others, not connected with parliament, should be appointed in their stead. It also allowed *religious men* to serve without first taking the *covenant*. This ordinance had to pass, and the old officers laid down

their commissions. Sir Thomas Fairfax was made lord general, and Essex was pacified with a princely pension. The "new model" went into operation, and parliament saw an immediate improvement in its affairs.

The "self-denying ordinance," and its results, are generally quoted as presenting the most indubitable testimony of Cromwell's craftiness and ambition. The suspicious circumstance about it is, that Cromwell, although cut off from his command by it, with the rest of the chief officers, never laid down his commission, but continued in active employment to the end of the war. Those who regard him as an overreaching aspirant, see in this fact the plainest proof that the ordinance was introduced and carried into operation for the purpose of clearing the field for his ambitious projects, and that it was never his design to comply with its requirements. But the circumstances are easy of explanation without attributing his conduct to cunning, duplicity, or an overweening desire to promote his own advancement: and we are disposed to adopt that construction most in accordance with the facts.

The "self-denying ordinance" passed on the fourth of April, (1645.) It required all such officers as were members of parliament to lay down their commissions within forty days, and resume their seats in parliament. Cromwell was not present when the bill finally passed, but had been sent, with Waller and Massy, into the west against Goring. A letter from him, dated on Wednesday, the ninth, represents him as busy with the enemy on the preceding sabbath, (the sixth,) in the vicinity of Salisbury, and he continued actively employed in this quarter for several weeks. But before the forty days had expired he went up to London, as Sprigg tells us, to hand in his commission, "kiss the general's hand," and take leave of the army. But just at that time Prince Rupert, who was then at Worcester with an army, had sent two thousand men across to Oxford to give convoy to a quantity of artillery. The committee of the two kingdoms who had charge of all military matters met Cromwell at London, and desired him to intercept the convoy. The order was of a nature to admit of no delay; and he immediately threw himself into the saddle, and, two days after, attacked and routed the detachment, took two hundred prisoners and a large quantity of stores, and then, marching rapidly to the west, gained a victory at Whitney on the 26th, another at Bampton Bush on the 27th, and on the 29th summoned the garrison at Farringdon, and attempted to carry it by storm, but drew off on the first or second of May, to comply with an order for joining the army at Reading.

His successes were fully reported to the commons, and made much noise through the country. "Who will bring me this Cromwell, dead or alive?" said the king, who had been sadly annoyed at his rapid movements and brilliant sallies. Fairfax was now in daily expectation of a decisive action; and being anxious that so brave and capable an officer should not be lost to him at such an important moment, he wrote to parliament, desiring that Cromwell's command might be continued; and it was accordingly continued for another forty days by the house, and afterward for three months by the lords. He also received an order to join the main army at Northampton. He set out immediately, and reached the grand army on the 13th of June; and on the following day was fought the great battle of Naseby, in which he took so distinguished a part. This great victory was the result of his prowess and energy, and placed the continuance of his command beyond the reach of all factious and "self-denying ordinances." It will thus be seen that this circumstance, so much wielded to Cromwell's prejudice, is susceptible of an easy and natural explanation.

The battle of Naseby proved to be a death-blow to the royal cause. The king's affairs soon became desperate, and he finally surrendered to the Scots, and the Scots gave him up to the English. He was sent, for the time, to Holmby Castle, in Northampton, and a long series of negotiations followed between him and parliament, with a view to his restoration. These proceedings greatly displeased the army; and all the jealousies and animosities between the Presbyterians and Independents, which had been smothered as long as there was a common enemy in the field, were now revived.

The Presbyterians, who had a large majority in parliament, sought to seize the government, and make their religion the religion of the state; but the presence of the army was a perpetual obstacle to their designs. Resolutions were passed to disband it; but they refused to be disbanded without their pay, and were evidently not very anxious to retire and leave the field to their less tolerant rivals. Foiled in the first object of its wishes, parliament next pushed on its negotiations with the king. They hoped to persuade him into the covenant, and their suit was backed by the Scots, the queen, and the whole French court, who all urged him to abolish the Episcopal Church, and throw himself into the hands of the Presbyterians, who were pledged at once to restore him to his lost power.

The Independents of the army viewed these advances with

alarm. They were the friends of toleration, and could see but little advantage to themselves for all their toils and sufferings if they were only to change the tyranny of episcopacy for that of presbytery. They were willing to tolerate both the one and the other, but they desired at the same time to secure liberty of conscience for themselves and their children.

They resolved, therefore, to prevent the consummation of such an arrangement, and it was for this purpose that Joyce was sent to seize the king. This was a movement of the Independents in which Cromwell is supposed to have participated, together with the other officers and troops, though he openly denied all knowledge of the transaction.

The king, after his seizure, was treated with the utmost deference. Mrs. Hutchinson tells us that "he lived in the condition of a guarded and attended prince;" that "all his old servants had free recourse to him;" that "all sorts of people were admitted to come and kiss his hands;" and that a great familiarity also grew up between him and the principal officers of the army, particularly Cromwell, Fairfax, and Ireton.

The feelings of Cromwell had evidently become very much softened toward the king; and when he witnessed the interview between Charles and his children, after long months of separation, he spoke of it as a most touching spectacle—said that he had been deceived—that Charles was the best man in the three kingdoms—and that, in declining the terms of the Scots at Newcastle, he had saved the country from ruin.

With these changed feelings toward the fallen monarch, he soon came to entertain the opinion that he might be restored to power, with himself and friends at the head of the government to keep the balance even between the contending parties, and that the affairs of the nation might thus be advantageously and securely settled. Negotiations were accordingly opened, and terms offered, much more favorable to the king than any which he had yet received.

These terms proposed that he should give up for ten years the command of the militia, and the nomination of the great officers of state; that seven of his former counselors should remain banished from the kingdom; that all civil and coercive power should be withdrawn from the Presbyterian ministers; that episcopacy should, to a certain limited extent, be restored; that liberty of conscience should be guarantied; that no peer created since the breaking out of the war should sit in the upper house; and that no cavalier should be admitted to the next parliament.

Under this new era of good feeling Mrs. Cromwell, Mrs. Ireton,

and Mrs. Whalley, were introduced at Hampton Court; and the king, it is said, proposed to bestow on Cromwell a peerage, with the title of Earl of Essex, invest him with the honor of the garter, and give him the command of his guards. Ireton, his son-in-law, was to have the government of Ireland, and a distribution of like favors was to be made to other prominent individuals in the army. Several months passed in this courteous intercourse, and strong hopes were entertained that it would result in that satisfactory settlement of the kingdom for which the people had so long looked in vain. But it subsequently appeared that while these negotiations were going on, the king was, with his usual duplicity, giving encouragement to other projects, by which he hoped to be entirely freed from the trammels of his new friends, and restored to his ancient power. "Without me," said he to Berkley, who urged him to accept the proposals of the army, "these people cannot extricate themselves: you will soon see them too happy to accept more equitable conditions."

In this country we are so much in the habit of associating all true liberty with republicanism, that such a settlement looks a little like a betrayal of confidence on the part of Cromwell, and it was certainly so regarded by a portion of the army, which body had imbibed strong republican tendencies; and, having a most cordial hatred for the king, could not regard with patience any step looking toward his restoration.

But the civil war had not been undertaken to put down monarchy, but to secure the individual rights of the English people. All the reforms thought to be most desirable had been made, and it now only remained to settle the government in such a way as to perpetuate the advantages gained. We confess, therefore, that such a settlement does not seem to us to imply any undue ambition, or a betrayal of confidence, on the part of Cromwell; but that, on the other hand, it offered advantages more solid than any other course which could have been adopted. Cromwell would have made a splendid minister, and would not, in our opinion, have suffered himself to be seduced from the path of duty by any influences which the king could have thrown around him. English liberty would have been at once permanently established, and the scenes of blood afterward enacted, and ending, finally, in the restoration of the Stuarts, would have been avoided.

But Charles had by no means resolved to commit himself to the keeping of his new friends. While the negotiations were going on with Cromwell and Ireton, he was also holding out hopes to the Presbyterians, and at the same time stirring up the elements of

byterians and royalists ready to fly to arms, and his own forces distracted and divided, he seemed to stand forsaken and alone. But he quickly saw where lay the hopes of his party. His first efforts were directed to a reunion of those who had hitherto acted against the king. With this view he called his friends around him at his own house; he visited the London city councils, and appealed to them to act with their former energy and patriotism; and he ordered a council of the leading officers to meet him at Windsor early in 1648.

This meeting was one of unusual solemnity. The first day of the council was entirely devoted to prayer; and as no clear indications of the path of duty were yet gleaned, the second day was spent in the same solemn and impressive services. According to the account of General Allen, after many had spoken from the word and prayed—

"The lieutenant-general did press very earnestly on all those present a thorough consideration of our actions and of our ways, particularly as private Christians, to see if any iniquity could be found in them, and what it was; that, if possible, we might find it out, and so remove the cause of such sad rebukes as were upon us.... And in this path the Lord led us not only to see our sin, but *also our duty*, and this so unanimously, with weight upon each heart, that none was hardly able to speak a word to each other for bitter weeping.... And presently we were led and helped to a clear agreement among ourselves, not any dissenting, that it was our duty, with the forces we had, to go out and fight against those potent enemies which that year, in all places, appeared against us, with an humble confidence in the name of the Lord only. And we were also enabled, after seriously seeking his face, to come to a very clear and joint resolution, on many grounds, at large there debated, that it was our duty, if ever the Lord brought us back again in peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for that blood he had shed and mischief he had done, to his utmost, against the Lord's cause and people in this poor nation."—*Letters and Speeches*, p. 87.

It was, then, in this prayer meeting of generals—this council of devout patriots—that the death of the king was decreed. He whom no contract could bind; whose word—"the word of a king"—was like a rope of sand; who was the centre on which every discontented faction rallied; who, during six years, had deluged the country in blood, was at last to be regarded as a public enemy. The war, henceforward, was to be *against*, and not *for*, the king; and, if taken, he was to be tried as a criminal and executed as a traitor. Who will say that this was not a righteous decision?

With this distinct object before him, and sustained once more by the united voice of the army, Cromwell returned to camp,

quelled its disorders, and, having obtained the consent of the lord general, took the field and commenced active operations. Hamilton, with an army of more than twenty thousand Scots, was understood to be advancing to the assistance of the king, and no time was to be lost. The country was everywhere in a state of insurrection, and Wales was actually in arms. Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who was opposed to Cromwell at Naseby, had taken the field, seized Berwick and Carlisle, and was on his way to join the Scots.

But the celerity of Cromwell's movements baffled all the schemes of the enemy. He marched into the west, reduced Pembroke, quelled the rising spirit of royalty, and then hastened toward the north to support Lambert, who was already watching the advance of the Scots. The two armies met in the vicinity of Preston; and although Cromwell was less than half the strength of his antagonist, yet, seizing a favorable moment, when the Scots had their lines greatly extended, he fell upon them with his usual confidence and impetuosity, and in two or three successive engagements annihilated all their forces. More than two thousand were killed, and about nine thousand taken prisoners—the latter being more in number than his entire army.

In the mean time Fairfax had reduced the insurrectionary spirits in and about London; and Cromwell, having now terminated the second civil war by one of the most brilliant campaigns on record, returned to the capital, to see that justice was executed against Charles Stuart, "that man of blood," who was regarded in the army as the author of all the calamities of England.

We need not recount the circumstances attending the death of the king. That painful event was the result of a deliberate purpose on the part of the army. We have already seen that it was resolved upon by the council of officers at Windsor, and was then deemed a measure so just and important as to be the principal element in bringing about that united action which enabled them to triumph in the late campaign. Later events had not tended to shake their determination.

But, right and equitable as the execution of the king might be, to accomplish it was no easy matter. The people, bred up to respect the royal person, contemplated such an event with horror. The majority in parliament, so far from desiring it, were the open advocates of his return to power; and the ordinary courts, guided by the light of English law, must pronounce that the king *could do no wrong*, and hence must be free from any criminal charge.

But the proverb saith that "where there is a will there is a

way;" and "the way" chosen in this extremity was to exclude from parliament by force such members as could not be relied upon by the army, and intrust the duty of constituting a court for the trial of Charles to the remainder. Cromwell was not in London when Colonel Pride "purged the house," but no one doubts that this measure was taken with his concurrence and advice. Both he and Fairfax were appointed on the court, but the lord general attended only one sitting. Cromwell, on the other hand, was a constant attendant; and it was his firmness, more than that of any other person, which carried the state steadily through this tragic scene.

For many years the guilt of this transaction was regarded as little less than murder, and the part which Cromwell bore in it attached an odium to his name which it will require other long years entirely to wipe away. But at this day there are few persons who question the equity of that proceeding, however much they may doubt its policy.

We do not think it worth while to waste words on the character of Charles Stuart. The facts which we have narrated will settle that pretty thoroughly with any reader not very deeply imbued with the absurd doctrine of the divine right of kings. Weak and insincere, he was unfitted by nature for his high station, and the circle of his crimes extended through the whole decalogue. His sentence declared him to be a *tyrant, a traitor, a murderer, and a public enemy;* and the judgment of mankind will generally concur in the correctness of its delineation.

The army had been excited against him by six years of cruel civil war, during which much property was wasted and many valuable lives destroyed. All propositions to restore him to his throne, on terms which would have secured the people against his injustice and tyranny, had been rejected, and no hopes of a peaceable settlement of the kingdom remained so long as Charles Stuart lived.

Mr. Macauley, who has no hesitation in acknowledging the *justice* of the king's sentence, reasons strongly against the *policy* of his execution. He says that the blow which terminated his life transferred the allegiance of every royalist to an heir who was at liberty, and that, under such circumstances, to kill the *individual* was not to destroy, but to release, the *king*. "To take one head," he continues, "it was necessary to strike the House of Lords out of the constitution, to exclude members of the House of Commons by force, to make a new crime, a new tribunal, a new mode of procedure."

It is certainly true that the constitution was changed—that the

house of parliament was violated, and all the proceedings relating to the king's death extraordinary. But these things resulted more from the revolutionary state than from the necessity of taking the king's head. Everything was now unsettled. Parliament, which had so long administered the government, had dwindled into contempt. Its numbers were greatly diminished; it was torn by factions; it had been overawed by the army, overawed by the mob, and was the instrument of any master who chose to assert his authority. A new power had arisen, and was making itself felt in the direction of public affairs. That power was the army. It first aimed only to intimidate; it then purged the house; it next abolished the lords, and then expelled the "rump," and set up a government of its own. If the king had not been called to his last reckoning, but had remained a prisoner in the tower, there is no reason to believe that these or similar disorders would have been avoided. It was not, then, the "taking of one head" which gave rise to these changes in the government. They were the natural result of the revolutionary state.

In considering the *policy* of the king's execution, it should not be forgotten that it was *Charles* who had so often stirred up the elements of civil war; that it was *Charles* who was coquetting by turns, or at the same time, with every faction and every party; that it was *Charles* who was the centre of every discontented movement; that to restore him to power was now impossible—to keep him a prisoner was to preserve in the heart of the nation the elements of perpetual strife. His death did indeed transfer the allegiance of his people to his son; but that son was at a distance, and could not return to claim his throne without levying open war, which was much less to be dreaded than internal faction. All the power of England could not keep Charles from plotting mischief; but Cromwell made very short work with his *covenanted* son.

After the death of the king, the government continued to be administered by parliament—now reduced to a "rump"—assisted by a council of state, forty-one in number, of whom Bradshaw was president. In this council were Fairfax, Cromwell, Whitlock, Henry Martin, Ludlow, the younger Vane, &c., &c. Cromwell was soon named lord lieutenant of Ireland, and set out in great state and ceremony for his new command.

Ireland was at that time little more than a nation of barbarians, and for many years the island had been a scene of the wildest anarchy. "Ever since the Irish Rebellion broke out," says Carlyle, "and changed into an Irish massacre in the end of 1641, it has been a scene of distracted controversies, plunderings, excommuni-

cations, treacheries, conflagrations, universal misery, and blood, such as the world before or since has never seen."

Ormond, the lieutenant under the late king, had returned thither with a new commission, in hopes to co-operate with Scotch Hamilton in the second civil war; but arriving too late for that object, had done the next best thing for the royal cause, which was to unite all the discordant and distracted elements in the island against the new commonwealth; and at Cromwell's arrival, Dublin and Dury were the only two places still held by the parliamentary forces, both of which had lately been invested by the enemy, and the latter was still under siege. All Ireland was joined in one great combination to resist the Puritanic government of the sister isle.

With the insurrectionary spirit scarcely quelled in England, and the indications of a new civil war gathering in Scotland, Cromwell saw necessity for the most vigorous and decisive action; and he accordingly fell upon the rebels like the hammer of Thor, breaking down and crushing in a way which soon terminated the war, and tamed the rude and discordant population into the most humble submission.

The enemy, at his approach, retired to the stronghold of Drogheda, and, when summoned to surrender, gave no satisfactory answer. The lord lieutenant immediately arranged his batteries, and, having made a breach in the wall, carried the place by storm, after a protracted and desperate struggle; and, instead of giving the usual quarter, put the whole garrison, amounting to over two thousand souls, to the sword. Much has been said of the cruelty of this act, so different from Cromwell's usual bearing after a victory. The best explanation of it is to be found in his own dispatches. He there regards it as a just judgment of God, and expresses his belief that it will prevent the effusion of blood for the future. He says:—

"I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood, and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future; which are the satisfactory grounds to such actions, that otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret."—*Letters and Speeches*, p. 128.

Carte tells us that "the execrable policy of that regicide" (meaning Cromwell) "had the effect he proposed;" and whoever looks over the history of the war will come to the same conclusion as Cromwell's enemy. It spread abroad the terror of the conqueror's name so thoroughly, that, after the fall of Wexford, the garrison of which was, in part, dealt with after the same stern fashion,

garrison after garrison yielded quietly at his approach, until the whole of Ireland was subdued.

In the midst of this campaign of triumphs he was summoned back to England. The Scots had made a treaty with the Prince of Wales, had proclaimed him as Charles the Second, and were meditating a descent into England, for the purpose of placing him on the throne. The lord lieutenant, on his arrival, was received with all due honors, and from Bristol to Whitehall, says Carlyle, was one "wide tumult of salutation, congratulation, artillery volleying, and human shouting."

It would seem that Fairfax had resolved not to command the army against the Scots. His wife was a decided Presbyterian, and had strongly reprobated the proceedings against the late king. She now probably favored the claims of Charles the Second, and influenced her husband not to fight the covenanters. Both Whitlock and Ludlow tell of solemn conferences at Whitehall, preceded by prayer, in which Cromwell pressed Fairfax to take the command, and lead the army into Scotland; but he continued to decline, and finally sent in his resignation. Cromwell was then appointed lord general, and with his usual promptitude took the field.

In two brilliant campaigns—terminating, the one with the great battle of Dunbar, and the other with the great battle of Worcester—Cromwell subdued all the enemies of the commonwealth, and left the unfortunate young king an outcast and a wanderer.

He next turned his attention to civil affairs. Mr. Curry thinks "that now his ambitious purposes were, to a good degree, matured, and that he began to feel that it was the intention of Providence to raise him to the throne." If this was really the case, one would think that so shrewd a man as Cromwell would have seized the moment when the country was ringing with his fame, and he was high in the affections of the people, to consummate his object. And yet it was nearly two years from the battle of Worcester before he dissolved the remnant of the Long Parliament, and a year from that event to his assumption of the protectorate. If his original design had been to mount to the throne, surely he would not have waited to try so many experiments. That he was ambitious, we do not doubt—so were Washington and Bolivar; but that he sought his own elevation at the expense of the liberties of England, we see no good reason to believe.

It is a very common thing in this country to hear expressions of regret that Cromwell finished his career by seizing the reins of government; and that he did not, like Washington, resign into the

hands of the people his sword when his work was done, and retire from public life till called forth by the voice of his country.

We doubt whether the different circumstances under which these great men acted have been sufficiently considered. When Washington was offered the crown, by an army ready and willing to sustain him, his conduct was such as we had a right to expect from his previous character: but it is by no means certain that Cromwell would not, under similar circumstances, have pursued a similar line of conduct.

To Washington the path of patriotism and duty was perfectly plain, and any high-minded man, not over greedy of power, would have done as he did. England, the only enemy of America, had made a treaty of peace with us, and left us free and independent. We had no Prince of Wales hovering on our coasts, and making interest with the surrounding nations to restore him to the throne of his fathers. We had no great royal party, ready to rise at the least appearance of weakness or disorder, and overthrow the government. We had no violent internal factions—no great disagreements about the form of government—nothing to settle with regard to the future.

Republicanism had grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength. Every state had its own constitution, laws, and form of government, to which the people had been accustomed for long years, and no great innovations or changes were demanded by any party. The whole framework of our government was already settled, and the revolution made us only independent of Great Britain. Washington could, therefore, safely lay down his power, and be assured that no disastrous event would follow.

It was not thus with England. There the people originally took arms to secure certain rights; but in the course of the war they found it impossible to make any terms with their king, and they therefore took his head and discarded his family. A foreign prince might have been imported, as was afterward done in '88; but the army, into whose hands the power had fallen, was too republican in its opinions to submit to such a step. The commonwealth therefore found itself without a government, while the fiercest factions prevailed, and men were everywhere ready to sustain their opinions by the sword.

England was indeed belted with difficulties. The republicans would not listen to the restoration of the kingdom for a moment. The nobility were mostly royalists, who were always ready to take arms for the crown. Scotland was the centre of Presbyterianism, and was morose and ill at ease because it had failed to

establish the nation on the basis of the covenant; while the young king was watching the tide of events at the French court, ready to take advantage of any internal disturbance in order to vault into the vacant throne.

Had Cromwell, under these circumstances, laid down his power, no one can doubt that a train of events similar to those which actually took place after the death of the Protector would have ensued; that despotism would have resumed its iron sway; that the great and glorious progression of the people toward civil and religious freedom would have come to a sudden pause; that Cromwell himself would have soon found a secure place in the tower, or felt the hangman's rope tighten about his neck.

We can see no way by which Cromwell could have resigned his power without endangering both the liberties of his country and his own personal safety. It was evident that he alone could steer the ship of state through the surrounding dangers, and that if he relinquished the helm it must be lost. Anarchy and weakness would have ensued for a season, and then Charles and despotism. His only chance was to retain in his own hands the power of the state, until the country had settled down into quiet and subordination.

Let the reader call to mind what actually took place after the death of Cromwell. The country then had been under a settled government for several years, and the mantle of power dropped quietly from the shoulders of Oliver to those of Richard, who was proclaimed without a dissenting voice in every part of the nation, and the officers of the father continued to hold their places under the administration of the son. But when he discovered his own incompetency, and gave up the government, the utmost confusion followed. First, a council of officers undertook the government; then they revived the "Rump Parliament;" then there was an insurrection of royalists; then parliament was expelled, and a committee of safety established; and finally Charles the Second was brought back to compose the disorders of the nation.

It was not then, in our opinion, an overweening or impure ambition which urged Cromwell on to power, but circumstances, and circumstances which he ought not to have disregarded. Mr. Vaughan, who has written very ably of this interesting period of English history, doubts whether he was ever at heart the advocate of a republican form of government.

Cromwell was the friend of *liberty*, without being very deeply versed in the different theories of government. The evils which existed in the state were sufficiently obvious to his mind, but how

to devise a cure was exceedingly difficult. He gave the subject much earnest attention, and evidently vacillated between different theories. The republican form would have been most popular with a large portion of the army, but in the midst of such fierce factions and so many dangers he might well fear to trust it. Monarchy, in the old form, seemed to be out of the question; and, in our opinion, he chose wisely when he resolved to institute a system making as few alterations as the circumstances would admit in that form of government to which the people had been so long accustomed.

The people of England, at this time, had no clear notions of a government purely popular, and were so little prepared for its practical developments as to show to us, if not to Cromwell, the utter impracticability of a scheme of government founded on that basis. Royalists, Presbyterians, republicans, and levelers, had all proved themselves alike intolerant, and each was ready to defend his own views with the sword. Under such a state of things, a government founded on opinion could not possibly hold together.

We know that some writers think otherwise, and tell us that liberty can always safely be left to take care of itself. Mr. Macauley, for instance, says that there is only one cure for the evils which newly acquired freedom produces—that cure is *freedom!* "When a prisoner," says he, "leaves his cell, he cannot bear the light of day: he is unable to discriminate colors or recognize faces. But the remedy is, not to remand him to his dungeon, but to accustom him to the rays of the sun. The blaze of truth and liberty may at first dazzle and bewilder nations which have become half blind in the house of bondage: but let them gaze on, and they will soon be able to bear it."

In this beautiful passage Mr. Macauley seems to forget that the sudden blaze of light which falls on the feeble vision of his prisoner when he steps forth into the beams of full-orbed day is apt to produce blindness, and that the skillful physician graduates the light according to the strength of the patient's eyes. In case of long imprisonment and great weakness of vision, the remedy would be, not certainly to remand the prisoner to his cell, but to introduce him to such a degree of light as he could bear, and thus continue to admit more and more, till he could finally endure the flood of day. And this strikes us as the true reading of Mr. Macauley's illustration.

We may be wrong, but we do not now recollect any instance in the history of the world where a nation has passed at once from

despotism to the full blaze of republican freedom without suffering a counter-revolution. Revolutions which attempt very great changes are seldom, if ever, successful. The American revolution, the French revolution of 1830, and the English revolution of 1688, were all successful, and resulted in the immediate and permanent enlargement of human rights; but none of these wrought fundamental changes in the government.

The attempt of the French to found a republic on the ruins of their long-established monarchy was an utter failure. Faction succeeded to faction, till, exhausted by their bootless efforts, the people suffered the government to fall under the iron rule of Napoleon, and finally back into the hands of the Bourbons. The revolution of which we are treating, suffered a similar fate. The people first sought shelter from the rage of faction in the power of Cromwell, and then fell again under the yoke of the Stuarts.

It must, we think, ever be thus. Men suddenly set free from long-established restraints plunge into excesses, and thence fall into some new despotism. They have been so long in the house of political bondage, that they cannot endure the dazzling light of full, unrestrained liberty, but are smitten with blindness, and grope their way back to their old prison-house.

It is for this reason that the world struggled so long in vain for that freedom which, since the days of Cromwell, has made such astonishing progress among the nations. Men have sought liberty in all ages of the world, and have been strong enough to overthrow their tyrannical masters; but, like an unruly horse which has broken the reins and thrown its rider, they rush madly on, not knowing what use to make of their newly acquired freedom, till, exhausted by their bootless efforts, they quietly yield to the direction of some new master.

We do not believe that men are to wait for liberty till they have become wise and good in slavery. That, to use another figure of the gifted Macauley, "would be worthy of the fool in the old story, who resolved not to go into the water till he had learned to swim." But as the man who for the first time trusts himself in the water should be particularly careful of his footing, so that nation which has never tried the sweets of liberty should be careful, when it enters its pure stream, not to be seduced too far till it has accustomed itself to its new element.

A careful investigation of this subject will show, we think, that the liberties of mankind are not to be achieved by great revolutions, but by trial and experiment in a moderate way. Our own country enjoys a greater degree of freedom than any other in the

wide world, and it is the centre from which the light has gone out to illumine the nations. But our institutions had their origin, not in the wisdom or device of man, but in a train of experiences shaped by Providence, and over which men exerted little control.

The Puritans, in pursuit of religious liberty, came to America. Here they settled under the shadow of the English throne, but removed alike from its tyrannies and its corruptions. They grew up in neglect, and being left to form their own political organizations, they humbly copied the representative system of England, with such modifications as their plain and homely circumstances required. Released from the dungeons of European despotism, their eyes were gradually strengthened under their colonial vassalage, and they went on step by step, combating practical errors, struggling against the usurpations of their imported governors, complaining of wrongs, rooting out intolerance, declaring themselves independent, and finally binding themselves together by a written constitution.

While, therefore, it is true that the only cure for the excesses of freedom is *freedom*, it is also true that the remedy is far from being infallible, and that it is most successful when taken in homœopathic doses. In our opinion, then, any attempt to establish a republic in England would have failed, and Cromwell acted wisely in shaping his government in accordance with the usages and prejudices of the people.

Cromwell's ascent to power was easy and natural, and we cannot see those evidences of an impure ambition which are so generally ascribed to him. As lord-general he was already the chief man in the nation, and had long controlled, more or less, both the military and civil power. It was as easy for him to have stepped into the vacant throne on returning in triumph from the battle of Worcester, as it was to be proclaimed Protector three years afterward. But he paused, as we verily believe, to see what would be most for the good of his country and the success of Protestantism. After repeated solicitations from his parliament, he peremptorily declined to take the kingly office, and was never for a moment intoxicated with the cup of power which he had so largely tasted.

Cromwell was ambitious, but not for himself or for his family. His ambition regarded his country, and the success of the Protestant religion. He was ambitious to make England the queen of the Protestant world, and ambitious to protect the persecuted and down-trodden from the shafts of the oppressor. His course toward the poor sufferers of Piedmont is well known. Indeed, the power

of England was, in his hands, uniformly exerted to shield the Protestant churches all over Europe.

His administration was marked by the strength of his own steady and vigorous mind. He had no fear of his power, and was not, therefore, jealous of popular encroachments. He gave the country a constitution far more liberal than any which had preceded it; equalized the representative system in a manner which even Clarendon commends; gave parliament a voice in the appointment of his ministers; yielded up the entire legislative authority without even reserving the veto power; and was the first statesman who conceived the idea of religious toleration. It is worthy of remark, too, that his institutions became more and more liberal as his power was established; and, had he lived, we doubt not that the arbitrary features of his government would have entirely disappeared.

No administration was ever more respected abroad. "The lord protector's government," writes a Brussels correspondent in Thurloe, "makes England more formidable and considerable to all nations than ever it has been in my time." His acute mind readily discovered where lay the great source of England's prosperity and power, and his zeal for commerce surpassed that of all the sovereigns who had preceded him. The impulse given by his potent hand to the prosperity of England is felt, even down to the present time.

His "besotted fanaticism," as his enemies are pleased to call his attachment to religion, never clouded his perceptions of the public good. He surrounded himself with men of the highest ability and integrity, and his court combined regal dignity and state with the strictest sobriety, temperance, and good order. He was also tolerant toward his opponents, and, where no doubts were entertained respecting their integrity, he often raised them to place and power. Blake, who made the English flag so terrible during his ascendency; Hale, the renowned and incorruptible judge; Burnett, the Scotch jurist; and Lockhart, the celebrated French ambassador, were all stanch opponents of the protectorate, but owed their elevation to his favor.

The cup of power, which so intoxicated Napoleon, produced no such effect on Cromwell. Those successes which seduced the Frenchman into endless wars, and finally led to his overthrow, had no power over the practical mind of the great Englishman. Although he never looked on war till more than forty years old, yet he never fought a battle without gaining a victory, and never gained a victory without annihilating his foe. Although no states-

man till he was thrust at the head of the English government, yet his eagle eye watched over every department of the public business, and he was as successful in his foreign negotiations and foreign wars as he had been at the head of an army. No prosperity made him vain, no adversity fretted him; but in the storm of battle and on a bed of sickness he was equally ready to ascribe all to the favor and goodness of God; and he went down to the grave in the fullness of his power, in his own house, and surrounded by his family and friends.

Although the government ultimately fell back into the hands of the Stuarts, yet Cromwell's splendid administration was remembered, and the revolution of 1688, regarded as so glorious an era in English history, was the direct fruit of his labors. The people were never entirely satisfied with his government; yet when the weak and corrupt sons of the late king returned to power, followed by retinues of profligate and debauched courtiers; "when the Dutch cannon startled an effeminate tyrant in his own palace; when the conquests which had been made by the armies of Cromwell were sold to pamper the harlots of Charles; when Englishmen were sent to fight under the banners of France against the independence of Europe and the Protestant religion; many honest hearts swelled in secret at the thought of one who had never suffered his country to be ill used by any but himself."* The comparison was too humiliating to the honest heart of the English people, and they arose in their wrath and expelled the tyrant from their throne, and invited a foreign prince to take his place.

One of the greatest faults of the work of M. Guizot, placed at the head of this article, is the flippancy with which it speaks of Cromwell's hypocrisy, fanaticism, and ambition. At one time he is a "fanatic;" then he is "devoured by ambition and doubt;" then he "hypocritically affects moderation," &c., &c. It is true that words like these are so familiar in all English history, that a foreigner may well be excused for using them; but we have looked through his pages with great care to find facts to sustain such language, and have looked in vain. We have already expressed our opinion in regard to the charges of ambition; and, although our article is unreasonably long, yet we cannot part with the reader till we have said a word as to his "hypocrisy."

Mr. Carlyle has, we think, given to the world the materials for making up an intelligent opinion on this subject. We refer to Cromwell's letters. It is in his family, in private intercourse with familiar friends, and in hasty notes and letters, that a man breathes

* Macauley.

out his soul. It is impossible for any one always to sustain an assumed character. He may do so in his robes of office, in his state papers and public correspondence; but to confidential friends, and in the bosom of his family, nature will speak out—the true man will be revealed. Hence the public are always desirous to get hold of the private correspondence of statesmen and politicians. Hence the rapid sale of the late work of William Lyon M'Kenzie, containing private letters from Mr. Van Buren, Mr. Butler, &c. We have seen Laud tried in this way, and condemned. His letters to Strafford are said to be free from even the ear-marks of piety. Charles was notorious for the discrepancy between his public acts and his private thoughts—his solemn negotiations and his letters to his queen. Even Washington, in his letters to his brother, expressed apprehensions respecting the termination of the American war which were breathed to no other individual.

Now we have looked carefully through all the letters of Cromwell, contained in Carlyle's book, written to his wife, his daughters, his sons, &c., &c., with the view of detecting the cant and hypocrisy about which we have heard so much; and the conclusion to which we have come is, that he was a man eminently earnest and sincere, deeply imbued with a sense of his responsibility to God and his duty toward his fellow-man, and looking to the great tribunal in another world as the place to which he was to render his account and receive his reward.

Cromwell professed to be a Christian; he attended to the public and private duties of religion; he had his daily hours for reading the Scriptures, and for meditation and prayer; he was blameless in his deportment; a strict observer of the sabbath; spoke publicly in religious meetings, and contributed immense sums annually in charities: but it is contended that all these observances were put on for sinister purposes, and used to preserve the favor of his party and assist him in his ambitious projects.

But hypocrisy, however perfect the cloak may be, will not sustain a man in sickness and other trials; it will not give him confidence in God; it will not make him solicitous about the spiritual life of his wife and children; it will not support him in the hour of death. Did Cromwell feign all these things? Was his earnestness played off for long years by way of effect? Did he carry the deception into the bosom of his family and among his children? Did it go with him down to the grave? The thing is too absurd to admit of belief for a moment.

That Cromwell was often mistaken, we do not doubt. His character, like that of Luther, Knox, Calvin, and the other early

reformers, partook of the enthusiasm of the times; and he regarded himself as fighting for the success of religion, and deliverance from Popish and ecclesiastical tyranny, and looked upon his successes as evidences of the divine favor: but surely these errors, if errors they were, are no proof of his insincerity, but show rather that he is everywhere, and in all things, conscious of the pervading presence of the Most High.

His mother was an eminent servant of God, and his children generally manifested a deep interest in the subject of religion. They all came to him for advice and counsel, and formed together a most affectionate and agreeable household. The industrious Thurloe, in one of his diplomatic dispatches, casually remarks: "My lord protector's mother, of *ninety-four years old*, died last night. A little before her death she gave my lord her blessing in these words: 'The Lord cause his face to shine upon you and comfort you in all your adversities, and enable you to do great things for the glory of your most high God, and to be a relief unto his people. My dear son, I leave my heart with you. Good night!' and thus sunk into her last sleep."

The subject of religion appeared ever to be uppermost in his thoughts, and pervades his entire correspondence. Whether he wrote to Bradshaw, the president of council; to Blake, the great sea-king; to Lenthall, speaker of the commons; to Fleetwood, his general-in-chief in Ireland; or to his wife and children at home, he is always the same—always urging the importance of the spiritual life, and the transient and unsatisfactory nature of all worldly good. In a letter to Bradshaw he says:—

"Indeed, my lord, your service needs me not. I am a poor creature, and have been a dry bone, and am still an unprofitable servant to my Master and to you. I thought I should have died of this fit of sickness, but the Lord seemeth to dispose otherwise. Truly, my lord, I desire not to live unless I may obtain mercy from the Lord to approve my heart and life to him in more faithfulness and thankfulness."

To Blake he says:—

"We have been lately taught that it is not in man to direct his way. Indeed, all the dispensations of God, whether adverse or prosperous, do fully read that lesson. We can no more turn away the evil, as we call it, than attain the good; and therefore Solomon's counsel of doing what we have to do with all our might, and getting our hearts wholly submitted, if not to rejoicing, at least to contentment with whatever shall be dispensed by him, is worthy to be received by us."

To Fleetwood, who married his daughter, and was now his general in Ireland, he says:—

"My heart is for the people of God; *that* the Lord knoweth, and will in due time manifest. Yet thence are my wounds; which, though it grieve me, yet, through the grace of God, doth not discourage me totally.... Dear Charles, my dear love to thee and to my dear Biddy, [his daughter,] who is a joy to my heart for what I hear of the Lord in her.... Pray for me, that the Lord would direct and keep me his servant. I bless the Lord I am not my own. But my condition, to flesh and blood, is very hard. Pray for me."

Carlyle, in copying this letter, exclaims, in his own peculiar way:—

"Courage, my brave Oliver! thou hast but some three years more of it, and then the coils and puddles of this earth, and of its unthankful doggery of a population, are all behind thee; and Carrion Heath, and Chancellor Hyde, [Clarendon,] and Charles Stuart, the Christian king, can work their will; for thou hast done with it; thou art above it in the serene azure for evermore."

In a letter to his wife, he thus speaks of another of his daughters:—

"Mind poor Betty, of the Lord's great mercy. O! I desire her not only to seek the Lord in her necessity, but in deed and in truth to turn to him, keep close to him, and take heed of a departing heart, and of being cozened with worldly vanities and worldly company, which I doubt she is too subject to. I earnestly and frequently pray for her, and for him, [her husband.] Truly they are dear to me, very dear, and I am in fear lest Satan should deceive them."

To his daughter, Mrs. Ireton, who afterward married Fleetwood, he says:—

"Who ever tasted that the Lord is gracious without some sense of self, vanity, and badness? Who ever tasted that graciousness of his and became less desirous, less anxious, to press after full enjoyment? Dear heart, press on. Let not husband, let not anything, cool thy affection after Christ. I hope he will be an occasion to inflame them. That which is best worthy of love in him is the image of Christ he bears. Look on that and love it best, and all the rest for that."

Another letter to his wife, written after the battle of Dunbar, has these words:—

"The Lord hath showed us an exceeding mercy: who can tell how great it is! my weak faith hath been upheld. I have been in my inward man marvelously supported, though I assure thee I grow an old man, and feel the infirmities of age stealing upon me. Would my corruptions did as fast decrease! Pray on my behalf!"

At a still later period he writes:—

"It joys me to hear thy soul prospereth. The Lord increase his favors to thee more and more. The greatest good thy soul can wish

is that he would lift upon thee the light of his countenance, which is better than life."

We might multiply these extracts to a very great extent, for what we have here set down pervades Cromwell's entire correspondence. But this is sufficient for our purpose. If Cromwell was a hypocrite, his hypocrisy continued down to the day of his death, and followed him "into the eternities." Just before his last illness he lost his son-in-law, husband to the lady Frances, who had been wedded but four months. He was a son of the Earl of Warwick, who acknowledges the "faithful affections" and "Christian advices" which the Protector had administered to him in his afflictions. The old man followed his son soon after; and in the midst of these losses and these "Christian advices," Cromwell, struggling with new seas of troubles, new insurrections, revolts, and discontents, which had to be crushed, met with new afflictions in that family circle where lay all his real pleasures.

The lady Claypole, his favorite daughter, and a favorite of all the world, had fallen sick of a most painful disease, and lingered in great distress. Hampton Court was a house of sorrow; "pale death was knocking there, as at the door of the meanest hut. 'She had great sufferings, great exercises of spirit;' and in the depth of the old centuries we see," says Carlyle, "a pale, anxious mother, anxious husband, anxious, weeping sisters, a poor young Frances weeping anew in her weeds."

Cromwell, for many days, was at her bedside, unable to attend to any public business whatever, and just before her death broke down under his continued care and watching. He was a most tender and affectionate father, and the pains and sufferings of this his favorite daughter took a deep hold of his feelings, and he never recovered from the shock. In about two weeks after her death, which happened on the 6th of August, 1658, he took to his bed, from which he never arose.

Laid thus low by the hand of affliction, he called for his Bible, and desired a friend to read the following passage from Philippians: "Not that I speak in respect of want; for I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content. I know both how to be abased, and I know how to abound. Everywhere and by all I am instructed, both to be full and to be hungry, both to abound and to suffer need. I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me." "Ah," said he, "it is true, Paul, *you* have learned this, and attained to this measure of grace; but what shall *I* do? It is a hard lesson for me to take out, but," he added, "he that was Paul's Christ is my Christ too."

He spoke often of the "Mediator of the covenant." "Faith in the covenant," said he, "is my only support, and if I believe not, *He* abides faithful." When his wife and children gathered around his bed, weeping, in sad anticipation of their approaching loss, he said, "Love not this world. I say unto you, it is not good that you should love this world. No, children, live like Christians. I leave the covenant for you to feed upon."

On another day he said, "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God." This, says Maidstone, was spoken three times, his repetitions being very weighty, and with great vehemency of spirit. "But then," he said, "all the promises of God are in *Him*." On another occasion he said, "The Lord hath filled me with as much assurance of his pardon and his love as my soul can hold." And again, "I am conqueror, and more than conqueror, through Christ that strengtheneth me. I am the poorest wretch that lives, but I love God, or rather God loves me."

"Lord," said he, "however thou do dispose of me, continue and go on to do good to thy people. Give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love; and go on to deliver them, and advance the work of reformation and make the name of Christ glorious in the world. Teach those who look too much on thy *instruments* to depend more on thyself, and pardon such as desire to trample on the dust of a *poor worm*."

He died on the third of September, his fortunate day—the day on which he won the great battle of Dunbar, in 1650, and the great battle of Worcester, in 1651, and which, during the protectorate, was always kept as a day of public thanksgiving. Maidstone was with him through the previous night, and thus reports his utterances: "Truly God is good; indeed he is; he will not—" then his speech failed him; but, as I apprehend, it was, "He will not leave me." This saying, "God is good," he frequently used all along, and would speak it with much cheerfulness and fervor of spirit in the midst of his pains. Again he said, "I would be willing to live to be further serviceable to God and his people, but my work is done. Yet God will be with his people."

He was very restless during most of the night, speaking often to himself. Something to drink was offered him, and he was desired to take it, and endeavor to compose himself to sleep; but he refused, saying, "It is not my design to drink or to sleep, but my design is to make what haste I can to be gone."

On the following morning he was speechless, and between three and four in the afternoon his light was quenched, and his great spirit went, as we trust, to that abode where there is neither war

nor faction, and where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.

Such was the death of the man whom Hume and his contemporaries delight to hold up to the world as a deceiver and a canting hypocrite. Let the world do him more justice!

Carlyle says,—

"I have asked myself if anywhere in modern European history, or even in ancient Asiatic, there was found a man practicing this mean world's affairs with a heart more filled by the idea of the Highest? Bathed in the eternal splendors, it is so he walks our dim earth. This man is one of few. He is projected with a terrible force out of the eternities, and in the times and their arenas there is nothing that can withstand him."

ART. IV.—1. *Napoleon and his Marshalls.* By J. T. HEADLEY. 2 vols. New-York. 1847.

2. *Washington and his Generals.* By J. T. HEADLEY. 2 vols. New-York. 1847.

As the noblest animals undergo a longer period of gestation and have fewest offspring at a birth,—as the progeny of man is more excellent than the innumerous spawn of the insect world,—so is it with genius and its progeny. Moreover, it does not produce abortions nor monstrosities; it ever travails with perfection, and the worlds of fancy and of reality deck its bed with their sweets. Obliquing from these truths, and glancing with keen foresight upon the tendency of crowds to swarm for the sight of a Tom Thumb, or any other novelty or deformity, Mr. Headley has exhibited his shrewdness in the choice of subjects and the mode of treating them; and has betrayed the low grade of his genius by its wonderful fecundity. Naturally prone to the marvelous and stirring as all men are, our countrymen are now, and have been for a few years past, foaming with excitement growing out of the Oregon question and the Mexican war. Their minds have, therefore, been a most inviting soil to a class of writers who, with a single eye to the business nature of the transaction, have flooded the country with books that are expected to swim into profitable notice and demand upon the flood of appetite and passion evoked by these topics. The principle upon which they rely for success is the ardent love of ever-varying action—the intense interest that always attends the exhibition of physical energy; a principle which governs the mass of

mankind, to the detriment of those more perfect and valuable qualities, experience and mental or moral beauty. These last do not possess the requisite element of popularity; consequently they have no value, and in proportion as the former prevails they must recede, just as the genuine lustre of the diamond fades away beside the gross glare of a candle. And thus the inestimable productions of Marshall, and Irving, and Prescott, of Longfellow, and Dana, and Bryant—for which a taste had been created—are thrust aside and become tasteless and insipid, while the pungent and frivolous brood of these scribblers at once provokes and vitiates the palate. The taste of the people which had been educated up to a love for sound writers, and an appreciation of their elevated themes, has been depraved, despoiled, thrown backward upon its primitive rudeness by crude and unprincipled dabsters who remorselessly sacrifice the perfections of sacred art at the altar of admiration; who weakly surrender the freedom of reason to the tyranny of instinct.

One of the earliest developments of our nature, and one of its least noble attributes, is that principle which disposes us to love the extravagant, the grotesque, the wonderful, and the frightful. Ignorance annihilates the difference of age, and thus we observe that this taste exists to an equal degree in the gray-headed negro, the gigantic boor, and the puny child; that it flourishes best where the reasoning faculties are rudest, or where the passions and affections are least cultivated. Most persons have witnessed the combined terror and delight with which individuals of this class coweringly hover around the narrator of legends of ghosts and goblins,

> "Staring wide
> With stony eyes,"

at his uncouth paintings of fiends, demons, and witches; and eagerly swallowing chronicles of murderers and highwaymen, with the depending stories of hauntings and hangings, of indelible blood-spots and creaking gibbets.

To delight in such stories, we say, is characteristic of the extremes of youth or ignorance, or both. And it is no less indicative of a nation's childhood or ignorance than of man's, when its individual members demand and maintain writers whose productions are of a character analogous with these legends. For we hold that a morbid relish for these stories is the next step to a belief in them; and that the members of a community whose taste is so depraved are not far in advance of the West Indian negro who trembles at the mention of Obi; or of the Irish peasant whose fears have peo-

pled with frightful habitants every bog and rock, every hill and valley, of his unhappy land.

Without doubt, the writings of Mr. Headley are godsends to this class of our countrymen; and also to those, their brethren, who pore over books of shipwreck and miraculous escapes; who have a revolting fondness for "last dying speeches" and "confessions;" and for the stirring records of highwaymen, pirates, and murderers. His books contain just enough of blood and carnage, of the tap of the drum, the blast of the trumpet, and the trappings of military glory; they abound to the due amount in a raw admiration of merely physical exploits, and require the economical outlay of thought that is exactly necessary to recommend them to the reading mob. Perhaps, after all, something is gained, some improvement indicated, one step more made upward upon the ladder of advancement, when the confirmed devourer of the unfriendly aliment just alluded to is induced to take up our author. And if the gain be small, the improvement impalpable, the step a slight one—what then? Cold water, we know, if thrown upon intensely hot glass will shiver it to atoms; when, if it be first raised to the temperature of the metal, it may be applied with impunity. So, the full blaze of the sun upon the eyes of the new-born babe will destroy sight, while a gradual exposure would enable them to defy the mid-day beam. Whether by intuition or design, through a necessitous instinct, or by philosophical forecast, Mr. Headley has adopted this principle; and his writings are ingeniously calculated for the capacities of the crudest mind. And the man or boy who has gloated over the deeds of pirates, and been stimulated by legends of murderers, "*et id genus omne*," will here find nothing to shock his taste; his critical and discriminating powers will still remain undisturbed.

From what has been said it may be gathered that we do not place any very high estimate upon Mr. Headley's qualifications as an author; or, at least, that we have a mean opinion of the soundness and tendencies of his productions generally. We do, indeed, seriously and honestly believe that they are suited to produce and foster many evil results: that their tendency is to awaken the ferocious impulses of the most excitable portion of an excitable nation; to throw men back in the world, and undo the silent and perfect work of revelation and refinement: that setting up the warlike character of its people as the highest mark of a nation's greatness and prosperity, the noblest passion to which they minister is a phrensied admiration of the grossly physical: that they cultivate the same spirit that would prefer a practiced wrestler, or an

invincible boxer, before the most accomplished logician, the most profound statesman, the most rapt poet; that would judge of man by his dimensions in cubic feet, or by his gross weight of brawn and muscles, rather than by his intellect or genius; or, to particularize, that would rank Ben Caunt above John Milton or Edmund Burke.

Notwithstanding the feeble disclaimer in the Preface to Napoleon and his Marshalls, vol. i, pp. 2, 3, such is the tendency and teaching of Mr. Headley's numerous books. And if we read him aright by the evidence which his productions furnish, these results have their spring in a stubborn necessity of his nature, of which they are the characteristic growth. We are inclined to believe that, waited upon by

"A gentle Husher, vanity by name,"

he is one of that class who know no medium—who have no temperate conservatisms—who are ever in extremes; whose reason and judgment are unable to keep pace with their passions or impulses, and whose minds are competent to grasp easy generals, but are utterly unequal to the task of classifying intricate or involved details. Thus, his praise runs into adulation; his censure into abuse. He never loves but he adores; his dislike scarcely stops short of abhorrence; and, to use a homely expression, "his geese are all swans." Owing to the peculiar organization of his mind, he is unable to contemplate more than one object at a time, and the last one upon which it employs itself is its darling one. Therefore, the individuals he illustrates are each his clients as they successively engage his attention, and he feels committed to defend them with all the ingenuity he can command; and if it be necessary to pluck the late favorite in order to adorn the present one, he is hindered by no scruples. Blind to those modest *virtues* which—rare, delicate, and priceless as the diamond—go to make up the highest style of man, he is also unobservant of those minor *vices* and *petty passions* which tarnish and debase him. Or, if he be gifted with the power to discern these priceless qualities, he yet lacks the fine sympathy whereby to appreciate them; and is not warmed by that generous indignation which has the courage to assault error at whatever odds or however minute. Unendowed with the genius to originate, or the hand to execute, those powerful touches which give harmony and beauty to a picture, he is forced to deal in startling outlines, obvious generals, rash, hasty, and discordant details. Such being some of the peculiarities of his mind, we are not surprised at his treatment of the characters that he attempts to illustrate; and we have a key to the unstinted praise

or blame which he showers upon the one that for the time being occupies his attention, and which makes

"Every man with him seem God or devil."

By some process he has at length come to be infatuated with a confused notion of *glory,* and all his faculties are directed to its sole contemplation. Like a man who, having ventured to stare upon the sun, finds upon withdrawing his gaze that all nature is a blank, and that, whether opened or shut, his eyes serve only as media by which goblin suns dance and gleam athwart his mind, so is it with him: he has looked so long and fixedly upon his dazzling ideal, that his perceptions can entertain no other image. Or, like the beautiful Saracen who only knew her Christian lover's name, and traversed Europe crying, "Gilbert, Gilbert!" so his tongue can utter no other sentiment than, "Glory, glory!" The same process which has thus contracted his faculties till they are subservient to the one idea of glory, has also served to mislead him in his conceptions of what it is; and he often sets up a phantasm of his own imagination and worships it as the true divinity. In his numerous visions of the goddess she has ever appeared robed in garments of reddest hue,—her face flushed, her eyes blood-shot, her lineaments distorted with fury,—while her bare right arm shakes a falchion dripping with human gore, and which she menacingly holds over the world.* Such is his goddess, which, we dare aver, is no true divinity, but the "empty seeming" of enchantment, the imposture of incantation. This is the lying feigning of that noble influence which lit up Shakspeare's path, and shall for ever illuminate his name and consecrate his memory; which is seated far above the din of arms and the clangor of physical force; which annihilates time and space—drawing together in imperishable unity Homer, and Chaucer, and the bard of Avon, Spenser and Virgil, Dante and Milton; and which sanctifies the names of Grecian, Roman, and English sages and patriots.

It is plain that Mr. Headley is solicitous to rank as an historian,

* Since writing the above our attention has been directed to a striking confirmation of this observation. It occurs in our author's description of Murat, who, he says, "invested battle with a sort of glory in itself;" and whom he describes as bursting through the ranks of his foes at the battle of Mount Tabor, "covered with his own blood and *those* (?) of his enemies, and *his arm red to the elbow that grasped his dripping sword.*" This passage is rendered doubly revolting by the repetition of Murat's insanely profane remark, that, while he was thus wet with blood, "he thought of Christ and his transfiguration on that same spot nearly two thousand years before, and it gave him tenfold courage and strength."

"Time's witness, herald of antiquity,
The light of truth, and life of memory."

But it is equally plain that this bias of his faculties which we have been considering, utterly disables him for that high station. As personated by him, Clio is no longer the sober, steadfast, "strong-eyed muse." But stripped of her ample and spotless robes, and tricked out in the frippery garb of an Italian improvisatrice, she mouths and rants, and pours forth a voluble strain of incoherent words, and of extravagant, half-incubated thoughts; while no venerable hen cackles more complacently over the exclusion of her eggs, than she does over her equally frail progeny.

He would also be considered a man of genius, while he is unenlightened by a single coruscation of its divine fire; is neither warmed by its vivifying imaginings and brilliant hopes, nor actuated by its generous and magnificent, though vaulting, aims; and hence, also, he is incapable of detecting or sympathizing with either. Preferring the feverish, unreasoning, fitful, and clamorous clappings of the populace before that steady growth and accumulation of men's love, admiration, and gratitude, which makes its object the property of "no age, but of all time," he gathers a crowd that he may listen to its plaudits; he burns to achieve—not fame, but—popularity. Hence, his partial observations upon men and events; his discoloring of facts, his stupid idolatry of that lurid glory which lights up the hero, and his total blindness to that more ethereal essence which transfigures man by the magical play of his fancy, the brilliancy of his imagination, the subtilty or strength of his intellect; by the mild splendor of his virtues, or the attractive beauty of enlarged affections and regulated passions. Hence, too, it is, that to command his praise an object must be gross and palpable; that the more spiritual the form the less beautiful it is in his sight; in proportion as it is godlike it is unworthy of admiration. The truth is, that Mr. Headley belongs to the more respectable branch of that numerous class in literature,—known by their spawn of books with flaunting yellow covers, startling titles, and contemptible wood-cuts,—who are analogous to the demagogue in politics. These are chiefly solicitous after noisy notoriety, being little scrupulous in the use of means so as they accomplish this end. Painfully conscious of their inferiority and of their radical defects, not even self-deceivers upon the score of their own merits and deservings, they yet strive to attain by juggling arts that consideration which is spontaneously awarded to real worth. Not daring with their weak pinions to fly boldly for the sun while he rides high in the full splendor of meridian glory, they wind sinuously along, trailing and

crawling upon the earth's surface that they may reach it by strategy at sunset. They listen for the yell of the populace, watch the tide of its favor, truckle to its mean demands, and pander to its craving and depraved tastes. Now, the man of genius contemptuously scorns all this clap-trap; for the invariable characteristic of genius is, that it never constrains its possessor to use the arts and appliances of quackery with the purpose of gaining the suffrages of the public. Popularity is not the great end he seeks. It is not applause he covets—the thundering acclamations of an impulsive populace, the sugared praise of friends or parasites, of patrons or clients; nor the stereotyped epithets of hireling critics. Mere popularity he disdains, and all the arts which insure it; for he possesses an honest confidence in his own strength, and looks calmly, patiently, and prophetically, into the future for his reward. His ambition is not to build a tent rich with gold and tinsel work, glittering with gewgaws, and dazzling the sight with rich and diverse colors; to raise a thin, flapping canopy, which the cold will penetrate, rain tarnish, and the winds destroy; which may indeed evoke the fitful admiration of gaping crowds, but shall soon fall into unseemly tatters, and be huddled away to decay and forgetfulness. He builds a temple, founded

"Upon so high a rock,
Higher standeth none in Spaine;"

which shall be durable as the everlasting hills; and to which generations living in the "far country" of the future shall gather to offer up their homage of veneration. He seeks fame! He burns to achieve a name that men "will not willingly let die;" to print it upon the rock

"That shall not molte away for heate,
And not away with storme's beate;"

which, as the morning star of English poesy has said, was

"Written full of names
Of folke that had afore great fames
Of *olde time*, and *yet* they were
As fresh as men had written hem there
This self-day, or this houre
That I on hem began to poure."

Therefore he does not sigh for military renown. For the hero has "no armor against fate;" like a comet he "rolls, and blazes, and dies;" he is the child of the present; his fame is ever brightest while the story of his prowess is freshest; the boundaries which he established shall be eradicated; his battle fields shall "laugh and sing" under the rich vineyard or the bending grain; new ranks

of men shall fill the vacant places of his victims, and time shall conquer the conqueror Not so with the man of genius. He is not solicitous to perform mere deeds—to fire a temple, sack a city, conquer an army, usurp a kingdom. To him these seem gross and earthly manifestations; things of to-day, which, like the animal that performs them, shall perish; they obliterate from the records of man the story of his advancement in arts, science, refinement, and religion; placing the extremes of social existence—the savage chieftain and the polished hero—upon one footing: for the former may perform deeds as startling as the latter; and the whirl of battle gratifies the barbarous Maximin or his horse, as keenly as the accomplished Julian or the divine Augustus. And herein lies the difference between this spirit—the spirit of force, and the spirit of thought; between power which proceeds from matter, and power which emanates from the soul. The one retrogrades man to infancy; the other advances him, as if by one leap, to robust manhood. The one hurls back the car of refinement and obstructs the fountains of knowledge, hews at the key-stone of the temple of liberty, and undermines the solid walls of religion; the other stands in the stead of experience, as if by inspiration overleaps the barriers of ignorance and time, and pours into the overflowing lap of its possessor all knowledge and refinement, giving to him by instinct what the average of men are generations striving to gain. Thus it happens that it is ever in advance of its age; and, as the example of most famous men proves, is often undervalued by it—like a star whose patient light is unobserved, or, if observed, unheeded; but which, rolling on for ages, ever burning brightly, shall at length be discovered to act as the sun of a universe of suns; and men will enthusiastically do homage to it as the centre of all gravity, the seat of all material energy and order. Genius, which is the highest manifestation of this bright spirit, advances the barbarian to all the sublimities of man's capacities without depressing them or lowering the standard of civilization or refinement. Its possessor waits not for the slow operation of time, but springs forth like the Grecian war-goddess, full-grown and vigorous. So was it with Homer, the old-time barbarian; who, even now, when a century of generations has lapsed, is the highest model for imitation, the day-star of man's noblest ambition: and the hoary-headed harper, wreathed in his immortal robes of verse from his seat far away back in the old world, flings around with the lavish hand of a creator what the slow and plodding disciples of science exhaust centuries in acquiring. For, while the influence of the spirit of force is destructive, that of this beneficent principle is creative. It produces war-

riors that will live when actual heroes are forgotten; crowns ideal beings with a more imperishable fame than the most invulnerable general can gain for himself; gives to the children of fancy a substantial reality, and "makes a soul under the ribs of death." It is the herald and harbinger of arts, science, and philosophy; the evangelist of freedom; the hand-maiden of religion; and conqueror over time.

The period has now arrived when it will be proper to undertake the unpleasant task of pointing out the special defects of our writer, somewhat in detail. And although the productions of this gentleman abound in solecisms of language and gross violations of syntax; although scarcely a paragraph occurs in which he does not commit some wretched verbal error or stumble upon some detestable grammatical heresy; although he not only disregards mere euphony, but pertinaciously uses such words and terms as are inexpressive and inapt—inappropriate to each other and to the sentiments they labor to convey; notwithstanding that his style is turgid, declamatory, and filled to repletion with puffy adjectives—two or more of which unhappy parts of speech are constantly to be seen hobbling along with a haughty noun upon their shoulders; notwithstanding all this, and that his writings are a fair field for criticism and promise tempting returns, we shall only start the hare but will not remain long upon the scent. We do not seek to display their numerous venial faults. Our design has been rather to discuss their moral bearing in general terms, and incidentally to classify the author himself. Meanwhile we rest upon his books, and appeal to them for the justice of our strictures.

Mr. Headley's writings are justly censurable for these among other faults: the feeble structure of his sentences and their redundancy of superlative epithets; the illogical arrangement and inconsequency of his ideas; and his affectation of intensity both of thought and expression. These faults we intend to exhibit without adhering to any particular order; and, for a very obvious reason, shall confine our attention more particularly to portions of his latest and most popular work. Thus, at page 26 of Washington and his Generals, he says—and the paragraph is given as a specimen of these faults epitomized:—

"Whether bowed in fasting and prayer before God in behalf of his country, or taking the fate of the American army on his brave heart—whether retreating before the overwhelming numbers of the enemy, or pouring his furious squadrons to the charge—whether lost in anxious thought, as his eye seeks in vain for some ray amid the gloomy prospect that surrounds him, or spurring his frightened steed amid the broken ice of the angry Delaware in the midst of the midnight storm—

whether galloping into the deadly volleys of the enemy in the strong effort to restore the fight, or wearing the wreath of victory which a grateful nation placed with mingled tears and acclamations on his brow—he is the same self-collected, noble-minded, and resolute man."

Here amidst a sea of epithets both "cold and hot, and moist and dry," we have a description of one who is self-collected at the same moment that he is lost or bewildered in anxious thought! Who is making active exertions to discover a particular natural phenomenon, while his mind is confounded or pre-occupied with solicitous meditations! Upon whose brow, as a sort of crowning grace we presume, mingled tears and acclamations are placed in company with the wreath of victory! This we opine is what Mr. Headley fancies to be "fine writing." This is one of his *intense* passages; one of his powerful paintings!

Again at page 19 he says of Washington,—"Educated only in the common schools, he was offered a midshipman's berth in the British navy when but fourteen years of age." A captious critic might ask, "To whom does the term, fourteen years of age, apply; to Washington or to the British navy?" But without tarrying to discuss that point, we ask, what is the legitimate interpretation of this sentence, under the customary laws of composition? Plainly this; that the advancement and attainments of the person in this unfavorable position—only "a common school"—were such as to attract the attention of those in authority, and to induce the proffer of the honorable station alluded to. As it stands, such is the meaning of this sentence, or it is incoherent. The nominative part of the sentence states a cause, and the objective gives its lateral results. But Mr. Headley means no such thing; and in the succeeding sentence he shows that he was stating several distinct, independent, and disconnected facts:—that Washington had been educated at a common school, and that at a certain age he had been an applicant for admission into the British navy.

And again, at page 21, we find an animated but fragmentary description of Washington's perilous mission to M. de St. Pierre, the French commandant upon the Ohio, introduced by the following feeble and fallacious statement:—"He was sent as commissioner by Governor Dinwiddie to demand of the French commander *why he had invaded the king's colonies?*" At this juncture Mr. Headley's *intensity* seems to have failed him; and such as this, according to his version, was the silly purport, the childish scope, the petty end and aim, of this important mission. Such is the summary and even niggardly manner in which important political transactions are uniformly discussed by this artificial and

headlong writer, in his hot haste to profit by his popularity. His powers are exhausted in the effort to lavish romantic phrases and plethoric particles upon physical and comparatively unimportant performances, while history is deliberately shorn of its strength, and led about like a monkey in a raree-show, to tickle the mob and pick up its pence. The truth is, that Washington's mission to the French was one of great difficulty; involving the most momentous results, and requiring judgment, delicacy, and dignity, firmness, endurance, and moral as well as physical courage, in its performance. He was not merely to carry a bare message, in defiance of "winter's cold or summer's heat." It was not for this that he was selected to encounter difficulties and distress, to hold an undeviating way "across rivers and morasses, over mountains, through fearful gorges, and amid tribes of Indians." The infant colony of Virginia contained scores of men who would have successfully encountered all this. But Washington was chosen by those in authority for these, heightened by other and rarer, qualifications. They had observed in the vigorous man of twenty-one unflinching patriotism, dignity above his years, cool judgment, strict integrity, strong military propensities, and a thorough acquaintance with Indian character. It is true that the ostensible purport of his mission was to demand of the officer commanding the French forces, "by what authority he presumed to invade the king's dominions, and what were his designs." But he was also especially instructed to observe the country through which he passed, and to note its capacity for civil or military possession; to conciliate and confirm the friendship of the Indians; to discover the force of the French then upon the Ohio, as well as the reinforcements that were expected; to ascertain the number and position of their forts, with the force in each, and the character of their equipments; and to penetrate, by his own observation, their designs for the future, as well as their present condition and advancement. Such was the intricate and delicate nature of his commission; and although the difficulties by the way were numerous and imposing, although his sufferings and privations were extreme, Washington seems to have held them cheap when compared with what he endured after he had reached his destination and opened his conference with the French; who spared no wiles nor expense in their attempts to decoy the Indians from their engagements with him, and also to consume his time in fruitless negotiations. In his report to Governor Dinwiddie, he says of his feelings at this time:—"I cannot say that ever in my life I suffered so much anxiety as I did in this affair."

Occasionally, too, in his travail after intensity, Mr. Headley affects the intensely imaginative vein; he would add poet to his other titles. And yet we assert, without fear of serious contradiction, that a purely poetical thought cannot be found in the volumes which stand as the text of this paper; for, however promising may be the opening of a passage, whatever be the intrinsic worth or beauty of a thought, it is ever mangled and deformed in the delivery. For instance, in his sketch of Arnold—in which, as in that of Greene, he exhibits more ability and a juster appreciation of character than appears elsewhere in the collection—he thus discourseth of the Dead River:—"This river receives its name from the silence and tranquillity of its current. It moves like the waters of oblivion through the dark and motionless forest, interrupted only at long intervals by slight falls." Were the late Wm. Hazlitt Mr. Headley's critic, he would scarcely deem it necessary to assure us that his allegory would *bite* no one;—it being disarmed of its potency by the ludicrous and unwearying struggles of the real with the ideal. Meantime he would not fail to admire the new geographical teaching that is evolved, namely, that the current of the river of oblivion "is interrupted at long intervals by slight falls." So unfortunate is Mr. Headley with "figures," we cannot refrain from expressing our surprise at his constant use of them. His treatment of these unfortunates reminds us of those unhappy wretches chronicled in the Arabian Night's Entertainments, who, while they were yet men and retained human appetites and desires, were doomed by the cruel enchantress, their mistress, to assume the shape of beasts and birds, and to be for ever subject to her capricious violence.

This poetical "*cacœthes*" is also exhibited in his numerous descriptions. In these—which are his proudest performances—his poverty is made painfully apparent by the sparsity of ideas, the continual repetition of identical figures and modes of thought, and by a uniform and unvarying general treatment. Thus, in the sketch illustrating Greene's character, there are descriptions of three battles—at Guilford, at Hobkirk's Hill, and at Eutaw Springs. The narration of these three events is confined within thirty consecutive pages, and yet in that short space the instances of his poetical presumption and poverty are almost numberless. In each of these descriptions there is an effort to depict the stillness and solitariness of the scene, as contrasting with, and preparatory to, the whirl and noise of battle. In each there is a forest, which is described as silent and slumberous save when the air or curling smoke stirs the tree-tops. Then, too, there is in each a tedious

prattle about sunrise, and dew-drops, and foliage, and a loquacious lisping of the phrases, "floating banners," "martial music," "lines of light," and "blessed mornings;" proving that the writer's aim has been to gratify the senses with vain tinklings and empty nothings, and to supply a rudder to his paragraphs, like Butler's grand *mithridate* for verses. While he is thus straining after general effect he is heedless of details, and disfigures his paintings by the introduction of violent contradictions; as in his bifold account of the appearance of the troops engaged in the battle at Eutaw. He says:—"With the exception of the officers, there were few bright uniforms to be seen. Whole ranks were barefoot and in rags, and hundreds were stark naked, with nothing but tufts of moss on their shoulders and hips, to keep the muskets and cartridge boxes from chafing their skins." And yet on the ensuing page, when the lights and shadows were to be so disposed as to harmonize with the ensuing delineation of the battle, this tattered array is described in language usually appropriated to a gay and brilliant procession:—"With streaming banners and glittering bayonets the American columns came steadily on."

Another blemish, too gross to pass unobserved, and that has been severely commented upon by critics, is our author's constantly recurring repetitions. He has himself noticed this fault, as is common with men of his mold, only to extenuate it. In the Preface to "Washington and his Generals," he says:—

"I have avoided repetition as much as possible, but yet have chosen in some places to let this fault remain, in order to secure an object I could not reach without it. In going over the same scenes, and frequently over the same battles, it is not only inevitable, but necessary to a clear narrative. Besides, the intense words of our language are easily exhausted; and one is often compelled, in describing thrilling scenes, to choose between a weak sentence and the repetition of strong words, and perhaps of similar comparisons. Repetition has been a standing charge against my 'Napoleon and his Marshalls;' yet if I were to rewrite it a thousand times I could not avoid it, without making half the scenes tame and common-place."

Now, it is not only "in going over the *same* scenes," nor in descriptions of the *same* battles and of thrilling occurrences, that this defect is most frequently and offensively obtruded. The repetitions which destroy his character for artistical finish and for dignity of style, and which lie against the fecundity of his inventive powers, and the vigor of his intellect, are repetitions of common-place ideas, of cant words, of tinkling and intemperate phrases, of arbitrary modes of expression, of heated and stereotyped epithets, and

of identical thoughts. They are not sanctioned nor excused by the difficulty of the case; the subject does not force them upon the author, but, contrariwise, they are foisted by him upon it. They are either useless, or serve only to eke out a barren sentence; to supply the place of studious, and so irksome, thought, and to make up the due amount of verbiage. Furthermore, while this passage is a truthful exemplification of our author's custom of pushing his crude notions heedlessly forward, and of his determination to make all things revolve around and bow down to him as their centre, it also furnishes us with a characteristic specimen of his fallacious reasoning. For the unwitting confession which it contains of the author's sterility, is tortured into an argument against the copiousness of our noble English tongue:—"The intense words of our language are easily exhausted!" At the risk of provoking a smile for our earnestness, we do most indignantly deny that our sonorous, million-hued language, is deficient in words of intensest meaning; and that any dexterous trickery is necessary in order to express the most intricate or the most delicate, the most eloquent, the most subtil, or the most sublime ideas by it. The mighty masters who have "struck its golden lyre,"—Shakspeare, Milton, Chaucer, Spenser, Dryden, Wordsworth, and our own Bryant, among poets; Burke, Sheridan, Fox, Wyndham, Erskine, Chatham, Webster, Clay, and Henry, among orators; and also the revered translators of our English Bible—all prove its unequaled scope, its unsurpassed power. Throwing all others out of the count, Shakspeare alone has touched its chords to every tone—now breathing from it soft music, as of whispering winds and leaves; and now rolling off symphonies like "rattling peals of thunder." Every shade of passion or of feeling, from the first gnawings of the "she-wolf," avarice, to its "hunger-mad" satiety; from the earliest stings of the viper, envy, to its final poison of crime; from stubborn hate to devouring rage and glutted revenge; from tender, tear-compelling, dewy sorrow, to grinding anguish; from broken-heartedness to phrensy; from love's faint flush to the burning fever of jealousy—whatever of intensity the mind of man can conceive, or his language utter, this emperor of poets has "embalmed to a life beyond life" in our magnificent and copious English.

We have already affirmed that Mr. Headley's writings tend to exalt the sensual or merely physical part of our nature over the spiritual and intellectual; that with him the mind must ever cringe before the red right hand. And that this is no fanciful charge his delineation of the character of Washington is standing evidence. This de-

scription of Washington is but a new combination of his materials for the article, hero; the same as had been formerly used in delineating Murat or Napoleon. Thus of Washington's boyhood, he gives no other account than that he loved to leap and wrestle; that he was pre-eminent in all athletic sports; that he was used to marshall his playmates in mimic battle; and that he had a predilection for the sea. No word of his manly probity while his years were yet tender; of his ardent love and his respectful consideration for his mother; of his precocious conscientiousness, industry, and precision; or of the early strength of his character for integrity and judgment, as was shown by the deference paid to him by his playmates, who were accustomed to refer all their disputes to his arbitrament. So also of his youth and early manhood; the barren text of this gentleman gives no syllable in illustration of the rare judgment, the self-denying patriotism, and the transcendent merit, which attracted the attention of the colonial government, and resulted in his employment upon the most important and difficult undertakings; nothing of the warmth of his affections, the steadiness of his friendship, the sensibility of his honor, or the purity of his motives; naught in relation to his public spirit, or his comprehensive views of public policy; nothing of that singular combination of dignity, probity, wisdom, virtue, and conduct, which inspired all his companions with reverence and love for him, and which, when he was not yet twenty-four years old, created the conviction among all classes of men—so that it was matter of public observation even from the pulpit—that he was "destined by Providence to perform some signal service to his country." Naught of all this; but in its stead we have a labored detail of his adventures in proof that he was bold, courageous, adventurous, and able to endure great fatigue and suffering: we are told that he "spent a good deal of his spare time in duck shooting, and was considered a capital shot; that he was a youth of strong and *terrible* passions;" and that, "in a letter home, describing his first battle, he said, 'I heard the bullets whistle, and, believe me, there is something charming in the sound.'" Clutching eagerly at this fiction of the gossiping author of the Castle of Otranto—to one of whose heroes the expression seems more congenial than to Washington—and hailing it as a lucky provocative for the palates of his readers, our author improves upon the text of his noble original by remarking, as if with a patronizing caress, "There spoke the bold young warrior, to whom the rattle of musketry and thunder of artillery are the music that his stern soul loves." Equally false and unjust is the assertion that Washington "was a youth of strong

and *terrible* passions." Strong, his passions undoubtedly were; but he early gained the mastery over them, and held them firmly under control; or if he did occasionally give way to them, still it is false that they were ever intemperate, utterly false that they were ever so exhibited as to merit the epithet "*terrible*." It is impossible to point to a single circumstance in his whole life that will warrant the term. It stands, a miserable slander against the canonized fame of our Washington. But then, in both these instances, a point is made,—the darling main-chance duly cared for, the sacred "*ad captandum*" principle enforced,—even though Washington's character be sacrilegiously befouled. We use no mincing terms; we say sacrilege! And it is no mitigation of the evil to plead the haste, or the recklessness, or the ignorance, of its author. For if a noble temple is to be defaced, let it be by civilized and refined men who will bear away its treasures, its stately columns, its works of art, and set them up for separate admiration in distant lands; but Heaven avert the blind inroads of Goths and Vandals! But if, in the delineation of Washington's youth and early manhood, he has shorn him of his characteristic and peculiar greatness, and appareled him in the garb of a mere hero, he has visited no less injury upon his maturer years. Those rare virtues and rarer qualities of mind whose just harmony distinguish him from all others, and have invested his memory with a sanctity which years do not impair, are all passed heedlessly over. And if this great man were to be adjudged upon the traits and incidents that are here recorded of him, he would dwindle away to the populous level of those brave soldiers and good generals who have graced every clime and country, and every period of time. The whiteness of Washington's fame is sullied, and his symmetrical character defaced, by qualities that find their rise in the mind of his pseudo historian. Assaying to paint a character which he understood not, and with which he had scarcely a sympathy in common, he has aspersed and blackened it—supplanting Washington's massive principles and *statuesque* passions by his own flippant and petty emotions. With the qualifications of a bricklayer he would dare to reform the faults of a Venus de Medici; and, while he mars its beauty and deforms its symmetry, would chuckle complacently over his success.

We have casually remarked upon the hot haste with which Mr. Headley passes over the period of Washington's youth, and his failure or neglect to illustrate it. With the exception of his sketch of Putnam, and perhaps of Greene, this complaint stands against every character he has ventured to describe. To have dwelt upon

the youth of the noble founders of our country; to have witnessed the gradual unfolding of their characteristics, their tempers, and their affections; to have marked the incidents which swayed or directed their tastes and principles; to have shown in what manner

"The child was father to the man;"

would have been delightful and instructive, and would have gone far to redeem the bustling, animal tendencies of his writings. But this would have required skill and care, and a studious investigation of human nature; above all, it would have cost *time*—and so it was left undone. Beyond the history of some ordinary adventure or idle prank, which had no bearing upon future character; aside from a mere mention of the phrase, "early youth," that most important season of life is entirely forgotten or disregarded. Moultrie first appears upon the stage at the age of thirty; Knox's eighteenth year and Lincoln's twenty-second, Lee's twenty-fourth and Stark's twenty-seventh, are the starting-points of their history. Nor is this course pursued with these only; it is the same with Marion and Morgan, with Sterling, Sullivan, Clinton, and several others. And so the sympathies of our youth are permitted to slumber; neither their virtues nor their exertions are stimulated by the detail of worthy examples.

Thus, then, we are unable to commend Mr. Headley's writings to our countrymen as models upon which to form either their style or their sentiments. As to the former, we must pronounce them crude, gaudy, and flaunting—averring that they bear the same relation to any acknowledged standard of literary excellence, that the flaming red and yellow prints of the toyshops do to the productions of high art. Hasty, sketchy, and superficial, they require no outlay of thought on the part of the reader, as they certainly did not from the writer; are unfavorable to those habits of study and application which we are used to bestow upon the grave matters they discuss; and are, at the same time, clogged with errors of judgment, perversions of fact, unfounded opinions, and inconsiderate assertions. Copious, fluent, and florid, they intoxicate the youthful mind and relax it, superinducing depraved tastes, and ministering to that unsubstantiality which is so large an ingredient of our national character, and of which such writings are themselves the spumy offspring and true type. Flippant and loquacious, they cause the cultivated reader to exclaim, with the perplexed and teased character in Ben Jonson's Poetaster,—

"She told me I should surely never perish
By famine, poison, or the enemy's sword:

> The hectic fever, cough, nor pleurisie,
> Should never hurt me, nor the tardy gout:
> But, in my time, *I should be once surprised*
> *By a strong tedious talker, that should vex*
> *And almost bring me to consumption.*"

Such is our judgment upon this writer's style, while we consider his productions even more faulty in sentiment. Inculcating a blind worship of the war-god, they advance the warrior before all others, bidding statesmen, poets, and philosophers, succumb before him; and they hail war as the grand medicamentum that is to cure all ills, alleviate all burdens, procure all reforms, remedy all distress. And so the veil is removed from before the hideous demon whose throne is built upon human skulls. Meantime, lest our manhood should come to be affrighted at its hellish hue, we are to be accustomed in our youth to gaze familiarly upon its glaring eyes and haggard countenance; and even "smooth-faced, glorious boyhood," is encouraged to toy with its ensanguined blade, and to contemplate with curious eyes its direful ravages. We believe this teaching to be heretical. We affirm that it effaces God's image from the soul of man, and that its prevalence among a people will render them tumultuous and blood-thirsty, will drain the land of its best blood, and will lay desolate many a paternal heart. We believe, moreover, that this teaching is time-serving; that it was carefully calculated to chime in with the high-strung sensibilities of our nation; and that it panders to the appetites of a people who are but too ready to embrace this "monster with the deadly sting." And while we deprecate the frantic eagerness with which they lap up news of battle and of bloodshed, we denounce as unwise, impolitic, and unchristian, all attempts to soften down the fiendish features of this demon, all efforts to blind men's eyes to his primitive ugliness, or to accustom, and thus reconcile, them to his detestable passions. For we call to mind the fabling wisdom of an old poet, and read that familiarity will rob the most frightful object of its terrors:—

> "For the fox,
> When he saw first the forest's king, the lion,
> Was almost dead with fear; the second view
> Only a little daunted him; the third,
> He durst salute him boldly."

We have dwelt with particular emphasis upon the moral tendency of Mr. Headley's writings, because they are intended for, and will be universally read by, the youth of our country. These are impulsive; their passions are yet in excess, and their reasoning

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faculties dormant. They are prone to admire broad and startling masses of color, rather than a just harmony of parts; and are more powerfully attracted by dazzling, though evil, actions, than by such as are momentous or meritorious. They reverence the hand that executes more than the head that plans; the animal more than the man. Their appetites are yet chaotic, and they devour the evil and the good indiscriminately; careless or ignorant that the former, being more congenial to their nature than the latter, is correspondingly powerful also. Moreover, this is their "white paper age," susceptible to every impression, whether of beauty or deformity. Now we are so old-fashioned as to believe that, as the neophyte in painting or sculpture diligently studies the best works of the greatest masters; as he lavishes his time in search of their perfections, and educates his tastes and elevates his nature by the contemplation of their masterpieces—thus molding himself in the love of beauty and grandeur, till they become fixed properties of his soul—so the plastic mind of youth should be also molded in the love and admiration of wisdom, honor, and virtue: so taught to recognize these steadfast principles from their counterfeits, and to elect them as their guides. For we would have the minds of the young cultivated in such wise that they will instinctively reject vice, however gilded, and as instinctively prefer virtue, however modest. We would instill a repugnance for the former similar to that which we feel for the bloated spider or venomous snake, and a love for the latter such as every child has for flowers.

We take leave of Mr. Headley without touching upon the differences between Mr. Lippard and himself—being contented with the remark, that as the teaching of the one and its tendencies are justly liable to the severest censure, so is it with the other also. They both beat about for vicious excitements to taste, with the eager solicitude of professed romance writers: both exhaust their inventive powers in evoking taking titles, and torture their ingenuity in the effort after startling and vivid descriptions: and both belong to the throng of petty writers who obstruct the growth of a sound national literature, by taking forcible possession of the popular mind—preoccupying it, to the disparagement of more elevated authors. It may be urged, in the "cant" of the day, that the writings of these gentlemen are "purely American;" American in their tendencies, style, and mode of thought. But are they more so than the works of Chief Justice Marshall, Professor Sparks, or Mr. Bancroft? We opine not. These eminent men have treated upon our revolutionary history with the severity and dignity appropriate to a topic so elevated; and while they maintain and

exemplify American character, they are yet cosmopolitan—understood and appreciated the world over. They have labored earnestly in the highest walk of art, eschewing all trickery and legerdemain. Like the noble paintings of our countrymen, West and Allston, their works will live "for aye;" when the showy canvass of feebler artists shall have passed away into decay and forgetfulness. D.

Art. V.—*An American Dictionary of the English Language: exhibiting the Origin, Orthography, Pronunciation, and Definition of Words.* By Noah Webster, LL. D. Abridged from the quarto edition of the author. To which are added, A Synopsis of Words differently pronounced by different Orthoepists; and Walker's Key to the Classical Pronunciation of Greek, Latin, and Scripture Proper Names. Revised and enlarged by Chauncey A. Goodrich, Professor in Yale College. With the Addition of a Vocabulary of modern Geographical Names, with their Pronunciation. One volume, royal octavo. Pp. 1400. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1847.

Nineteen years have elapsed since Dr. Webster's great work was first completed and given to the world. It was, literally, the labor of a life, and of a life, too, extended beyond the ordinary limits, and industriously occupied beyond that of most other men. Soon after the author left college, when he had just published his Spelling Book—a work of which twenty-four millions of copies have now been printed—he was advised by a literary friend to undertake the preparation of an English dictionary, suited to the wants and institutions of our country. At that time he felt himself wholly inadequate to the task proposed. But the suggestion seems never afterward to have been absent from his mind; and from this period the study of the English language became the favorite, and, during much of his time, the absorbing pursuit of his life. Soon after this period he prepared an extensive course of lectures on this subject, which were delivered in the principal cities of the United States, and gave him a high reputation, as a philologist and scholar, among those devoted to similar studies, or who took an interest in them. During his subsequent employment as a member of the legal profession, and afterward, when, for a time, he was the conductor of a public journal, his philological studies were never relinquished. He was steadily accumulating materi-

als in his favorite department, to be ready for future use, and was constantly widening the sphere of his inquiries into the philosophy of language; until, in the year 1806, he published a small dictionary, in the octavo form, embracing many words which were to be found in no other work of the kind, with the definitions corrected throughout with much care, though necessarily expressed in very brief terms. This publication he considered both as a preparatory exercise, and as an experiment with the public in reference to the great work, on which his mind had been so long and so intently fixed. In the following year he entered upon the task of preparing the American Dictionary, and continued his labors with his characteristic ardor and perseverance, in the midst of numerous difficulties and discouragements, for the period of twenty years. His views, at the first, extended no further than to the correction of errors existing in the most approved English dictionaries, and the addition of many thousands of new words, or new senses of words, which he had collected from the best English authors in his extensive course of reading. As he advanced, however, the subject of *etymology* was continually forced upon his attention, and, as he states in his preface, he found himself embarrassed at every step, from not understanding the origin of the words which he was called upon to define. At length he suspended his labors on this part of the subject for a number of years, and directed all his efforts to the single object of finding what are the *primary* senses of the leading terms in our language, from which the secondary and remoter senses branch out in regular succession. To accomplish this object, he found it necessary to go back to the other languages from which our own is derived, until, at last, he embraced more than twenty different languages in the circle of his investigations. Having thus satisfied himself, to a great extent, on this branch of the subject, and having obtained a clew to guide him in these intricate and often perplexing inquiries, he resumed his suspended labor on definitions with increased interest and success. He acted on the principle, throughout, of never defining any important word (as most of his predecessors had done) by a mere enumeration of synonyms, or by a loose and indefinite description of its different uses. He went back to what he considered the primary physical idea in which the term originated. He endeavored to bind the different and often discordant senses of a word together, by some common principle; to trace their origin from a common stock, and to mark their development in a regular chronological or philosophical order of succession. "It is," as an able writer has observed, "owing to the fact that Dr. Webster proposed to himself this *ideal*

of a definition, that his dictionary so much surpasses every other;" and it is this which has enabled it to fight its way through much opposition, arising from causes to which we shall advert in another part of this article, and which, we are happy to say, are now in a great measure removed. Besides this logical accuracy of definition, Dr. Webster added a new feature to his work, giving to it an increased interest and value. We refer to his introduction, for the first time, into an English dictionary, of the leading and most important terms employed in the various departments of science and the arts. This was rendered indispensable, by a change which has taken place in our literature within the last thirty years. Subjects of this kind are now extensively discussed in our numerous and widely circulated reviews and other periodicals. They constitute no inconsiderable part of modern literature; and it is a striking proof of the sagacity of Dr. Webster, that he anticipated this change from its commencement, and furnished the general reader with the means of entering intelligently into these new fields of interesting thought and speculation.

Having visited Europe, and spent a year in England and France, for the greater perfection of his work, Dr. Webster laid the result of his labors before the world, in the year 1828. The edition then published contained twelve thousand words, and between thirty and forty thousand definitions, which were not to be found in any preceding dictionary. To the further improvement of his work he devoted the remainder of his life, so far as his advanced years would permit. He printed a second edition in 1840, containing several thousand additional words, with a correction of terms in a few branches of physical science. After this, he still continued the task of revision and improvement, by means of *addenda*, down to the time of his death, in 1843, a period of thirty-six years from the commencement of his work, and of nearly sixty years from those initiatory studies by which he prepared the way for the accomplishment of his great design. By these labors he has not only erected a lasting monument to his own fame, but has conferred, also, an honorable distinction on the country and age in which he lived, and whose welfare, for generations to come, he did so much to advance. Errors and imperfections must, indeed, be expected in such a work as is the American Dictionary. "No single mind can enter, with perfect exactness, into all the multiplied distinctures of thought and action, among a highly civilized people." The language, too, is in a state of slow, but continual progress, from one degree of refinement and copiousness to another, which leaves some part of our best dictionaries behind it, every year of

its advancement. Still, the American Dictionary has maintained a high, a deserved pre-eminence, over every other, especially in respect to its definitions, in the general estimation of this country and of Europe. As evidence of the views entertained of it in England, the biographer of Dr. Webster states, that a gentleman who inquired some years since, at one of the principal bookselling establishments in London, for the best English dictionary on their shelves, was handed the work of Dr. Webster, with the remark, "That, sir, is the only *real* dictionary which we have of our language, though it was prepared by an American."

The volume whose title is placed at the head of this article, and which we propose more particularly to review, is an abridgment of the large work, made in 1829, soon after its first appearance, and designed, by its price and structure, for general use and circulation. It contains all the words of the quarto edition, with the leading etymologies. "The definitions," as stated in the preface, "remain unaltered, except by an occasional compression in the statement of them. All the significations of words, as exhibited in the larger work, are retained, but the illustrations and authorities are generally omitted. In doubtful or contested cases, however, they are carefully retained." A Synopsis of words differently pronounced by different orthoepists was prefixed to the volume, and Walker's Key to the Pronunciation of Classical and Scripture Names was introduced as an Appendix. This volume has been very widely circulated throughout the United States during the last eighteen years; and it is by means of this, chiefly, owing to its low price and convenient size, that the American Dictionary has been known to the great body of our citizens. We have, therefore, made it the basis of the present article, though the remarks which follow are, most of them, equally applicable to the larger work.

Of this abridgment and the larger work conjointly, a very extended and thorough revision has recently been made by the Rev. Chauncey A. Goodrich, D. D., professor in Yale College. Respecting this gentleman, who has been for thirty years before the public, as one of the officers of a distinguished literary institution, it is not necessary that we should speak at large. His well-known literary tastes and habits, his long and familiar acquaintance with English literature, and his industry and thoroughness in all that he undertakes, eminently qualify him for revising and editing such a work, and afford the best ground of presumption that his task has been executed with faithfulness and ability. He is, moreover, the son-in-law of Dr. Webster, and may therefore be supposed to be in full possession of the author's views respecting

everything connected with the improvement of this work, while he has had the strongest motives of personal attachment to make it as perfect as possible: add to this that he has devoted about three years of assiduous labor to carrying on the revision, and has also had the constant aid of two assistants in his labors for nearly the same period. We are bound, also, to mention the peculiar advantages which Professor Goodrich has enjoyed for conducting this revision, and his promptitude in using them to the utmost of his power, that our readers may see the prima facie evidence which this volume affords, that no pains have been spared to render it as complete as possible. Within the last few years, a large number of works, in the form of special dictionaries and encyclopedias, have appeared, far more perfect than any former productions of the kind, which have afforded peculiar facilities for such an undertaking, and enabled the editor to give greater accuracy to his revision than could possibly have been attained at an earlier period. He enumerates between twenty and thirty works of this kind, each one of standard authority, and most of them recently published, which have been, as we are informed in his preface, collated with this dictionary throughout; such as the Oxford Glossary of Architecture, (1845;) M'Culloch's Commercial Dictionary, (1848;) in classical antiquities, Smith's Dictionary, (1846;) in respect to the antiquities of the church, the elaborate work of Coleman, (1841;) and Hook's Church Dictionary, (1844;) in natural history, Partington's Cyclopedia and Jardine's Naturalist's Library; in geology, mineralogy, and some associated branches of natural history, Humble's Dictionary of Terms in these departments; in manufactures and the arts, Dr. Ure's Dictionary, with its supplement, (1845;) Bouvier's Law Dictionary; Campbell's Military Dictionary; Totten's Naval Dictionary; Hebert's Engineer's and Mechanic's Cyclopedia; Brande's Cyclopedia; and other works of the same elevated character for completeness and accuracy; together with all the recent dictionaries of our language. It is perfectly obvious, that in calling to his aid such works as the foregoing, and others of equal merit which might be included in the list, the editor has enjoyed great facilities for giving to his revision of the American Dictionary a degree of completeness and general excellence, which unquestionably place it far above all others in our language.

But, beyond all this, Professor Goodrich has not confined himself to such aid as books, however valuable, could give him, but he has derived very great assistance from his associates in office, and other gentlemen, whose names are a guaranty for the correctness and value of any information which they might give him

in their various departments of study. The importance of such aid, in a work so miscellaneous and comprehensive, no one can doubt; for, as the editor observes in his preface,—

"It is quite impossible for any one mind to embrace, with accuracy, all the various departments of knowledge which are now brought within the compass of a dictionary. Hence arise a great proportion of the errors and inconsistencies which abound in most works of this kind."

To obviate, as far as possible, this evil, the editor has obtained very important help in his labors from the gentlemen whose names are given below, and to whom he has tendered, in the volume before us, his special acknowledgments for the service they have rendered him. An arrangement was early made by him with Dr. James G. Percival, who had rendered important assistance to Dr. Webster in the edition of 1828, "to take the entire charge of revising the scientific articles embraced in the work. And when, after proceeding through two or three letters of the alphabet, he was obliged to desist, from causes beyond the control of either party," other aid, from gentlemen in various professional departments, was procured. The Hon. Elizur Goodrich, formerly professor of law in Yale College, collated the articles on law with Blackstone and Bouvier's Law Dictionary, and corrected the few errors that were found to exist. In the departments of ecclesiastical history and ancient philosophy, the Rev. James Murdock, D. D., late professor in the Theological Seminary at Andover, has made a thorough revision, and furnished new and valuable definitions in a great number of instances. The terms in chemistry have passed under the revision of Professor Silliman, of Yale College. In anatomy, physiology, medicine, botany, and some other branches of natural history, the editor acknowledges his obligations for valuable assistance rendered him by Dr. Wm. Tully, lately a professor in the medical institution connected with Yale College. On topics in oriental literature, Professor Gibbs is referred to as having lent assistance. In articles on astronomy, meteorology, and natural philosophy, Professor Olmsted has done much to improve the work. The definitions in mathematics, after having been compared with those given in the dictionaries of Hutton or Barlow, have been submitted to the revision of Professor Stanley. In the sciences of geology and mineralogy, a thorough revision of the whole volume has been made by James D. Dana, Esq., geologist and mineralogist to the United States Exploring Expedition, and associate editor of the American Journal of Science and Art, whose contributions to the work have greatly enhanced its value.

In practical astronomy and entomology, the name of Edward C. Herrick, Esq., librarian of Yale College, is mentioned. The articles on painting and the fine arts have been subjected to the inspection of Nathaniel Jocelyn, Esq., painter, of New-Haven, by whom some new definitions have been supplied. In conclusion, the editor adds:—

"A correspondence has been carried on with literary gentlemen in England, and especially with one of the contributors to the Penny Cyclopedia. Extended lists of words have been transmitted for examination, and returned with ample notes and explanations. Much obscurity has thus been removed in regard to the use of words which have a peculiar sense in England, especially some of frequent occurrence at the universities, in the circles of trade, and in the familiar intercourse of life."

We have been thus minute in making these statements, derived mostly from the editor's preface, for the single purpose of showing that few persons, if any, ever enjoyed so many and so important facilities for giving to the world a dictionary that should be entitled to the character of a *permanent* and *standard* dictionary of the English language.

We now proceed, therefore, with our main design, which is to give a somewhat full and exact account of the volume before us, as the result of a careful examination into its real intrinsic merits. The editor informs us, that the additions and alterations of the large work, which were made by Dr. Webster in the edition of 1840, have all been inserted, under their proper heads, in this abridgment, together with his subsequent improvements down to the period of his death. In respect to the improvements made by the editor himself, in the course of this revision, we can state them with greater clearness by considering the work under several distinct aspects.

First, in relation to the *new* words introduced into it. "Some thousands of such words," the editor informs us, "have been added in the course of this revision." He subjoins, "The number might have been swelled to many thousands more, without the slightest difficulty." The difficulty, we are well aware, lies on the other side; not in introducing new terms, but in judiciously and properly restraining and limiting their introduction. It is the tendency of our language at the present day, and of all spoken languages, as knowledge increases, and the sciences are more and more cultivated, to assume an increasing copiousness, by the continual introduction into them of new and before unused forms of expression. This tendency needs, we think, to be watched and judiciously guarded, but

not wholly repressed. We like what the editor has said on this subject, and shall be excused for quoting his views a little further. He says, in regard to this matter,—

"There is at the present day, especially in England, a boldness of innovation which amounts to absolute licentiousness. A hasty introduction into our dictionaries of new terms, under such circumstances, is greatly to be deprecated. Our vocabulary is already incumbered with a multitude of words which have never formed a permanent part of English literature, and it is a serious evil to add to their number. Nothing, on the contrary, is so much needed as a thorough expurgation of our dictionaries in this respect,—the rejection of many thousands of words which may properly find a place in the glossaries of antiquarians, as a curious exhibition of what has been *proposed*, but never *adopted*, as a part of our language, but which, for that reason, can have no claim to stand in a dictionary designed for general use."

Still, while these remarks are both true and important, it is admitted on all hands that *some* new words must from time to time be introduced. The very progress of society, in the various elements of a higher and a higher civilization, demands it. And it would be alike unwise and useless to attempt to prevent it. The only difficulty lies in determining, by any fixed rules beforehand, how *many* and *what* new words shall be adopted into the language, and stamped as legitimate and proper English terms. A just medium is undoubtedly to be observed between the haste with which some recent lexicographers have introduced into their pages the fantastic or sportive inventions of such writers as Coleridge, Carlyle, Charles Lamb, &c., and the rigid purism of an older class of critics, who can tolerate nothing but what has been sanctioned by long and established usage. So far as our observation extends, we think Professor Goodrich has been fortunate in preserving this medium. All his additions to the vocabulary which have fallen under our notice appear to us desirable, and many of them, certainly, are of the highest importance. We subjoin a few, as specimens of hundreds more that might be mentioned. A large proportion, as would naturally be supposed, are terms in the various sciences, or such as relate to new discoveries and inventions in the arts and conveniences of life. In chemistry, geology, mineralogy, and natural history, the additions appear to be very numerous, and indeed there is hardly any department which has not received important accessions. Without specifying these, however, we will mention a few terms which will be more interesting to the general reader:—

"Air-plant, *n.*, a plant which grows by nutriment derived from the air, without being rooted in earth or any other substance." "Boule-

vard, *n.*, [Fr.,] *originally*, the rampart of a fortified city; *now*, a public walk or street, occupying the site of demolished fortifications." "Coupon, *n.*, [Fr.,] an interest certificate, printed at the bottom of transferable bonds, (state, railroad, &c.,) given for a term of years. There are as many of these certificates as there are payments of interest to be made. At each time of payment one is cut off, (hence its name, *coupon*, a *cut-off*,) and presented for payment." "Chaparral, *n.*, [Sp.,] a thicket of low evergreen oaks." "Ivory-nut, *n.*, the nut of a species of palm, (the *phytelephus macrocarpa*,) often as large as a hen's egg, consisting of a close-grained and very hard substance, resembling the finest ivory in texture and color, and often wrought into ornamental work." "Rancho, *n.*, [Sp.,] in Mexico, a small hamlet, or large farming establishment for rearing cattle and horses. It is thus distinguished from a *hacienda*, which is a cultivated farm or plantation." "Orotund, *n.*, [L. *os* and *rotundum*,] a mode of intonation directly from the larynx, which has a fullness, clearness, strength, smoothness, and ringing or musical quality, which forms the highest perfection of the human voice."

We add the following without giving the definitions:—

"*Alarm-clock*, *almshouse*, as distinguished in England from poorhouse, *anastatic printing*, *animal magnetism*, *bank bill*, as distinguished in England from bank note, *beeswax*, *bench-warrant*, *black-walnut*, *black-vomit*. *Blue-stocking*, (the term is derived from the *blue-stocking clubs*, or meetings of ladies, in Johnson's time, for conversation with distinguished literary men. A Mr. Stillingfleet, one of the leading members who gave these meetings their highest interest, always appeared at them in *blue stockings*; and hence this appellation was sportively given to these meetings, and to the ladies who frequented them.) *Betrayal*, *bobbinet*, *brass-band*, *bulbl*, *cactus*, *canonicity*, *childe*, as in Childe Harold, *clerstory*. To send to *Coventry*, among military men, to exclude from the society of the mess, to shut out from all social intercourse, for conduct regarded as mean or ungentlemanly. [The phrase has been traced to the times of Charles I., though with great doubt as to its origin. The following facts, mentioned by Baxter, may perhaps explain it. Coventry was a stronghold of the Puritans, and, at the commencement of the troubles, many of this despised sect in the neighboring country, 'that would fain have lived quietly at home, were forced (by the royalists) to be gone, *and to Coventry they came*.' Hence the phrase, *to send to Coventry*, may have been handed down from the cavaliers to military men, and obtained its present application.—*Ed.*] *Cast-steel*, *to chair*, (Eng.,) *chairing*, *cassava*, *catafalco*, *celebrant*. *Chiltern hundreds*, a tract in Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire, Eng., to which is attached the nominal office of steward under the crown. As members of parliament cannot resign their seats, when they wish to go out they accept this nominal office, or stewardship, and thus vacate their seats. *Chinchilla*, *clinker*, *club-house*, *coir*, *conclavist*, *constant*, in physics, *conventionalism*, *croupier*, *dead letter*, *demitint*, *douche*, *drop-scene*, *drosky*, *dumb-show*, *dumb-waiter*, *eau de Cologne*, *egg-plant*, *eulogistic*, *false-keel*, *el-dorado*, *eminent domain*, (in law,) *flying*

buttress, flying-squirrel, gallopade, gradient, guncotton, hydropathy, hydropathic, ice-cream, katydid, kyarnize, lariat, leverage, looming, letter of credit, lefthanded or *morganatic marriage, life-buoy, to lunch, mass-book, malingering*, among soldiers, *messianic, magellanic clouds, middleman*, in Ireland, *navigability, neuralgic, or-molu, pall-bearer, philopena, poudrette, patroon, pomology, pomological, pre-pay, pre-payment, prime-minister, Puseyism, practical-joke, red-letter-day, ratchet-wheel, restorationist, shako, shake-down*, (Eng.,) *stand-point, sea-letter, stampede, Swedenborgian, toggle-joint, union* of a flag, *voltageur, vomito, warehousing* system," &c.

These terms, and a great multitude of others, are now introduced into this dictionary for the first time. We have taken them with but little effort at selection, and we believe they are a fair specimen of many hundreds of others which might be mentioned. While, then, we would strongly deprecate the needless admission of new words into our language, and while we are of the opinion that many which have already found their way into our dictionaries ought never to have been placed there, we would again express our approbation of the course which has been pursued, in relation to this subject, by the editor of the revised work before us.

But, besides the adoption of new *terms*, every living language is, from time to time, branching out its old words into new *significations*, expressive of new shades of thought. The editor has bestowed much care upon this department of his labors. One cannot take up the work and look into any of its pages without finding, under very many of the important words, evidence of these changes continually going on in our language in this particular, and some new and careful explanation of the terms added, to conform the definitions to these new meanings. The following are a few examples. Under the word *ablution*, the reader will find the sixth definition, given by Professor Goodrich, an entirely *new* one, yet it is one which a Roman Catholic priest will recognize instantly. It is thus given :—

"6th. In the Roman Catholic Church, a small quantity of wine and water, which is used to wash the chalice and the priest's fingers, after communion, and is then drunk by the priest."

Under *absorption*, the second and third meanings given are new ones, and yet they are both of them such as that their propriety will be recognized at once. These meanings are, "entire occupation of mind, as *absorption* in business," and, "in physiology, the taking up of matter by the absorbent vessels, as the lacteals," &c. As a further illustration of the improvements made in this respect, we subjoin the following, in which the words italicised

have received new definitions correspondent to the sense expressed:—

"To *abstract* goods from a parcel; to *appropriate* money for building ships; an *appropriation* to purchase books; an *accident* has befallen him; the *actual* situation of affairs, (Burke;) to *approve* the decision of a court martial; the *adventures* of one's life; the *alternate* of a delegate to an ecclesiastical body; he abounded in *anecdote;* the *attachments* of a muscle; to *bore* with long stories; he is a great *bore;* a *challenge* to a debate; the *challenge* of a sentinel; a *challenger* at elections; he has a great deal of *character;* to act as the *chaperon* of a lady; the *charge* given by one clergyman to another at an ordination; the Wesleyan *connection;* the *demise* of Mr. Pitt."

This list might be extended to very great length. We have had the curiosity to look over a large number of words, comparing the former edition with the recent one, in relation to this subject, and we have been struck with the very careful, and minute, and elaborate revision which the editor has made, in respect only to the particular class of improvements here brought to view. The accuracy and care required in such a revision, few can fully estimate. We do not wonder to hear him say, that the preparation of this volume has, with all the assistance he has received, consumed nearly three years of his life. What, then, must have been the amount of thought—of careful, discriminating, patient, protracted thought—expended upon the entire work, from its first conception in the mind of the author to its present improved state!

Besides these, there is another class of additions, of no small importance, with which this volume is now enriched. We refer to the insertion of a large number of words and phrases, from the learned and foreign languages, which have been of late very frequently quoted in English works of literature or science. It is therefore highly important, for those who are unacquainted with these languages, that words of this kind, which frequently occur, should be introduced into a dictionary. This is very fully done in the volume before us. The words are printed in italics, to indicate that they are not yet naturalized in our language, and the pronunciation is given, in most cases, by respelling.

We may mention one addition more which the editor has made to this abridgment: he has given it the character of a *Synonymous* Dictionary. He remarks, as to this addition of *synonyms:*—

"Every one engaged in literary composition has felt, at times, the want of such a work; a work not intended, like Crabb's, to discriminate nicely between the shades of meaning in similar terms, but to present, under each of the important words, an extended list of others having the same general import, out of which a selection may be made,

according to the exigencies of the case. Under each of the important words, all others having the same general signification are arranged together, except in cases where they have been previously exhausted in framing the definitions. This arrangement, it is hoped, will be found of frequent use, even to those who are practiced in composition; while it will afford important aid to young writers, in attaining grace, variety, and copiousness of diction."

From a cursory examination, we should think there were many thousands of words to which the synonyms are thus appended. And we think the advantages thus afforded the young writer, especially, will be ample recompense to the editor for the labor he has thus bestowed.

We will now advert to another topic, which has sometimes given rise to an objection against this work, even among those who approved highly of its general character. Some have imagined that because Dr. Webster entitled his work an *American* Dictionary of the English Language, he was disposed unduly to favor what have been called *Americanisms*, or unnecessary departures from the purity of the English style. Such, we are persuaded, was not the case; but, if there ever existed any ground of complaint on this subject, it has been removed, as we are happy to find, in the revision now made. In respect to the title, *American* Dictionary, Dr. Webster states, as his reason for adopting it, that

"Although the body of the language is the same as in England, *and it is desirable to perpetuate that sameness*, yet some differences must exist. The institutions of this country, which are new and peculiar, give rise to new terms, or to new applications of old terms, unknown to the people of England; which cannot be explained by them, and which will not be inserted in their dictionaries, unless copied from ours. Thus the terms *land-office*, *land-warrant*, *location* of land, *regent* of a university, *intendant* of a city, *plantation*, *select-man*, *congress*, *senate*, *assembly*, *court*, &c., are either words not belonging to the language of England, or they are applied to things in this country which do not exist in that."

We have also numerous physical objects which differ from those of England, and must therefore have different names for them. To this necessary departure from English usage, arising out of our peculiar circumstances, no well-informed Englishman ever objects. There are also a few words in constant use among us in which we differ from the English, such as *store* for shop, *bookstore* for bookseller's shop, *pantaloons* for trowsers, *vest* for waistcoat, *lot* for field, *house lot*, *city lot*, *prairie*, to *electioneer*, *electioneering*, &c. In respect to these, it is too late for us to effect a change, even if there were any reason for attempting it. Still, it is desirable that

our peculiarities in this particular should be as few as possible, and we are glad, therefore, to see Professor Goodrich point out and stigmatize such Americanisms as "a bad *fix*," "the *balance* of the evening," for remainder, "I *admire to see* a frank man," "stocks *appreciate*," for rise in value, and others of a similar character. He has also pointed out some other words, as *ride*, *sick*, &c., in which the English differ from us, by having departed from former usage, while we have retained it. He has likewise shown that most of those familiar words in our older states which have been condemned as peculiar to this country, were brought with them by our ancestors from Great Britain, and are still used there as local terms. He remarks,—

"The recent investigations of Forby, Holloway, and Halliwell, have thrown much light on this subject, and the names of these authors are therefore frequently placed under the words in question, to show their origin and present use in England."

We come next to examine this revision in respect to what we have always considered the peculiar and distinctive superiority of Dr. Webster's dictionary over every other in our language, we mean the character of its definitions. This is obviously the highest excellence in a work of this nature. The great, leading object, for which a dictionary is needed, and is resorted to, lies in its definitions. It has, indeed, other uses. It may interest by its etymological inquiries; it may aid in respect to pronunciation; but this, after all, is the first and most important use. How, then, has the revision been conducted in this respect? How has the editor succeeded in carrying out Dr. Webster's principles, and applying them to this important subject? It is obvious, from the nature of the case, that great changes were to be made in many parts of the work. All the sciences, and most of the arts, are in a state of rapid progress. What was true nineteen years ago, when the work was first published, and even seven years ago, when some portions of it were revised, is no longer true, in regard to numerous things which were then the objects of definition. The classifications of natural science have, to a great extent, been broken up and changed. Later inquiries have developed new facts. New processes in the arts have taken the place of old ones, and the terms which described them require a correspondent change of definition. Dr. Webster, by introducing so large a body of scientific terms into his dictionary, created an inevitable necessity of its being often revised, and greatly changed, from time to time. In addition to this, every work of this kind is, from the nature of the case, only an approximation toward perfect accuracy, and must be expected

to fall short, in many respects. The whole volume has now been subjected to a deliberate and searching revision, with a view to the removal of every error that could be detected, and to bring down the work to the present advanced state of literature, science, and the arts. And, in doing this, the editor has struck upon the true mode of securing the highest degree of accuracy that can be attained, and we wonder that it has not been applied to our dictionaries before. He has engaged a large number of men, each distinguished in his own department of knowledge, and perfectly acquainted with its details, under whose direction the necessary changes have been made. In respect to the *mode* of defining, so far as we have been able to discover, (and we have turned our attention particularly to the subject,) the principles of Dr. Webster have been uniformly adopted, and in many cases carried out to a still greater extent. . The characteristics of the work, in relation to this topic, may, we think, be summed up in the following things, and arranged in the following order of importance: First, great *exactness* or accuracy of statement: the definitions by the author give us the precise meaning and nothing more. Secondly, great *fullness* of statement: they give us *all* the different meanings which the word has. And, thirdly, great *perspicuity* or clearness of statement: the language employed in the description is simple and easy to be understood, and the thought which it was intended to embody is perfectly transparent. Examples might be given, to almost any extent, in confirmation of these remarks. But our limits will not permit. We shall just refer to a very few, that our readers may judge for themselves:—

"Vignette, (commonly pronounced *vinyet,*) *n.*, [Fr. *vignette,*] a name given to small engraved embellishments with which books, bank-notes, &c., are ornamented. Such embellishments were originally painted on the margins of manuscripts, usually in the form of small vines, (*vignettes,*) whence the name. Properly, therefore, a *vignette* is a design which is not surrounded, like ordinary pictures, with a border."

"Boodhism, *n.*, a system of religion in Eastern Asia, embraced by more than one-third of the human race. It teaches that, at distant intervals, a *Boodh*, or deity, appears, to restore the world from a state of ignorance and decay, and then sinks into entire non-existence, or, rather, perhaps of bare existence, without attributes, action, or consciousness. This state, called *Nirvana*, or *Nieban*, is considered as the ultimate supreme good, and the highest reward of virtue on earth. Four Boodhs have thus appeared in this world, and passed into *Nirvana*, the last of whom, Gaudama, became incarnate about five hundred years before Christ. From his death, in 543 B. C., many thousand years will elapse before the appearance of another; so that the system, in the mean time, is practically one of pure atheism. The objects of

worship, until another Boodh appears, are the relics and images of Gaudama."

"Hospice, *n.*, [Fr., from L. *hospitium*,] a term applied to convents in some of the passes of the Alps, for the entertainment of travelers."

We are prepared now, having said thus much on the subject of definitions, to proceed to another topic, the system of *orthography* adopted in this work. Some of Dr. Webster's views on this subject, we have always been convinced, were incapable of being carried out into practice. They contemplated changes in regard to the spelling of words to which the habits and feelings of the great body of the people were wholly averse. It became, therefore, a matter of necessity, on the part of the author, to give up the expectation of seeing these changes ever realized, to the extent he had desired. Many of his peculiarities he did give up before his death; and Professor Goodrich, acting on the same principles, has gone still further in restoring the old orthography, until he has removed nearly or quite all that is objectionable in Dr. Webster's system. He says in his preface:—

"In reference to orthography, some important alterations have been made, but in strict conformity, it is believed, with the author's principles on this subject. The changes in our orthography recommended by Dr. Webster are of two distinct kinds, and rest on very different grounds. His main principle was, *that the tendencies of our language to greater simplicity and broader analogies ought to be watched and cherished with the utmost care.* He felt, therefore, that whenever a movement toward wider analogies and more general rules had advanced so far as to leave but few exceptions to impede its progress, those exceptions ought to be set aside *at once*, and the analogy rendered complete. On this ground he rejected the *u* in such words as *favour*, *labour*, &c. Of these we have a large number, which come to us, in most cases, from Latin terminations in *or*, through the Norman French, but encumbered with a silent *u*, as in *emperour*, *authour*, *editour*, &c. From this entire class, except about twenty words, the *u* has been gradually dropped; and, in respect to these, scarcely any two persons can be found, however strenuous for retaining it, who are in *practice* consistent with each other or with themselves as to the words in which this letter is used. In fact, we have reached a point where, unless we take Webster, and the dictionaries which agree with him, as our guide, we have *no standard on the subject;* for Johnson, Walker, and others, retain the *u* in numerous words, into which no one would think of introducing it at the present day. Public convenience, therefore, demands that we do at once what must ultimately be done. No one can believe that the progress of our language will be arrested on this subject. The *u* will speedily be omitted in all words of this class, unless, from the sacredness of its associations, it be retained in *Saviour*, which may stand perhaps for a time, as a solitary exception. Nor is it Dr. Webster

who is the innovator in this case, but the English mind, which has for two centuries been throwing off a useless incumbrance, and moving steadily on toward greater simplicity in the structure of our language. Such, too, is the case with certain terminations in *re* pronounced like *er*, as *centre*, *metre*, &c. We have numerous words of this class derived from the French, all of which originally ended in *re*, as *cider*, (*cidre*,) *chamber*, (*chambre*,) &c. These have been gradually conformed to the English spelling and pronunciation, till the number in *re* is reduced to about fifteen or twenty words with their derivatives, and in respect to them, also, the process is still going on. *Center* is, to a considerable extent, the spelling of the best mathematical writers. *Meter* is the word given by Walker in his Rhyming Dictionary, from a sense of the gross inconsistency of attaching to this word and its derivative, *diameter*, a different termination. Others are gradually undergoing the same change. Dr. Webster proposes, therefore, to complete the analogy at once, and conform the spelling of the few that remain to the general principles of our language. *Acre*, *lucre*, *massacre*, present the only difficulty, from their liability, if changed, to be mispronounced, and may, therefore, be suffered to stand as *necessary* exceptions. Another departure from the principles of English orthography, which Dr. Webster has endeavored to correct, is one that was pointed out by Walker in very emphatic terms nearly fifty years ago. The principle in question is this, that in adding to a word the formatives *ing*, *ed*, *er*, &c., a single consonant (if one precedes) is doubled when the accent falls on the *last* syllable, as in *forgetting*, *beginning*, &c., but *is not doubled when the accent falls on any of the preceding syllables*, as in *benefiting*, *gardening*, &c. Walker, in his fifth Aphorism, says, 'Dr. Lowth justly remarks, that an error frequently takes place in the words *worshipping*, *counselling*, &c., which, having the accent on the first syllable, ought to be written *worshiping*, *counseling*. An ignorance of this rule has led many to write *bigotted* for *bigoted*, and from this spelling has frequently arisen a false pronunciation; but no letter seems to be more frequently doubled improperly than *l*. Why we should write *libelling*, *levelling*, *revelling*, and yet *offering*, *suffering*, *reasoning*, I am totally at a loss to determine; and unless *l* can give a better plea than any other letter of the alphabet for being doubled in this situation, I must, in the style of Lucian in his trial of the letter T, declare for an expulsion.' These were the deliberate and latest opinions of Walker. If he had taken the trouble to carry them into his vocabulary, instead of relying on a mere remark of this kind for the correction of the error, —if he had simply stated under about forty verbs how the participles should be spelled, (for he did not give participles in his dictionary,) and had altered a few other words, as *worshipper* into *worshiper*, *traveller* into *traveler*, &c., the error would probably, by this time, have been wholly eradicated from our orthography; and Dr. Webster would have escaped much ignorant vituperation for following in the footsteps of Walker and Lowth. Walker also says, in his Aphorisms, 'Why should we not write *dullness*, *fullness*, *skillful*, *willful*, as well as *stiffness* and *gruffness*?' The principles of our language plainly require us to do so, and Dr. Webster felt that the change might easily be made. The

words which need to be reduced to this analogy are only about eight in number, including *installment* and *inthrallment*, which, if spelled with a single *l*, are liable to be mispronounced, *instalment*, &c. Again, the words *expense*, *license*, *recompense*, which formerly had a *c* in the last syllable, have now taken an *s*, because the latter consonant is the only one used in the derivatives, as *expensive*, &c. A similar change is needed in only three words more to complete the analogy, namely, *defense*, *offense*, and *pretense*, and these Dr. Webster has changed. It is sometimes asked, 'Why not change *fence* also?' For the simple reason that its derivatives are spelled with a *c*, as *fenced*, *fencing*, and the word, therefore, stands regularly with others of its own class. Finally, Dr. Webster proposes to drop the *u* in *mould* and *moult*, because it has been dropped from *gold* and all other words of the same ending. Such are the changes under this head, as introduced by Dr. Webster into his dictionary. In the present edition the words are spelled in both ways for the convenience of the public, except in cases where this seemed to be unnecessary or was found to be inconvenient. These changes, considering the difficulty that always belongs to such a subject, have met with far more favor from the public than was reasonably to be expected. Most of them have been extensively adopted in our country. They are gaining ground daily, as the reasons by which they are supported are more generally understood; and it is confidently believed that, being founded in established analogies, and intended merely to repress irregularities and remove petty exceptions, they must ultimately prevail.

"The other class of changes mentioned above rests on a different basis, that of *etymology*. These will be estimated very differently, according to the acquaintance of different persons with the languages from which the words are derived. When Dr. Webster substituted *bridegoom* for *bridegroom*, *fether* for *feather*, &c., the German critics highly applauded the change. They predicted its speedy and universal reception, because similar improvements, on a much broader scale, had been easily made in their language. But Dr. Webster found the case to be widely different among us. After an experiment of twelve years, he restored the old orthography to a considerable number of such words. In the present edition it is restored to nearly all that remain, from the full conviction that, however desirable these changes may be in themselves considered, as they do not relate to the general analogies of the language, and cannot be duly appreciated by the body of the people, they will never be generally received."

In regard, then, to the orthography adopted in the revised edition before us, we see nothing to object to. The principles appear to be correct, and founded in settled analogies. The conformity of good writers to these principles is becoming every year more and more extensive. It will soon, we doubt not, be general. The growing circulation and use of this volume among the great body of the people will speedily insure this result. And thus a most valuable end will be attained.

In relation to the subject of *pronunciation*, the work appears to have passed through a very thorough and careful revision, and will give, it is thought, general satisfaction. "The latest and best authorities have been consulted," and the changes made appear to have been made in accordance with sound principles and the most approved standards. The editor's own views are of themselves good authority. The "Key" to pronunciation he has somewhat enlarged, and the *pointed letters* he has used to a still greater extent, as indicating the pronunciation given. "Many thousands of words have been respelled, and no efforts have been spared to render the work, in all respects, a complete pronouncing dictionary."

The "Synopsis of Words differently pronounced by different Orthoepists," which was prepared by Mr. Worcester for the edition of 1829, has been retained in this edition, but it has been entirely remodeled, some of the authorities then adopted being now rejected, and others substituted in their place. The authorities now made use of are six in number—Walker, Perry, Jameson, Knowles, Smart, Worcester—and a view of several hundreds of words, as given by these different authors, can be had at a single glance, and with them the pronunciation of the author and the editor of this work, as presented in a distinct parallel column, may be easily compared. This Synopsis, as a guide to the best pronunciation of words, is a happy contrivance, and one of much value.

"Walker's Key to the Pronunciation of Classical and Scripture Names," as published in an appendix to the former edition, has also been much enlarged and improved, thus supplying an important desideratum in such a work, and giving greater completeness and utility to the whole performance. Of this "Key" we learn, that

"More than three thousand words have been added to it, from a revised edition by the Rev. W. Trollope, M. A., late of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and from the 'Classical Pronunciation of Proper Names,' by Thomas S. Carr, of King's College School, London. A careful revision of the work has also been made throughout, in reference to the division of words into syllables, &c., in which the editor has derived great assistance from Professor Thacher, of Yale College. More than three hundred errors have been discovered and corrected."

At the close of the volume there is annexed, by the publishers, a Vocabulary of Modern Geographical Names, with their pronunciation, prepared by an associate editor of Baldwin's Universal Pronouncing Gazetteer. This vocabulary embraces nearly five thousand words, being the names of places of the most frequent occur-

rence in the modern geography of the globe, and is designed to aid the reader in the right pronunciation of these names. It is a highly important aid to the student in geography, to the general reader, and indeed to the more mature and accomplished scholar.

As to the mechanical execution of this volume, which ordinarily bears the name of the *octavo* edition, we cannot speak in terms of too strong approbation. The typography is clear and beautiful; the paper excellent; the binding neat and substantial; and the form highly convenient for use. The price is only three dollars and fifty cents, a remarkably low price certainly for a book which, if printed with the type of Prescott's Mexico, for example, would fill nearly eight volumes of five hundred pages each.

We would remark, in conclusion, that the work before us, in its present revised state, is fitted to be a *standard* authority, in all those matters which appropriately belong to a dictionary of the English tongue. To this station already the American Dictionary has risen, by its intrinsic merits alone, and taken decidedly the first rank. It has had no blind partiality or spirit of favoritism to aid it in gaining popularity and confidence, and we deem it well for such a work as this that it has thus had to stand upon its own naked merits, unsupported by foreign and adventitious aid. The ordeal has indeed been severe, but it has only rendered the triumph more complete. A work which has thus forced itself, as it were, into favor, has the best of all evidence that it is fitted to be, and will be, a *standard* work.

The reputation of Dr. Webster, as author of this great and elaborate performance, will, we cannot doubt, be a solid and enduring reputation. Few names will go down to posterity so deeply embalmed in the earliest and best recollections and feelings of his countrymen as that of the author of the American Dictionary. His fame will never die. The literature of our language, which he has done so much to advance, will render it imperishable.

The *editor*, too, of this valuable revision, has done a good service to his country and to the world by the years of assiduous and well-directed labor which he has bestowed upon it, to give to it its present completeness and finish. He will allow us, we hope, in closing this already protracted article, to offer one suggestion. It is this: The high character of the work before us must be sustained hereafter. It must keep pace, in time to come, with the advancing wants of the nation. To this end, other revisions will from time to time be called for. We doubt not that the same faithful hand, or some other, will supply them.

ART. VI.—*Sketches of Matters and Things in Europe.*

WE closed our last paper with a notice of taking the steamboat at Belfast for Scotland, late in the evening. We had a quiet sea, and slept sweetly until daylight, when we found the vessel making the port of Ardrossan. We had on board, as deck passengers, perhaps a hundred and fifty Irish laborers, of both sexes, on their way to Scotland to assist in gathering the harvest. The deck presented a singular appearance. There had been during the night a drizzling rain; and, having no covering, the poor creatures had disposed of themselves in the best way they could. Some had put their heads under the tarpauling with which the baggage was covered, while others lay upon the deck without any sort of a shelter, and slept soundly until the boat struck the dock. We were delayed some little time for the cars, during which the deck passengers were either listlessly strolling about, or in groups discussing matters in which they were interested. When the train arrived they took a class of cars—what class, whether *third* or *fourth*, we cannot tell; but one which furnished neither covering nor seats. The cars were simply surrounded by a railing, and the people stood up like so many sheep going to the market; but they were apparently right well contented, as they were constantly boiling over with glee. We did not learn what the fare in these open cars was, but we presume it was very low; and it is certainly a great relief to these poor people to be able to transport themselves to almost any part of the kingdom for a mere trifle, especially as they are so largely dependent upon England and Scotland for employment in harvest. Indeed, the harvesting in these countries seems to be done principally by Irish laborers.

In our way we passed several straggling towns, and saw some flourishing farms. We passed through *Paisley*, a large manufacturing town, containing several fine streets and many commodious buildings. In the old parts of the town are still seen the old houses covered with thatch. "The boundaries of the parliamentary borough comprise four parishes, whose aggregate population in 1831 was 57,466, and was distributed among 12,308 families, of whom nineteen-twentieths are in trade and manufactures." We noticed a beautiful new church which we were told belonged to the Free Church of Scotland

We reached Glasgow at late breakfast time, and took up our line of march for the "Eagle Hotel,"—a temperance house, where we found excellent accommodations and reasonable charges. The

house seemed well sustained, which speaks favorably for the Scotch.

Glasgow is one of the most ancient royal burghs in Scotland. Its origin is attributed to St. Kentigern, also called St. Mungo, who, it is said, founded a bishopric here in the year 560. The length of the city from east to west is four and a half miles; its average width is about two miles. The derivation of the name of Glasgow is not settled. In the Gaelic language it signifies a gray-smith, and some suppose that it derived its name from its having been in ancient times the residence of a person of that profession. The place was a mere religious establishment until 1174, when, by the charter of William the Lion, it became a free burgh or barony. Before the Reformation the inhabitants are said to have been in a deplorable state of ignorance and superstition, attributable mostly to the ecclesiastical government to which they had been subjected.

Glasgow is situated on the Clyde, which, until 1775, was only navigable by vessels of small burden; but since that time large sums have been expended in the improvement of the river. The banks have been widened, the bed deepened, and the numerous sand bars and other obstructions removed. In 1780 no vessels exceeding forty tons could reach the city; but now ships of four hundred tons have been loaded and discharged. Formerly only lighters from Greenock came up to Glasgow; now, ships from America, India, and China, come up with ease and safety. Glasgow has the advantages of a connection with the Atlantic by the Clyde, and is also connected with the North Sea and the German Ocean by the Forth and Clyde Canal.

But though Glasgow carries on considerable commerce, it is much more a manufacturing than it is a commercial town. The entire manufactory of cotton for Scotland is confined to Glasgow and its vicinity. Linens, cambrics, &c., are extensively manufactured here, and the manufacture of iron is rapidly increasing and has many local advantages. "According to the population returns for 1831, the city and suburbs contain 202,426 inhabitants, (93,724 males and 108,702 females,) composing 41,965 families, of whom 26,586 were engaged in trade and manufactures, 299 in agriculture, and 15,080 were not comprised in the preceding classes."

Upon arriving in Glasgow the first object of interest we visited was the *university*. The university and college buildings are situated on the east side of the High-street, and consist of two squares separated by a handsome library. The building presents a front of three hundred and five feet in length, with three lofty

gates leading to four courts and the interior of the buildings. This noble institution was founded in 1450 by Bishop Turnbull, and is the oldest of the Scottish universities except St. Andrew's. At the time of the Reformation the members, being chiefly ecclesiastics, dispersed to avoid the popular fury. Beaton, the chancelor, carried away to France all the charters and muniments of the college, as well as the images and relics belonging to the cathedral, and deposited them in the Scot's College at Paris. James VI. granted it a new charter, and bestowed upon it some valuable property. Its modern establishment consists of a chancelor, rector, dean of faculty, a principal, and eighteen professors; and the average number of students is about twelve hundred. There is but one session each year, which commences the 10th of Oct. and terminates the 1st of May. Originally the term was longer; the change was found necessary in consequence of the poverty of the students, who were unable to absent themselves so long from home, being obliged to earn means to prosecute their studies by pursuing some branch of industry for several months of the year. The library is said to contain 70,000 volumes, including the valuable collection of Dr. Simson, the translator of Euclid's Elements, and the medical works bequeathed by the celebrated Dr. Hunter; besides several curious manuscripts. The college buildings are neat and commodious. The houses of the professors are contiguous, and upon the east side of the buildings is a garden of ten acres, laid out in walks and ornamented with shrubbery. Oliver Cromwell contributed liberally toward the erection of these buildings.

After a hasty view of the college we proceeded to the old cathedral or high church. It is a most beautiful Gothic structure, and was erected by John Achaius, bishop of Glasgow, in 1123. It is three hundred and nineteen feet long, sixty-three feet broad, and ninety feet high within the walls, and has two great square towers, on one of which a spire was built about 1430, making the whole height two hundred and twenty-five feet. The other tower, it is said, was never finished, but was actually undergoing the process of completion when we were there,—a work which will occupy several years. This superb building narrowly escaped destruction from the disciples of John Knox during the days of the Reformation, and is one of only two cathedrals which survived that great struggle in all Scotland.

The interior is divided into choir, outer church, inner high church, and vaulted cemetery. The inner church and the arched roof of the adjoining vestry, supported by a single pillar, are much admired. The vaulted cemetery immediately beneath the inner church was

at one period the old barony church. "Conceive an extensive range of low-browed, dark, and twilight vaults, such as are used for sepulchres in other countries, and had long been dedicated to the same purpose in this, a portion of which was seated with pews and used as a church. The part of the vaults thus occupied, though capable of containing a congregation of many hundreds, bore a small proportion to the darker and more extensive caverns which yawned around what may be termed the inhabited space. In these waste regions of oblivion, dusky banners and tattered escutcheons indicated the graves of those who were once, doubtless, 'princes in Israel.' Inscriptions,which could only be read by the painful antiquary in language as obsolete as the act of devotional charity which they implored, invited the passengers to pray for the souls of those whose bodies rested beneath."—*Sir Walter Scott.*

Looking back two hundred years, and conceiving of a congregation assembled in this gloomy place, we could well appreciate the powers of description which produced the above passage. Here is still remaining the tomb of St. Mungo, the founder and patron saint of Glasgow, at the west end of the cathedral, where it has remained ever since the year 601. And also there are here sarcophagi, or stone coffins, said to be of Druidical origin, in which the ancients buried those bodies which were not burned,—probably the bodies of kings, or other great men.

The inner church was in great confusion, being incumbered with stages and occupied by workmen, who seemed to be engaged in effecting extensive repairs. One can scarcely gaze upon this venerable pile without entering into the spirit of auld Scotch folk, who are always ready to exclaim with Andrew Fairservice :—"Ah! it's a brave kirk—nane o' yere whig-maleeries, and curliewurlies, and open-steek hems, about it—a' solid, weel-jointed mason-wark, that will stand as lang as the warld, keep hands and gun powther aff it." Standing on the south of the cathedral you have a splendid view of the "Necropolis," *or city of the dead*, from which you are separated by a deep ravine or gorge, through which murmurs a small stream of water at a great depth. You cross this deep chasm upon a stone bridge apparently as strong as the rocks upon which its arch rests. By a winding, well-finished road, you make your ascent to this place of unrivaled beauty. It is situated upon a height which commands a fine view of the city and country across the Clyde. Upon the brow of the hill is a massive monument of the great Scottish reformer, John Knox, with his Bible in his left hand, and his right raised in the attitude of preaching. There are many other fine monuments here which we cannot occupy

space to describe. The "Necropolis" is one of the most attractive places about Glasgow. In addition to the splendid monuments, it is ornamented by serpentine walks, shrubs, and flowers.

Glasgow contains many fine public buildings and other objects of interest to the visitor, which we cannot now particularly notice. We must not, however, entirely pass by "George Square," and "The Green." The former is in a central position, and is tastefully ornamented. There is a monument to the memory of Sir Walter Scott,—a beautiful column eighty feet high, surmounted by a statue of Sir Walter, with a Scotch plaid shawl turned over one shoulder and then around the body under the arms, and one end hanging over the other shoulder down to the knees. This is the manner in which Scotchmen are often seen fortified against the cold. There is also a bronze statue to the memory of James Watt, and another to the memory of Sir John More. It is all in all a most lovely place to ramble and indulge in reminiscences of the past.

The Green lies on the north bank of the Clyde, south-east of the city. It includes one hundred and eighty acres, is surrounded with gravel walks, and is a fine promenade, much resorted to for health and recreation, and commands a splendid landscape view. There is an obelisk one hundred and forty-three feet high, erected to the memory of Lord Nelson; one who, we should judge, has more monuments erected to his memory in the British isles than any other, not excepting the kings and queens. And upon all these monuments must of course be inscribed the memorable words of the admiral, before the famous battle of *Trafalgar*:—"England expects every man to do his duty." But as death did not spare the soldier, so the lightnings of heaven have no respect for his monument: for soon after its erection it was smitten and rent by Heaven's irresistible artillery with as little ceremony as the cedar or oak is often riven by that tremendous agency. The damage is, however, now completely repaired.

Our time was limited; but still we determined to see a little of "the highlands," and something of the beautiful "lochs" lying quietly in the basins which nature, or rather the God of nature, scooped out for their accommodation, that they might add to the beauty and variety of the scenery. As we were obliged in all our movements to consult expedition, we took a steamboat for Dumbarton on the Clyde. The scenery was diversified with plains and elevations, and clusters of buildings, or villages, of an antique appearance. Our attention was directed to a little town called *Kilpatrick*, said to be the birthplace of the patron saint of Ireland,

where, it is said, there is still to be seen an ancient monument erected to the memory of the old saint.

Dumbarton is a smoky old town, principally noted for its glass manufactories and castle. The castle is upon a rock which shoots up out of the bed of the Clyde to the height of five hundred and sixty feet, and seems to furnish an impregnable position for a small armed force. The rock is basaltic, is cleft at the top, and presents two peaks, with a winding way up through the cleft. It is a mile in circumference at the base, and is approached on two opposite sides. There is a building near the commencement of the cleft, where the commanding officer resides. This, with a few scattering sheep and goats climbing the crags, and picking the grass which shoots up from its slopes, seams, and crevices, are all the signs of life which we noticed about this famous rock. The situation of the castle is singularly picturesque; and upon the highest point of the right side of the cleft from the channel of the Clyde, those travelers who have time to make the ascent can luxuriate in the most magnificent views. But we had to satisfy ourselves with the pleasure of the mere imagination of the sight of Loch Lomond and the surrounding hills; the vale of the Leven, Port Glasgow, and Greenock, upon the other side of the Clyde; and the mountains of Argyleshire, from "Wallace's Seat."

We left Dumbarton in, or rather upon the top of, an omnibus drawn by three wretchedly-jaded nags, which the merciless driver did not fail to cut and slash with his whip without a moment's intermission. The top of our vehicle was furnished with benches, some of which were disarranged by all sorts of "luggage;" among the rest, hunting and fishing apparatus, together with two miserable hounds coupled by a rope. These animals were rather restiff, and had quite frequently to be called to order, and were finally right well contented to be let down from their unwonted elevation by the nape of the neck. But neither the discomfort of our position nor the frequent stirring up of the heterogeneous mass of trumpery piled up around us, as passengers were discharged, prevented our taking a lively interest in the scenery which we passed.

We passed up the vale of the Leven, the outlet of Loch Lomond, which is no longer the rural stream apostrophized by Smollett; but "mansions, cottages, prosperous villages, plantations, and finely ornamented pleasure grounds, occur in constant succession." The waters of this stream "are of the most limpid purity and softness, well suited to the purposes of bleaching and print fields, with which its banks are covered." About half way from Dumbarton to Ballock, the point where we reached the loch, we passed Dal-

quharn House, the birthplace of Smollett. The building is small, but in a good state of preservation, and kept in a tidy condition. Upon the opposite side of the road, a little further on, is a Tuscan column terminated by a vase, erected to the memory of Smollett by a cousin-german of the same name, with an inscription in Latin by Dr. Johnson. This monument is shamefully neglected, and seems in places to be going to decay. Before reaching the loch we passed through a splendid plantation or two, and had a sight of Tillichewn Castle situated upon an eminence. It is a splendid Gothic edifice in the midst of grounds tastefully laid out and beautifully ornamented.

Upon reaching the far-famed Loch Lomond we entered the steamboat Water Witch, which was waiting for the arrival of the stages. We now turned away our eyes from the lowly vale through which we had just passed, and thought no more of mansions and castles, but directed our attention to the beautiful sheet of pure water before us, and gazed with a kind of awe upon the ranges of hills and mountains which upon both sides of the loch peered up toward the heavens. We had seen mountain scenery as grand, and more picturesque, in our own country. But this lake, together with every foot of ground along its shores, had been made classic by the immortal genius of Scott; and in spite of yourself you consider the peaks, crags, and caverns, which present themselves to the eye, more as the haunts of Rob Roy Macgregor and his clan than as sublime specimens of natural scenery. But we now labored under the embarrassment of a misty atmosphere and a cold drizzling rain. But we buttoned up our box-coat to our chin, and gazed, first on one side and then on the other, as we shot up between the towering mountains and among the lovely islands which are scattered upon the bosom of this crystal sheet of water. The largest of these islands is Inchmurrin, being two miles long by one broad. It is owned by the duke of Montrose, and is converted into a deer park. There are said to be four hundred deer upon the island, some of which could be seen feeding upon the lawn with a perfect sense of security. The only human inhabitant of this island is the game-keeper. Near the west end is an old castle in ruins, once the residence of the ancient family of Lenox.

"Where the lake begins to narrow, Ben Lomond, on the eastern bank, raises its head to more than three thousand feet above the sea. Ben Lomond is a beautiful mountain, rising with a gentle ascent, and covered with fine grass to the very summit."—*Penny Cyc.* Indeed, all the mountains in the neighborhood of this lake, even the slopes of the rocks, every inch of them, where mold or moss

can gain a lodgment, are beautifully verdant. This is the result of the extreme humidity of the atmosphere. The following brief view of the scenery of Loch Lomond, by *Sir Walter Scott*, is as just as it is beautiful:—"But certainly this noble lake, boasting innumerable beautiful islands of every varying form and outline which fancy can frame—its northern extremity narrowing until it is lost among dusky and retreating mountains; while, gradually widening as it extends to the southward, it spreads its base around the indentures and promontories of a fair and fertile land—affords one of the most surprising, beautiful, and sublime spectacles in nature."

The lake is about twenty-four miles in length, and we reached the highest point of steamboat navigation just after dark. The only public house in the neighborhood is one mile above, upon the road which leads around the south-west shore from Ballock. Our company were by some means instantly left alone and without specific information as to the direction and distance to the hotel. After a little loss of time, by taking the wrong direction, we finally found the place. It was a small house and appeared to be a new establishment. We could not immediately ascertain whether we could have accommodations. But finally the good woman, who was a small, cleanly Scotch lady, informed us that two young gentlemen, who had got in before us, had consented to take one bed, and this would give us a room with two beds, which, if we could sleep "two in a bed," would answer our purpose. Our room was small and under the rafters, but the beds were clean and in good order. One of the company asked for some "fresh water." Upon its arrival, the question was asked, "Is it fresh?" The answer was, "Aye, quite freesh, I bringed it mysel about twel o'clock." Some pleasantry was excited among the company by the idea of "fresh water" which had stood in the pail eight or nine hours! But when all had taken a draught of it, it was unanimously pronounced quite good. If the necessity of winter clothing through the day had not convinced us that we had not been under an American sun, the taste of this water would have wrought the conviction.

As the boat was to leave at five in the morning, we arose at half-past four, and set off for the landing. It was now raining a shower, and there had been a heavy fall of rain through the night. The consequence was that torrents of water were dashing down the rocks and flooding the road. But there was no alternative—we must foot it and carry our luggage in our hands—and there was no time for delay. We dashed through the rills and ponds, and, by running most of the way, reached the boat just in time.

We could now survey our position. We were between two ranges of high mountains, beautifully verdant, striped with the silvery foam of numerous rills and cascades dashing down the rocks above our heads. In spite of the dense clouds and falling rain, the scene was truly inspiring, and though we never wrote a line of poetry since we were born, and probably never shall undertake to do so, we were almost tempted to undertake verse making.

Passing down the lake, we had a glance at Rob Roy's cave. It can only be seen from the boat by fixing the eye upon the point beforehand, and then it is out of sight in a few seconds. It is an opening under a rock near the water's edge. It is said the cavern will contain from seventy to a hundred men.

Our plan was to have left the boat at Inversnaid, and taken a conveyance across to Loch Katrine. But the weather was so inclement that we abandoned this part of the enterprise. The boat made a few moments' stop at this point for passengers, when, after starting, a man came running down the hill and hallooing after us, but received in reply from our captain,—"Go to your bed an hour or two." We breakfasted on the boat upon the delicious salmon from the loch for the moderate sum of eighteen pence sterling a piece. We reached Ballock at half-past seven, and were soon again at Dumbarton. No steamboat leaving the dock this morning for Glasgow, we took a row-boat and attempted to intercept a boat which was coming up from Greenock, but a shower with a gust of wind meeting us directly in our teeth we did not succeed. We took shelter from the storm behind a small stone pyramid, erected nearly in front of the castle, perhaps a mile from Dumbarton dock, for a waymark. Here we remained for an hour, when we were put upon a boat destined to Glasgow. The steamboats upon the Clyde are generally small, comfortless things, which creep along, picking up passengers from row-boats, as they do not land at intermediate places. As yet we have seen nothing that bears a comparison with our American steamboats.

From Glasgow to Edinburgh we passed upon the railroad with great speed. We noticed the ancient town of Falkirk, near which was the scene of the great battle between the English and Scotch, in 1298, led on by Edward I. on the part of the English, and William Wallace upon the part of the Scotch. We had no time to stop and avail ourselves of the splendid views which are reported to be located here. We also noticed Linlithgow with its stately old "palace" in ruins. Here the train paused for several minutes, which gave us an opportunity of taking a fair look at the

palace, which was in plain sight. It is a quadrangular edifice of great magnitude. It was erected by the house of Stuart, and here the unfortunate Mary first saw the light. What splendor and festivity were once witnessed within these walls! What desolation reigns here now! Human grandeur, and wealth, and pride, and folly, are all destined to come to an end. These ruins are a striking commentary upon the mutability of all human affairs.

Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland, lies on the Frith of Forth, about four hundred miles north of London. Its location is upon ground which originally must have presented anything but a fair and promising site for a great city. The ground consists of steep hills, precipices, crags, ravines, and marshes. The old town lay upon the central hill, at the western extremity of which, upon a high rock, is situated the castle; and at the eastern, in a deep hollow, Holyrood Palace and Abbey. The sight of the castle was chosen, it is probable, on account of its natural advantages; and that of the old Abbey of Holyrood, on account of its retirement and gloom. A road lay between these two points, about one mile apart, upon which the town was most naturally formed; and this thoroughfare between the castle and the religious house, the great central objects and nucleus of a state in old feudal times, became a *street*,—now High-street west, and Canongate east. On the north and south sides of the old town were deep ravines, across which there are now elegant and permanent bridges, but which were originally passed by narrow, steep lanes, running from High-street, called *closes* and *wynds*. In crossing these bridges, which are upon a level with the streets on each side, you look down from a dizzy height, not into an abyss, or dashing torrent, but into a narrow, dirty street, winding its way along a deep gully, appearing as if, from extreme terror of the grandeur and bustle of the city, it had slunk away almost beyond the reach of daylight. And from this deep depression you observe the singular spectacle of a regular front of buildings of ten or a dozen stories, the uppermost of which are neighbors to the habitations on the hills, and constitute *ground* rooms upon the transverse streets at both ends of the bridges.

"*Edinburgh* is supposed to have derived its name from *Edwin*, a king of Northumberland in the time of the heptarchy. Simon of Durham mentions the town of *Edwinsburgh* as existing in the middle of the eighth century; and in the charter of foundation of the Abbey of Holyrood, in the year 1228, King David I. calls it *his burgh of Edwinsburgh*, whence we infer it was then a royal burgh."—*Pen. Cyc.* The population of the city and suburbs of Edinburgh in 1831 amounted to 161,990.

Upon our arrival at the Scotch capital we took lodgings in the York House,—a temperance hotel,—on Nicholas-street, near the college. Our accommodations were excellent, and charges were reasonable. The first place we visited for the gratification of the eye was "the Calton Hill." The grounds are tastefully laid out and finely ornamented. Several splendid monuments are located here;—one to David Hume, and another to Lord Nelson. The latter we ascended, and enjoyed a fine view of the city and suburbs. Eastward, along the southern side of the Frith of Forth, is seen Musselborough and several other small towns. The Isle of May, the high hill at the junction of the Frith with the German Ocean, and the Bass Rock, are all conspicuous from this point. Among other ornaments of this beautiful spot is the foundation of a triumphal arch, or monument, which remains in a state naturally enough suggesting the inquiry, Did the good people of Edinburgh begin this work without counting the cost? As it is, though a fine foundation, it is no *monument* except of instability of purpose, divided counsels, or premature haste,—for the work remaining in *statu quo* can scarcely be attributed either to the want of taste or to the poverty of the Edinburghians.

Upon consultation it was resolved to see a sun setting from "Arthur's Seat." We accordingly passed by "Holyrood Palace" through "the King's Park," and were proceeding in the path which leads up a ravine which is the easiest ascent to the highest point of "Salisbury Crag," where is seen a rock, peering above the ground which surrounds it, called Arthur's Seat. As we were moving rapidly along we were joined by two boys of ten or twelve years of age, who kindly proffered us their services as guides. At first we took little notice of the urchins, but were soon induced to ask them a question or two, the answers to which showed shrewdness and intelligence rather above what appearances promised. Finally, they were asked for their terms. "Just what the gentlemen please," was the answer. And finding they were not easily shaken off, we finally bid them come on and give us all the information they had to spare. We first came to "St. Anthony's Well," a crystal stream issuing from the rocks and falling into a basin, which is chiseled out in a solid rock, holding several quarts. Here we found several more juvenile guides of both sexes, who hastened to dip up some of the water in little tin cups with which they were furnished. We drank some of the pure (not holy) water, and were refreshed. On the left, a few rods, are the ruins of "St. Anthony's Chapel," founded by the queen of James IV. Here was a favorite haunt, just before the thunders of the Reformation broke upon

Scotland in the voice of John Knox, for those drones and pests of Christendom, the monks. But what desolation reigns here now! Instead of a stately temple dedicated to a tutelar god called St. Anthony; ornamented with statuary, pictures, crosses, and priestly robes, and enlivened by the sound of consecrated bells, and masses muttered over in an unknown tongue; there is now a pile of stones and mortar, barely retaining enough of the indications of its original design to distinguish it from the native crags and cliffs in its immediate neighborhood. A fair emblem of "holy mother church" at the present day. The chapel was in length forty-three feet, and in breadth and height eighteen feet; it had a tower at the west end forty feet in height. It was originally inclosed by a stone wall extending some distance upon the hill. "The hermitage to which this chapel was appended has a cell still remaining, which is frequently visited by the curious; its dimensions are sixteen feet by twelve."—*Storer's Views in Edinburgh.*

Leaving this interesting spot, we ascended the hill, though not without labor. After resting for a few minutes upon the lawn, we arose and gazed around; and on whatever point the eye rested, —east, west, north, or south, near or remote—there was something to charm and almost enrapture the sensibilities of the soul. The atmosphere was happily free from haze, and there was nothing to obstruct the view. The city, with its towers, spires, and monuments; the castle, shooting up on the top of a rock, with its walls and turrets; show the skill and power of man in their perfection. But stretching the view to a distance—to the north, "the east and west Lomonds of Fife" may be seen; to the north-east, the Island of Inchkeith, in the middle of the Frith; further eastward, the conical hill called North Berwick Law, the Bass Rock behind, rising perpendicularly out of the sea, and further on the Isle of May; south-east are seen the towns of Portobello and Musselburgh; Dalkeith raises its cloud of smoke at the south; and south-west are the Braid and Blackford hills, and the long range of Pentlands. In the west may be seen the smoke of the town of Stirling, and further on culminates the blue head and shoulders of Ben Lomond above all other distant objects. In these far-reaching views the works of God so far excel those of men, that, though they are taken into the same field of vision, and seem to be mingled together, devotion takes the place of the emotions of grandeur and sublimity. Then, "great and marvelous are thy works, Lord God Almighty."

We descended by an exceedingly precipitous way, in which we often were obliged to hold on upon the crags until we could fasten our heels or toes in a crevice of the rock, or a slight depression

in the adhering earth made by the feet of preceding adventurers. At length we reached the road which winds its way around this hill. This road is quite a comfortable track for a carriage; but the queen is constructing a new one, to be graded and macadamized, we were told, out of her own private purse. Descending the hill, we noticed a crag which presents the appearance of a human face, which our guides informed us was called "Lord Brougham's nose." Our course lay between Salisbury crag and "St. Leonard's," the place designated by Sir Walter Scott as the residence of "*Davy Dean*." "There," said one of our guides, pausing, "is the house of Jeannie Dean." The house is a small cottage situated near the foot of the mountain slope. Coming again into the King's Park, our guides halted again, and, looking at the east, asked if we wished to visit "Nicol Muschat's Carne." Being much fatigued, we contented ourselves with merely having the location pointed out from the position we occupied. "And how," asked we, "my lads, did you learn all these locations?" "By reading 'The Heart of Mid Lothian,' by Sir Walter Scott, sir," was the reply. The shrewd little rogues had fully deciphered our nationality, and appeared to know well with whom they were dealing;—this we discovered by asking them a few questions which were suggested by something they said. "What countrymen are we?" we asked. "Yer Amarican jantlemen," was the answer. "And how do you know that?" we rejoined. "By yer hats," was the answer. We followed up with, "And what is there particular in American hats?" "They are rolled up all round," was the answer. "And what if we had bought hats in London?" asked we. "I should know you by yer boots," said the lad. "And what is there in our boots different from those of this country?" we asked. "The toes are wider," was the answer. "Well, my lads, what if we had bought boots in London?" asked we. "Why, then, I'de known ye by yer talk," was the answer. "Do you often see Americans here?" we asked. "Yes, sir, every day." "Ah, every day?" "Almost every day." We parted with our young guides, right well pleased with the little fellows, and after an effort to make them pleased with us, which seemed quite satisfactory. On our return we passed through "the Canongate," and were so eager to notice the antiquities that we attracted some attention—the people standing and looking at us as earnestly as we gazed upon the old buildings, which had passed through so many revolutions and been the scene of such a world of legends. But all were respectful, and ready, to the best of their ability, to answer any questions which we saw proper to propose.

After a night's repose we resumed our rambles. Our first visit this morning was to Holyrood Palace. This palace was commenced by James V., and in its present form was completed by Charles II. It is a quadrangle, inclosing a court ninety-four feet square, and its buildings are all four stories besides the attic, with the exception of the western side, which is only two stories. We were conducted through the various apartments of the palace by an elderly lady, who seemed both obliging and intelligent. We cannot follow our notes into detailed descriptions without extending this paper further than would be advisable. All we shall attempt is merely to notice a few of the remarkable things which we here observed. The great gallery of one hundred and fifty-six feet in length, by twenty-seven and a half in width, and twenty feet high, is hung with the paintings, by De Witt, of a hundred and eleven monarchs of Scotland; the earlier ones, however, are considered imaginary. Some of these were defaced by Cromwell's soldiers after the defeat of the royalists at Falkirk, 1745. The marks of swords or bayonets are still visible on some of these old pictures. We were shown the rooms and beds occupied by the royal refugees from France during the revolutions. But by far the most interesting objects which we saw in the palace were the rooms of Mary, queen of Scots, and the relics which they contain. In the queen's bed-room is shown some tapestry, in a tolerable state of preservation, which she wrought with her own hands when a child—several chairs covered with crimson velvet, and her bed. The bed and curtains were, doubtless, originally worthy of a queen, but they show the influence of time upon them; and their present appearance indicates, that, remaining in their position without being used or touched, they will at no distant date fall to pieces and return to dust. The furniture of the bed is crimson damask, bordered with green silk tassels and fringes, which tradition assigns to the fair hands of the unfortunate queen. In this apartment is a small door communicating with a flight of stairs, evidently designed as a secret passage between the queen's rooms and the abbey. Through this passage Darnley and his accomplices entered into the queen's rooms and seized Rizzio, her secretary, while he was supping with the queen in a small room adjoining the bed-room. From this room the miserable secretary was dragged through the bed-room into "the chamber of presence," where he was murdered—and where are still to be seen upon the floor dark spots said to be the stains of his blood. We will not pretend to determine the truth of the tradition, that these spots are the veritable stains occasioned by the blood of the queen's Italian favorite. This may perhaps be

admitted without allowing anything miraculous or judicial in the fact. No one, we think, can tell why the stains made by the blood of the queen's paramour should be left upon the floor for centuries, and actually be ineffaceable, any more than that the same should be the case with the blood of Darnley himself, who, however wicked, was as unrighteously murdered as was Rizzio. But here we let the matter rest—we saw the "large dark spots," and this is all we cared about them. The "closet," as it is called, where Mary and Rizzio were taking their supper together when the conspirators entered, is a small room of, perhaps, fourteen by twelve feet, with a grate and fender, said to be the first articles of that kind ever used in Scotland—and their rudeness almost identifies them as the relics of a barbarous age. There we saw, also, Lord Darnley's riding boots and spurs. The boots seem to be made of heavy cow-hide with bottoms answerable. The legs are so long that they must have covered the knee when upon horseback. And it would certainly take a man of extraordinary strength of muscles to mount a horse with them on without assistance.

The old abbey which was erected under the reign of David I., in 1128, is lying waste and going to decay. There is a fine monument of Parian marble here of Lord Belhaven, chamberlain to Charles I., erected in 1639. We were shown the place of the high altar where Queen Mary was married, and her confessing room. And here also is seen, through a grate, the royal vault, where a small parcel of bones are lying upon a shelf,—all that is left of the royal personages who had been here deposited,—the place, as is said, having been rifled during the wars of Cromwell, for the purpose of converting the leaden coffins into balls. So all that remains of Scotch royalty here in the royal vault is a heap of small bones which a man can take up with one hand!

The palace is now undergoing repairs by order of the queen, which furnished one of our party with an opportunity of bringing away a piece of the old palace which had been split from a window frame, which was subsequently divided among the company.

On our return we examined the old residence of John Knox at the head of the Canongate. The building is of stone and bears the marks of great antiquity. "And on the front wall, to the west, is a figure in alto relievo, pointing to a radiated stone, whereon is sculptured the name of the Deity in Greek, Latin, and English."—*Pen. Cyc.* The figure is an effigy of John Knox, of a few inches in height, standing in a preaching attitude, with book in hand, in a pulpit, in the corner of the house, about as high as the floor of the second story. The figure is itself so poor a specimen of the art,

that, were it not for the associations, it would excite ludicrous emotions. But here the great reformer really once lived, prayed, and preached,—for we were told that he was wont to stand in a window in the second story of this house and preach to the people who crowded the street below. John Knox was a great and a good man—doubtless, with faults. But we are not among those who set down among his errors his faithful warnings and reproofs of the queen for the superstitions and licentiousness of her household, nor his stubborn resistance of her royal mandates in matters of religion. He was by Providence especially suited to his work. An ordinary nerve would have failed in the herculean effort necessary to break to pieces the iron despotism which was crushing the rights of conscience in Scotland. And it was a high eulogium which the earl of Morton pronounced upon his character upon the occasion of his burial:—"Here lies a man who never knew fear."

Dr. Emory brought a letter from Mr. Hay, a Wesleyan minister of Dublin, to his father, Alexander Hay, Esq., of Edinburgh. This gentleman was exceedingly kind and obliging, and took the pains to conduct us to many places of interest in the city. He first conducted us to *Heriot's Hospital*, which is simply a charity school for boys.

"George Heriot, the founder of this hospital, was born in Edinburgh, about the year 1561. His father being a goldsmith there, he was brought up to that business. He began trade with the sum of £214 11*s.* 8*d.*, which had been partly furnished by his father, and partly brought him by his wife. In 1597 he had the good fortune to be appointed goldsmith to the queen, and, shortly after, goldsmith and jeweler to her husband, James VI., on whose accession to the English throne, Heriot went to London. There, in the course of a profitable profession, to which he gave unremitting attention, he realized a large fortune, with part of which he made considerable purchases in the vicinity of the Scottish metropolis.

"By his will he bequeathed to the ministers and magistrates of Edinburgh all that portion of his property that should remain after debts, legacies, &c., had been paid, to be applied by them in the erection and endowment of a hospital for the maintenance and education of so many poor fatherless boys, freemen's sons of the town of Edinburgh, as the funds would allow."—*Storer's Views in Edinburgh.*

We were introduced to the governor of the school, and by him conducted to the chapel, dormitories, lecture room, kitchen, &c.; and finally the usual civility was offered us of a drink of wine

from a cup constructed of a shell—a univalve—rimmed and ornamented with gold, the work of Heriot, the founder. We admired the cup—it is indeed an interesting and a beautiful relic—but were under the necessity of *declining* the *wine*. The good governor had the politeness to accommodate our scruples by ordering some *pure cold water*, which we took from this cup, our Scotch friends preserving all due gravity, though it was sufficiently evident that our tenacity was regarded as ultra.

This building is now two hundred years old. After the battle of Dunbar, Cromwell used it for eight years for an infirmary for his sick and wounded soldiers, after which it was appropriated to its original purposes. One half of Edinburgh, as it now is, is built upon the Heriot lands, the value, and consequently the rents of which are continually increasing. The income now supports three thousand boys, many of whom are preparing for the university. How far was the original donor from foreseeing the extent to which his foundation would benefit the city and the world!

From the hospital we passed to the church of Gray Friars, a portion of which has been destroyed by fire, and is not yet restored. Here we saw the monuments of *Blair*, *Maclaurin*, and others. Also, in the neighborhood, an old monument to "the martyrs," with an historical and sentimental inscription. It stands in the location where "criminals" were formerly buried. Here men of the spirit of *George Wishart* and *Patrick Hamilton*, when honored with burial, were buried among *thieves* and *murderers;* and burial, even here, was doubtless thought too good fortune for the bodies of men, whose souls had been consigned to perdition by the Romish priests for reading and disseminating the Bible! But their witness is in heaven and their record is on high.

From this point we were conducted to "the council chamber" in the "Royal Exchange;" thence to the assembly hall, where we saw a statue of "the pretender," which was found in a box after his last unsuccessful effort to re-establish the line of "the Stuarts;" thence we came to "the castle." This is one of the most prominent objects in the city. It is seen from all points, being perched upon a rock elevated three hundred and eighty-three feet above the level of the sea. The castle is separated from the buildings of the street on the east, the only side on which it is accessible, by an esplanade of about three hundred and fifty feet in length, and three hundred feet in breadth. The area of the rock measures about seven English acres. From the castle we had another splendid view of the city and suburbs. The new town, on the north, is seen to great advantage from this point. We were conducted by

an officer through the various apartments which are shown to visitors, and, among other things, saw "the regalia of Scotland,"—the crown, two golden maces, sword of state, &c. The regalia were placed in the castle in 1707, in an oaken chest in the crown room, inclosed by mason work. It was believed that they had been removed to England, until, on the application of Sir Walter Scott, an order was issued, in 1818, by George IV. for a search for them, when they were found. We were also conducted to the room where James VI., afterward James I. of England, was born, and were shown the window through which he was let down in a basket, when three days old, and received at the foot of the perpendicular rock on the south-west side of the castle, after a perilous descent of perhaps two hundred feet. The room is homely enough, and shows the effects of time and revolutions. At one period it was occupied as "a smoking-room." There was little sport in being "queen of Scotland" in the days of "the unfortunate Mary."

We noticed the monstrous cannon, called "Mons Meg," cast at Mons in Flanders. The length of this great gun is thirteen and a half feet, and the bore nineteen and a half inches. "It was used at the siege of Norham, and afterward burst in firing a salute to the duke of York, on his visit to the castle, 1682." It was removed in 1753 to London, and exhibited in the tower, but was returned by George IV., in 1829, and is now mounted on an elegant carriage and placed on the bomb battery.

From the castle we passed to a beautiful Gothic church—one of the new churches of the Free Church of Scotland; thence proceeded to the library of "the writers to the signet;" thence to the parliament house, St. Giles' church, &c. We were pointed to a court yard where lie the bones of John Knox under the pavement, without any monument to designate the particular spot.

We passed "the Methodist Chapel" without taking time to enter it. There is a fine picture of this chapel in Storer's "Picturesque and Historical Description of Edinburgh," with the following description:—"This beautiful structure was erected in 1814, and stands in the south-west corner of Nicholson's Square. The length of the building is about eighty feet, and its width sixty: attached to it is a very neat house appropriated to the minister; and under the chapel and house are some excellent rooms for sabbath schools. The whole building cost £5,000. The front is rendered extremely pleasant and picturesque by the shrubbery of the adjoining gardens; besides which, the square has its centre inclosed with an iron railing, and is adorned with a plantation of trees."

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A hasty glance at "the university" closed our survey of the wonders of Edinburgh. This institution was erected by James VI., 1582, and opened the following year. Originally the building was inferior, but in 1785 a subscripition was raised for the erection of a new structure, upon a plan prepared by the celebrated architect, Adam. The foundation was laid in 1789, but the funds having been soon exhausted, the work stopped until 1815, when a new grant for ten years of £10,000 annually was obtained from parliament. Since then the building has been completed. The library and apparatus are ample, and the students numerous. The faculty are appointed, and the discipline exercised, by the town council.

There is a noble spirit of independence among the Scotch. We saw many poor filthy people in Glasgow and Edinburgh, but in all our rambles through these cities we were assailed by but one solitary beggar, and he was an *Irish* boy. We need scarcely say that we left the splendid city of Edinburgh abundantly gratified that we had seen it, but regretting that our stay was so short.

The course upon which we had determined was through the country, by Melrose. We accordingly took stage at three P. M.,—it having been expressly stipulated that our company should occupy the front seat upon the top of the coach, and that we should stop at Melrose over one stage. Having taken our seats in good season, just before starting a claim was preferred to a place upon our seat, and things seemed to be verging to a severe controversy. Our friend, Dr. Emory, said we had expressly stipulated for that seat—we were Americans and wished to have a fair view of the country, and to sit together—but we would leave it to the agent; who had been ensconced in his office without appearing to know anything of what was going on. After this statement, made in a calm, dignified tone, the gentleman, who was standing upon the ground in quite a feverish state, was called into the office, and, after a little delay, came out and coolly observed, that the *right* was his, but, out of courtesy to the American gentlemen, he would yield it, and then proceeded to take a back seat. Of course we said nothing further about the *right*—thanked him for his kindness, and kept our position. A Scotchman cannot be either frightened or reasoned out of what he thinks his *right;* but give him a fair opportunity to be magnanimous, and none are more ready than he to "gang sic a gate."

Our direction lay south, and of course we passed the splendid old ruins of *Craigmiller Castle.* It stands upon an eminence, and commands a most extensive prospect. This venerable pile is surrounded by many fine old trees which appear to be as ancient as

the castle itself, which, according to an inscription on the gate of the rampart wall which surrounds it, was built in 1427. The principal towns we passed were Dalkeith, not far from Edinburgh, and Galashiels, not far from the confluence of the Gala and the Tweed. The latter is famous for its woolen manufactories—particularly manufacturing the cloth called "Tweed." The situation of the town is in a narrow vale surrounded by most romantic hills. We had a most charming ride, and reached Melrose at seven o'clock.

After seeing our baggage deposited in the hotel, we repaired to the old abbey, but a few rods distant. Here we found one of the most splendid ruins in Scotland. A monastery of the *Cistertian* monks was established here by David I., and by his munificence, and that of his son who succeeded him, and "the nobles of the court" who "vied with each other in the number and value of their gifts, in a short time it became possessed of the most extensive revenues." Being upon "the border," the abbey necessarily suffered much in the wars between the English and the Scotch. In 1544 it was burned by a party of English, and in 1559 the monks were driven out and their property wrested from them. A portion of the old building was covered, and for many years used for a church; but a new parish church having been built, it is now wholly deserted, and the modern improvements are blemishes upon the grand old ruin. There is still to be seen an abundance of the old sculpture,—Peter with his keys, Paul with his sword, the Virgin and child, King David and his queen, and others,—besides broken statues in piles here and there.

"The outside of the building is profusely embellished with that exquisite carving which characterizes the minutest portions of this noble ruin. In the wall are numerous niches, with finely designed canopies, and, though most of them are empty, a few still contain statues. There are also, in excellent condition, eight windows on the south side of the long nave of the church. The moldings of these seem nearly as sharp and beautiful as when they passed through the hands of the workman; indicating, in a striking manner, the excellence of the stone, which has so effectually resisted, not only the rude treatment it has sustained from the hands of man, but also the slow, though more sure, devastations of time, for a period of nearly seven hundred years. Each of these windows is elegantly formed into the Gothic point, and has three mullions, terminating in a circle on the top, within which circle are formed semicircles, hearts, and other figures. The height of each of these windows, save one, is sixteen feet, eight inches, by ten feet in breadth; and the sides of each of them are ornamented by the heads of

monks and nuns. Above the windows are buttress-pinnacles, beautified with four carved points, and a point springing from the centre of the four. From these pinnacles are flying buttresses to other pinnacles, of admirable workmanship; that on the west being much the finest upon the building; it is adorned with an image of the Virgin, with the babe in her arms; the head of the latter, however, is unfortunately wanting, for which circumstance the following tradition sufficiently accounts.

"A person in the village of Gattonside, to whom these relics of Popish superstition had long been objects of the utmost aversion, set about completing the work of destruction, which the reformers, with zeal more furious than well directed, had begun, but not altogether finished. After this violent apostle of John Knox had succeeded in mutilating most of the statues that remained entire, he exultingly boasted, that he had 'fairly stumped thae Papist dirt noo.' The appellation of *Stumpy* was in consequence bestowed upon him, and is also said to have descended to his posterity. Tradition further adds, that, when striking at the head of the babe, a splinter of the stone hit him upon the arm, by which circumstance he was disabled from using it ever after."—*Melrose and its Vicinity.*

Twilight found us wandering around and through this ancient haunt of the monks; and we left it with similar impressions with those described by Sir Walter Scott in his "Lay of the Last Minstrel," occasioned by a moonlight scene at Melrose,—

"The moon on the east oriel shone
Through slender shafts of shapely stone,
By foliaged tracery combined;
Thou would'st have thought some fairy's hand
'Twixt poplars straight the ozier wand,
In many a freakish knot had twined;
Then framed a spell, when the work was done,
And changed the willow-wreaths to stone."

On the west side of the south transept, and near the door, upon the wall, is the following quaint inscription, which is designed to indicate the name, country, &c., of the architect:—

"Ihon: Murdo: sum: tym: callet:
was: I: and: born: in: parryss:
certainly: and: had: in: keeping:
al: mason: werk: of: santan:
droys: ye: high: kirk: of: glas:
gu: melros: and: paslay: of:
nyddysdayll: and: of: galway:
pray: to: god: and: mari: baith:
and: sweet: sanct: ihon: to: keep:
this: haly: kirk: fra: skaith:"

After a refreshing night's rest we arose and took a carriage at five o'clock for *Dryburgh Abbey*, four miles down the Tweed. We came to the Tweed opposite the abbey, and raised a great shout in order to awaken the ferryman on the opposite side. After some delay we saw a clumsy Scotchman moving his way toward the river. One of the company roared at him amain, if possible to induce him to quicken his pace. This called forth a stentorian answer:—"I 'm a' comin a'now." We were soon taken across this Scotch *Rubicon*, and hastened to the door of the keeper of the abbey. We found no village here. The ruin constitutes the principal attraction of the location. There is evidence that here was once located a Druidical temple. Indeed, it is conjectured that the location derives its name from *Drys*, which, in both Celtic and Greek, signifies an oak. We saw a sarcophagus which is dated 522 years before the Christian era. Upon this site a monastery was erected, of which *Moden* was elected abbot in 522. The building, of which the ruins here remain, was erected in 1150, under David I., the great patron of the monks. Like all the Roman Catholic churches, this was built in the form of a cross. There is yet in excellent preservation the great western door, a Roman arch of fine workmanship, forming the nave or foot of the cross; and opposite to this door stands a portion of the high altar. A peak of the ruin, forming the left shoulder of the cross, is nearly a hundred feet high, and in some directions can be seen at a great distance. The building was a hundred and ninety-five feet in length, and at the transept was seventy-five in breadth.

In addition to the antiquities of this place there are other objects of interest. In a spacious hall are disposed upon pedestals busts, in plaster of Paris, of some of the great men of history, among whom we noticed *General Washington*. Here are buried the Erskines, and *Sir Walter Scott*. The author of *Waverley* here lies behind a plain railing, without monument or inscription to celebrate his praise or perpetuate his name.

The present proprietor is taking every precaution to preserve these ruins in their present state, and to keep the grounds in a good condition. There are many curious old trees to be seen here —a cedar of Lebanon brought from Palestine, and an ewe-tree, said to have stood there more than seven hundred years. In returning to the ferry we saw elevated above a high wall which incloses the grounds of the *laird* of the soil, a sign, upon which one of the humbugs of these great men appeared:—"Man-traps and spring-guns set here." Such remnants of feudal power and folly must pass away before the light of the nineteenth century.

We resumed our seats in our carriage, and proceeded to *Abbotsford*, the late residence of Sir Walter Scott, four miles above Melrose, on the Tweed. The estate of Sir Walter a few years since was "a naked moor," but is now under a high state of cultivation and most splendidly ornamented.

"Sir Walter Scott was a most zealous agriculturist, and arboriculturist especially; and it was allowed that he had done things with this estate, since it came into his possession, which would have been reckoned wonders, even if they had occupied the whole of a clever and skillful man's attention, during more years than he was laird of Abbotsford. There is some excellent arable land on the banks of the Tweed, toward the little town of Melrose, which lies some three miles from the mansion; but the bulk of the property is hilly country, with deep narrow dells interlacing it. Of this he planted fully one-half, and it is admitted on all hands, that the rising forest has been laid out, arranged, and managed, with consummate taste, care, and success. So much so, that the general appearance of Tweed-side, for some miles, is already quite altered and improved by the graceful ranges of the woodland; and that the produce of these plantations must, in the course of twenty or thirty years more, add immensely to the yearly rental of the estate. In the mean time the shelter afforded by the woods to the sheep-walks reserved amidst them, has prodigiously improved the pasturage, and half the surface yields already double the rent the whole was ever thought capable of affording while in the old unprotected condition. All through these woods there were broad riding-ways, kept in capital order, and conducted in such excellent taste, that we might wander for weeks amidst their windings without exhausting the beauties of the poet's lounge. There are scores of charming waterfalls in the ravines, and near every one of them you find benches or bowers at the most picturesque points of view. There are two or three small mountain lakes included in the domain—one of them not so small neither—being nearly a mile in circumference; and of these, also, every advantage has been taken. Amidst these woods, the late Sir Walter, when at home, usually spent many hours daily, either on his pony or on foot, with ax and pruning-knife in hand. Here was his *study;* he, it seems, like Jacques, was never at a loss to find 'books in trees.'

> 'The Muse nae poet ever fand her
> Till by himsel' he learn'd to wander
> Adown some trotting burn's meander,
> An' no think lang.'"

Melrose and its Vicinity.

The house stands upon the slope of the hill, within a few rods of the Tweed. It is constructed upon a plan altogether unique, devised by the genius and conformed to the taste of the noble proprietor. As a whole it is unlike anything else in all the world, but its parts are either original portions of the structures of all ages and countries, or close imitations of them. All orders of architecture found a patron in Sir Walter Scott, and are here brought into a group. The following description is true to the life:—

"The house is more than one hundred and fifty feet long in front, and was built at two different onsets; has a tall tower at either end, the one not the least like the other; presents sundry *crow-footed*, alias zigzagged, gables to the eye; a myriad of indentations, and parapets, and machicolated eaves; most fantastic water-spouts; labeled windows, not a few of them of painted glass; groups of right Elizabethan chimneys; balconies of divers fashions, greater and lesser; stones carved with heraldries innumerable let in here and there in the wall; and a very noble projecting gateway, a fac-simile of that appertaining to a certain dilapidated royal palace, which long ago seems to have caught in a particular manner the poet's fancy, as witness the stanza:—

> 'Of all the palaces so fair,
> Built for the royal dwelling,
> Above the rest, beyond compare,
> Linlithgow is excelling.'"
>
> *Melrose and its Vicinity.*

You enter from the porch way, first into the "hall," a rather dark and gloomy room, about forty feet long, the two lofty windows being covered with coats of arms. The floor is of black and white marble from the Hebrides, and the walls of richly carved oak of a dark color, and brought from the old palace of Dunfermline. The "armory" contains a world of curiosities in the war line. Here are bows and arrows, swords and spears, darts, daggers, guns, and steel armor, collected from all parts of the world, and representing the modes of warfare in all ages. The armory is particularly rich in *auld Scotch arms*. Here is Rob Roy's gun, with his initials, R. M. C., Robert Macgregor Campbell, engraved upon it. The baronet seems really to have

> "——had a fouth o' auld nick-nackets,
> Rusty airn caps and jinglin' jackets,
> Wad haud the Lothians three in tackets,
> A towmont' guid."

The "dining-room" is hung in crimson, but almost entirely covered with pictures. Among these we particularly noticed "the

head of Mary, queen of Scots," in a charger, "painted by Amias Canrood, the day after the decapitation," and sent, some years ago, as a present to Sir Walter from a Prussian nobleman, in whose family it had been preserved for more than two centuries. The eyes are closed, and the features smooth and natural. But the associations are melancholy.

The "breakfast-room" looks toward the Tweed, in the front of which, outside, is a small platform, where a highland band was wont to perform while the baronet took his breakfast. The "drawing-room" is a large *saloon* with antique ebony furniture; the chairs are beautifully wrought, and were a present from George IV. The "library" contains fifteen thousand volumes—a most curious collection of history, poetry, and romance. The "study" is about twenty-five feet square, having a plain writing desk in the centre, and the chair in which "the great unknown" sat when he wrote his novels:—it is a plain arm-chair, with cushions covered with leather. On each side of the fireplace are shelves filled with books of reference, and there is a light gallery elevated and running round three sides of the room, with a hanging stair in one corner, which contains shelves filled with books. This room, "the lion's own den," was never entered by any one except Lady Scott and a servant. And, when swept and dusted by the servant, Mrs. Scott was always present. The last room we shall notice is the "closet," which contains the wearing apparel of Sir Walter, and several implements used by him when he went abroad over his premises: these were his staff, his pruning-hook, spade, hoe, &c. But the hand that wielded them is palsied in death. At the front of the door is a marble bust of Sir Walter's favorite dog, under which his body was deposited. The most petty things were made to assume a magnitude approaching sublimity, under the hand of this great and singular genius.

We were reminded that this, Aug. 15th, was Sir Walter's *birth-day*, a fact which we had forgotten. And on this day his statue was placed upon its pedestal under the superb monument erected in Edinburgh. We left Edinburgh a day too soon to witness the imposing ceremony, an account of which filled so many newspapers, but just in time to be in the room where Sir Walter Scott breathed his last, *upon his birthday*.

We left Abbotsford with increased admiration of the genius of Sir Walter Scott, and also with increased regret that his great talents had not been consecrated to God by a more decided devotion to our holy Christianity.

We returned to Melrose, and took breakfast at ten o'clock, and at

eleven took our seats upon the top of the stage for Newcastle-upon-Tyne. We passed *Jedburgh Abbey,*—a most magnificent ruin,—an erection "by pious King David." Our way lay through large "moors," which, if they were but distributed among the people, and cultivated, would yield a living for thousands of the poor, who are in almost a starving condition. Our seats were rendered exceedingly uncomfortable by a rain which commenced soon after we left Melrose, and continued through the day. We all raised our umbrellas, but then the difficulty was to avoid the drippings from those held by our friends on either side. After becoming thoroughly wet, the "inside" having been emptied of its *nobility,* we obtained a sort of half-way consent of the driver to take a seat there. There we were safe and comfortable. The following line was lettered with a paint-brush in a prominent place: "Licensed for 17, 4 inside and 13 out."

We fell in with several of the hunting gentry, who had become satisfied with the "hunter's luck," and were making their way home. The season for shooting grouse had just begun; that is, the time had come when the "game laws" permit this species of sport. And taking the men, we, in some cases, had to take gun, *dogs* and all, with them. It was amusing to see with what animation these sons of Nimrod would talk over their success. One who had taken quarters in an inn where the stage halted, came out and accosted a companion upon the stage, with the question:—"What success? what success?" The answer, as near as we can recollect, was somewhat equivocal. "I," rejoined the knight of the musket, "came in completely exhausted: I went out yesterday, I saw several, and shot one;—I had that cooked for my supper, but it has rained so severely to-day, I have done nothing. But there is game plenty at the north." The remarks were common-place; but the interest with which they were made, and the evidence of excitement produced by shooting a bird about the size of a wild pigeon, gave us some small idea of the reason why, in the old world, hunting is so regulated by law as to be almost entirely monopolized by the gentry.

We passed a nobleman's hunting grounds this day, which show in a different way, and upon somewhat a large scale, the importance which is put upon the sport. For miles the country was divided between forest and moor. Here thousands of acres, which, if cultivated, would yield an abundant reward to the laborer, are entirely unoccupied except by deer, rabbits, and birds. In the centre of these "hunting grounds" is a large establishment, consisting of a country-seat, a few cottages for "game-keepers,"—sta-

bles, and kennel. And here the proprietor spends a few weeks—sometimes only a few days—in the year in sporting. Such remnants of the old feudal system still remain in England, Scotland, and Ireland: but how long the unnatural monopoly will be permitted to continue, God only knows. The burdensome monopolies of the old world are now under a pressure which may modify, or even ruin them.

We reached Newcastle at half-past seven, and took quarters at the "Queen's Head Hotel."

Art. VII.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *The Philosophy of Christian Perfection; embracing a Psychological Statement of some of the Principles of Christianity on which this Doctrine rests: together with a Practical Examination of the Particular Views of several recent Writers on this Subject.* 12mo., pp. 159. Philadelphia: Sorin & Ball. 1848.

The subject of *Christian perfection* is one which, at the present time, excites as much interest, and receives as large an amount of attention, from the Christian mind of the country, as any other one theological doctrine. Books have been produced for and against the doctrine; reviews, and other periodicals, have discussed it, in the way of argument, pro and con. Philosophers have endeavored to bring it to the test of philosophical analysis, and have dressed it up in the habiliments of scientific nomenclature, while imaginative and eccentric minds have reduced it to a mere ideal existence. It concerns considerate minds to look over the mass of thought—good, bad, and indifferent—which has been evolved upon the subject, and inquire how much progress has been made, especially within the present century, toward a better understanding of the doctrine, and a more complete experiment upon it as a *practical truth*. We have examined with some care, perhaps, all the *theories* of Christian perfection, and are finally settling down upon the conclusion, that, in the general, so far as they look beyond the lines distinctly drawn in the Bible, they are calculated to throw the honest and consistent inquirer into perplexity and doubt. Mr. Wesley theorized sufficiently upon the subject, and the difficulties, real or supposed, in which his positions are involved, attach invariably to his speculations, and not to his plain statements of the doctrine, or the fact, of Christian perfection. But he was met with speculative objections, and attempts to push out the subject to ultimate doctrines, and to show its antagonism in relation to speculative principles, and he sometimes made the effort to satisfy the demands of his antagonists. In

some instances he may have satisfied, or at least silenced them; but in general he seems only to have furnished occasion for new objections and assaults from other quarters. But Mr. Wesley's speculations upon the subject are few, and in themselves harmless; but those who have come after him have so far exceeded him in this mode of treating the subject, that, could he rise from the dead, they would not be within the reach of his vision without the aid of a telescope. And how far some of these men have "darkened counsel by words without knowledge," we will not now pretend to say.

The latest work upon the subject which has come under our observation is the one whose title-page we have placed at the head of this notice. We had seen "the philosophy" of almost everything—"of religion," "of morals," "of the plan of salvation," and now we have before us "the philosophy of Christian perfection." And it is no mean specimen of the mode of bringing out the rationale of Christian doctrine by philosophical investigations, now prevalent in some other quarters besides Germany. We wish we had space for a full review of this book, but we have not. All we can attempt at present is to give the reader a mere outline of the work.

The argument of the work is directed to the inquiry, "What is the standard of moral perfection personally attainable by man?" In pursuing this inquiry, the author looks at the primeval state, or "the original constitution of man," his present condition, and the provisions made for his recovery. His mode of investigation precludes his use of "technical language, even though it may be the language of Scripture." He says, "We propose to interrogate our psychology, that we may see whether science, as the handmaid of revelation, can be made to aid in giving us any clearer views of the moral constitution of man, or any more definite ideas of the moral perfection made attainable by him." He objects to the statement of the doctrine found in our book upon the subject of Christian perfection—"That it implies, simply, loving God with all the heart;" and that it does "not imply a perfect fulfillment of the Adamic law," on account of its "indefiniteness." But after all his interrogations of "psychology," as *definitè* a response as his oracle gives him, is, "that psychology furnishes" no "other limits" to "the strength which this 'new and holy affection' can acquire in the heart—than those which bound the goodness of God, and the glories and perfections of his character." Is this much more *definite* than our proposition? But let us look a little further. He says: "The moral elevation procured for him, [man,] by the atonement of Jesus Christ, is nothing less than *an entire restoration to his original state of perfection.*" We follow the author's italics, by the aid of which he would make his *specification* still more *specific*. But how far has he proceeded

toward the ultimate truth he is pursuing? Let us look at another leap toward an absolutely specific view. "If there is any philosophy in the principle, that he loves most to whom most is forgiven, we might even expect a more intense ardor of elevation in the soul of man, 'created anew in Christ Jesus,' than was ever exhibited by one who had never sinned." See pp. 50, 51. Here we learn that *Christian perfection* is somewhat above *Adamic perfection;* but *how much*, we know not.

On "the original constitution of man," our author's position is, "That man, as he came originally from the hand of his Maker, was a being of distinguished excellence and perfection." This proposition will not be disputed. But lest we should think too highly of our forefather, he proceeds to guard his proposition by limitations. And he tells us that man "was imperfect in knowledge," because "the woman, being deceived, was in the transgression." He then proceeds to the doctrine of "temptation," and makes it out to consist "in the conscious tendency of the appetite to seek its gratification in the forbidden object." And again: "A conscious tendency of some of the desires to seek gratification in a forbidden object." And this "conscious tendency of the appetite to seek gratification in the forbidden object," he makes to be an essential "element" in the "temptation" of man in Paradise before his fall. Now, supposing a plain, unsophisticated person, were to ask the author what he means by "a conscious tendency of the appetite," or "of some of the desires," what would he say? Would he say, without circumlocution, It means *to desire?* Or would he say, This is philosophical language, which you cannot be made to understand? If he were to give the former answer, would he not leave the inquirer to infer that there is no *sin* in *desiring* "gratification in a forbidden object?" But if the latter, would he not be left to conclude that none but philosophers can understand the responses of "psychology" in relation to man's primeval state? In other words, that the Bible, at least so far as it relates to the introduction of moral evil, is a sealed book to all, except our philosophers and metaphysicians? But we must pause in our course. Our object is not a refutation of the author, but a mere development of his theory. This theory, so far, seems not to admit, that the solicitations and reasoning of Satan constituted the original temptation. And this agency seems to be spoken of in rather doubtful terms by his favorite *German* author, *Dr. Ullmann*, who agrees with our author in maintaining that, in temptation, "the mind receives certain ideas, so as to feel, in connection with them, *some excitement of desire*." "This," he says, "must be the case, even if we choose to adopt the notion of a tempting agency working from without, of whatever nature the agency may be." Mark this language: "*Even*

if we choose to adopt the notion of a tempting agency working from without." This language the author quotes without any note of dissent or explanation. He does elsewhere admit Satanic agency in the temptation; but he must have the element of "desires to seek gratification in the forbidden object" come in to the devil's help, or such a thing as a temptation could not, by possibility, be originated by all the skill and power his Satanic majesty could muster.

Adam, then, was not only originally "imperfect in knowledge," but had "desires to seek gratification in a forbidden object:" and, furthermore, our author says he "had his *trials* and *afflictions* before he fell into sin." P. 65. However "distinguished" the "excellence" of "man" was, "as he came originally from the hand of his Maker," it must be taken with the above abatements.

The "*second* point of general agreement among evangelical writers," to which our author calls attention, and which constitutes a particular theme of remark, is, "That, by transgression, man lost much of his original excellence." P. 28. But *how* "much" of "his original excellence man lost by transgression," we are not told. Indeed we should judge, from what the author has previously advanced, that he had very little to lose, excepting of one kind. He tells us "that the perfection of our first parents was essentially a moral perfection." P. 22. He distinctly denies to man both "physical" and "mental perfection." Pp. 23, 24. Of course he did not lose by the fall what he never had. And as to "moral perfection," he lost "much" of that; but it would seem from the language employed, there was a *residuum* left—more or less—*how much* we are not told. Again, in speaking of man's fallen condition, he asks, "How, then, with the moral powers deranged, the natural appetites and passions clamorous for gratification"—not a very bad thing this, since Adam and Eve, before they fell, had the same "natural appetites," "seeking gratification in a forbidden object"—"and the will at least partially enslaved by their action, could he come up to the requirements of this law?" P. 34. The "appetites and passions," only, perhaps, act a little more fiercely than in Adam, and become rather *clamorous*, "and the will is at least *partially* enslaved." And again, he says of fallen man, that "he has become subject to temptations and dangers, though not, as we can perceive, differing materially in their nature, yet more numerous and varied, than those which attached to man's original condition." P. 36. The whole account being just about what any old *Pelagian* or modern *Unitarian* would have made up in relation to the fall of man, and its effects upon the race. The whole, whatever it is, amounts to a negation of "much of man's original excellence."

The third position taken by our author is, "that the atonement by

Jesus Christ had, at least for one of its chief objects, the elevation of our race." True enough, but sufficiently general.

In approaching this point he proves, very conclusively, that our standard writers hold to the permanence, or unchangeableness, of the law. And his philosophical deductions bring him to the same conclusion, namely, "That the perfect law, under which Adam was originally placed, remains unchanged, and in full force." P. 42. Here our author is both orthodox and conclusive. But when he reaches his main object, which is to inform us what are the teachings of "psychology" with respect to the nature and extent of Christian perfection, the results which he reaches are not to us equally satisfactory. We have seen that the natural depravity which resulted from the fall, according to our author, is a mere *negation*—or as he says, under this head, "the withdrawal of God's favor, and the consequent loss of the principle of divine love in the heart of man." P. 49. In proceeding with his account of the recovery of man, he presumes that the restoration of "God's favor," and of "the principle of divine love," will supply the perfection which had been lost in the fall—the want of which constitutes man's natural depravity—and this "is nothing less than *an entire restoration to his original state of perfection*." P. 51. Again he says: "Thus the love of God, when it is made perfect in the heart, is not a substitute for the righteousness of the law; but furnishes the power, and thus becomes the guaranty, of its fulfillment." P. 55. This position he endeavors to prove by Rom. viii, 4: "That the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us." Our construction—that these words refer to the righteousness wrought for us by Christ, *condemning sin in the flesh*—he says is "scarcely known among Biblical scholars," and that it "appears more ingenious than sound." P. 56, note. A further acquaintance with "Biblical scholars" will convince our friend of his mistake. We are fully sustained by some of the best "Biblical scholars," both ancient and modern, among whom is the learned *James Arminius*, a name not to be lightly treated in matters of Biblical criticism. And if *authority* were of any weight with this gentleman, we might inform him that those who accord with him, in his construction of the passage in question, are exceedingly few; those who apply the *fulfilling* of "the righteousness of the law" to *practical obedience*, generally, if not in every case, understanding that fulfillment in a *qualified* sense—such an obedience as we can render—"not perfect obedience to the moral law," as the author maintains it to be. See *Benson*, *Macknight*, and *Locke*.

In his *seventh* chapter the author has a formal criticism upon our views of the law, as expressed in our *eleventh* lecture. See *Christian Perfection*, pp. 269–298. We there attempt to show that Mr. Wesley agrees with orthodox divines generally in holding that the law of perfect

purity remains in full force, as the rule of human duty; but that, as a *covenant of works*, or *condition of life*, it is superseded by the gospel. With the doctrine which is embraced in the above proposition, our author perfectly accords; but undertakes to show that both ourselves and Mr. Wesley maintain positions wholly at war with this doctrine. To prove our self-contradictions, he quotes from our work on Christian Perfection (pp. 292, 294) passages which contain the phrases "standard of obedience," "standard of character," and "standard of duty," with reference to "the law of love as incorporated in the gospel." From these quotations he makes the following inferences:—

"Now, if these extracts can be considered as meaning what the phraseology most naturally implies, they teach, *first*, that there is set up in the gospel a new 'standard of obedience' and 'of duty,' 'such as is practicable by man, fallen as he is,' a standard which, when reached, is to be called 'Christian perfection,' though it comes short of 'the claims of the original law.' And, *second*, that this new standard is 'the law of love as incorporated in the gospel.'"—Pp. 80, 81.

Now we shall find no fault with our friend for these inferences, because the words he quotes, if taken apart from what goes before and what follows, will admit of the construction which he gives it. In attempting to give a formal statement of the sense in which we understand Mr. Wesley and his followers to hold to the setting aside of the law, we use this language: "The simple sense in which Wesleyans hold that the moral law has been superseded by the law of faith is *as the condition of human acceptance*." P. 271. And again, with reference to several quotations which we made upon the subject from Calvinistic authorities, and from Mr. Wesley's Plain Account of Christian Perfection, we hold the following language:—

"Now where is the great ground of quarrel between Mr. Wesley and his opponents, touching the law? On both sides, all agree that we are not, in the gospel, put upon the terms of perfect conformity to the Adamic law, as the condition of salvation. That 'true believers are not under the law as a covenant of works, to be thereby justified or condemned;' but that, as St. Paul says, 'A man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law.' All admit that the law of perfect purity still remains, as an expression of the inflexible holiness of God, and as the great rule of duty binding all moral beings to a state of allegiance to their rightful Sovereign. That its use is to expose the exceeding sinfulness of sin, and 'the terrible vengeance which awaits the sinner;' but that it makes no provision for either pardon or sanctification."—P. 290.

These are our formal propositions; and we are free to confess that we ought to have adhered strictly to the same phraseology throughout;

then we could not have been misunderstood. By "standard of obedience," and "standard of duty," we simply meant *what is required, in the gospel, of a fallen being, as a condition of present and future salvation;* and had we used the phrases *condition of acceptance*, and *condition of salvation*, instead of "standard of obedience," or of "duty," we should have avoided our author's criticisms at this point. And we would further say, that we have no pride of authorship that will prevent our changing our phraseology whenever we see we can adopt one which better expresses our meaning.

But while the author finds us in obvious contradictions on the subject of the law, he leaves us in very respectable company; for he thinks "the expositors" of "the Wesleyan system" will finally "feel compelled to admit that there is some discrepancy in Wesley's writings on this subject." P. 77.

What may be the case with such "expositors of this system" as the author of "The Philosophy of Christian Perfection," we will not pretend to say. They will probably find the founder of Methodism "in fundamental error;" (see p. 130;) but we think, notwithstanding, there may be *some thousands*, instead of "*some scores*," who will take the liberty to doubt the soundness of their *psychological deductions.*

Our author makes an issue, point blank, with Mr. Wesley upon his admission that our short-comings, arising from *ignorance* and *infirmity*, "are deviations from the perfect law, and need the atonement." P. 107. He explicitly and repeatedly denies that any of this class of failures require atonement at all, and undertakes to prove his positions by arguments. These arguments we have no space to meet now, we merely bring out the fact. And though he attempts to make out that his leading views derive support from portions of Mr. Wesley's writings, as without some showing of countenance from this great man, "some scores" would take alarm, and scarcely give him a hearing, yet he has the candor to acknowledge the discrepancy between his views and those of Mr. Wesley in many important particulars. This is honest, and we entertain for this gentleman a much higher respect than we should have done had he undertaken to torture Mr. Wesley's language into an agreement with his notions, as some who entertain somewhat similar views have done who have gone before him.

The perfection for which the author contends, as the reader will have gathered from what goes before, is *Adamic perfection*—the perfect fulfillment of the original law. And he very consistently says, "Consequently there are properly no *degrees* in that entire sanctification of which we speak;" and further, that "the moral purity thus required of us is absolute." P. 113. Indeed, according to this novel theory, Adam and Eve, in Paradise, before they fell, would

now be thought scarcely worthy to be called "little children" in holiness. "Absolute" perfection is what Mr. Wesley's opponents charged upon him; and that eminent man, together with Mr. Fletcher, steadily and explictly denied the charge. That an author, of no little metaphysical acumen, should assert this species of perfection, and attempt to prove it as a fact, from the experience of "Dr. Payson," we think will take the world by surprise. But we are happy that he has the candor to announce his dissent from Mr. Wesley upon several of his most extravagant positions, and that none will, for a moment, be tempted to suppose that, upon this point, he agrees with "the Wesleyan theory." But we must restrain comment.

Mr. Wesley maintains that there is such a want of "full conformity to the perfect law," upon the part of "the most perfect," that, "on this very account, they need the blood of atonement, and may properly, for themselves, as well as for their brethren, say, 'Forgive us our trespasses.'" *Plain Account*, p. 116. But our author only admits of the propriety of the offering up of this petition of our Lord's prayer, by "the sanctified man," on account of a "never-ceasing doubt in his mind, whether he does constantly and fully use the grace he possesses, so as to omit nothing which it is his duty to perform." P. 129. Perhaps, then, it would be right for "the sanctified man," in repeating the Lord's prayer, to say, when he came to this petition, "*If I have transgressed*, Lord, forgive me." This would be all that propriety would admit, according to our author.

We are much mistaken if our author does not entirely misunderstand Dr. Fisk, when he says, in his Sermon on the Law, that "the law is suited, not only as *a rule of conduct*, but *as a condition of life*, for the holy; but the gospel is designed as a provision of life for the unholy." We gather from the manner in which this passage is used by our author, that he supposes Dr. Fisk intended to say that "the law is suited, not only as a rule of conduct, but *as a condition of life*," *to sanctified Christians;* whereas we suppose him to mean that the law is suited *as a condition of life to those who have never sinned*—to those who maintain their obedience to the requirements of the law without deviation. This is the only sense in which the proposition is true. And, much as we respect the character of Dr. Fisk, as a theologian, we could not follow him in making "the law *the condition of life*" to the sanctified Christian. If this were the fact, the first and slightest deviation from its high claims would cut off the delinquent for ever from hope. But if perfect obedience were maintained, then the atonement, at least for the time being, would not be necessary, either to pardon failures, or to render works acceptable to God. But the connections in which these words stand most clearly vindicate Dr. F. from the imputation of holding any such extravagant notion.

We might take exceptions to the author's note, (pp. 92, 93,) and it would be easy to show that he misrepresents Messrs. Wesley and Fletcher, and wholly fails in attempting to bring us into collision with these eminent divines; but we have no space for this at present.

"Dr. Upham" is the only author that this writer differs from for whom he has seen proper to express any special respect. He seems deeply to regret that he is compelled to differ from this excellent author. He had "imbibed, from the examination of the work"—*The Interior Life*—"a feeling of reluctance to throw any portion of it into the crucible of philosophical analysis." P. 117. Yet, supposing "the cause of truth" requires it, he *takes up his cross*, and gives the doctor a thorough dissecting, finding him in the same condemnation with Mr. Wesley and our humble selves—all holding in common that *Adamic perfection* is unattainable by fallen men, in this state of probation, and that the most perfect *stand in need* of the *atonement* for "involuntary sins," and for "imperfections originally flowing from their fallen condition, and their connection with Adam." All this is proved by our author, by the laws of "psychology," to be absurd enough.

But we must close this notice, already protracted to a much greater length than we at first intended. The work furnishes to our mind another evidence, in addition to the many which we had previously observed, of the error of *philosophical speculations* upon the *doctrines and facts of revelation*. We shall leave the author for the present, begging him, however, not to suppose we have noticed all that we think objectionable in his book. We may resume the subject in our next number, and enter more thoroughly into its merits.

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2. *Commentaries on the Laws of England: in Four Books. With an Analysis of the Work.* By Sir William Blackstone, Knt. *From the Twenty-first London Edition, with Copious Notes, explaining the Changes in the Law, effected by Decision and Statute, down to* 1844. *Together with Notes, adapting the Work to the American Student.* By John L. Wendell, late State Reporter of New-York. In four vols. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1847.

The extraordinary merit of this work of Sir Wm. Blackstone is so well understood, and so universally acknowledged, that it is necessary only to point out what is peculiar in the present edition. With an author of whom our own great chancelor has said, that "by the excellence of his arrangement, the variety of his learning, the justness of his taste, and the purity and elegance of his style, he communicated to these subjects, which are harsh and forbidding in Coke, the attractions of a liberal science and the embellishments of polite literature," no liberty of *changing* was admissible; nor could any additions properly be made except from the accumulations of experience since his death.

Accordingly, the four eminent English barristers who prepared the twenty-first London edition, from which the one before us is printed, essayed to make the work as nearly as might be what it probably would have been made by the author, had he lived in the present time. In copious but condensed notes they have explained all the changes that have been effected, either by decision or statute, in the laws of England, down to the year 1844. The American editor has exhibited a sound judgment and extensive legal knowledge in these important additions, in which he has shown the law as it exists in this country under our institutions, and as it has been changed by legislative enactment, particularly in the state of New-York.

We have great pleasure in commending Blackstone's Commentaries in this Review, because a knowledge of the general principles of the law is an essential part of a gentleman's, and especially of a minister's, education. To reason wisely of the laws of God, one should study thoroughly the expositions of them, and their application by the greatest legislators and civilians; by which we may be furnished with abundant and just illustrations, and learn that all human institutions are beneficent and permanent only as they are reflexes of the divine. And, moreover, in a republic, where every man is a citizen, some acquaintance with the law, such as any one may derive from Blackstone, is almost indispensable for the proper discharge of our most ordinary public duties. We can add here no more than that this edition is extremely well printed, and that it is sold at a very low price.

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3. *Dr. Chalmers' Posthumous Works—Daily Scripture Readings: or, Horæ Biblicæ Quotidianæ.* Volume first. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

The first issue of the posthumous works of the lamented Chalmers has just made its appearance, in elegant style, from the press of the Messrs. Harper. We have not had time to examine these "Scripture Readings," but shall hasten to indulge that pleasure without delay: meanwhile, it is sufficient that we announce the publication, in order that any who may not already have procured a copy may do so, and thus possess one of the richest bequests to the church and the world, of the present age. These volumes, which are to extend to some nine or ten, cannot fail of a prodigious popularity: the original publisher, it is reported, gave for the copyright of these precious literary relics the enormous sum of ten thousand pounds sterling—more than their weight in gold. Dr. Hanna, the son-in-law of the late Dr. Chalmers, is the editor of the works.

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4. *Life of Jeremy Belknap, D. D., the Historian of New-Hampshire: with Selections from his Correspondence and other Writings.* Collected and arranged by his grand-daughter. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

The subject of this memoir has long rendered his name familiar by his "*American Biography*," "*History of New Hampshire*," and other

writings: but a perusal of this modest biographical sketch introduces us to a more intimate and very agreeable acquaintance with the character and history of this worthy individual. As a picture of life in early times, the work is valuable and entertaining; but as a portraiture of a primitive Christian minister it will have the most cordial welcome. A portrait accompanies the volume, which is a very good picture.

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5. *A Narrative of an Exploring Visit to each of the Consular Cities of China, and to the Islands of Hong Kong and Chusan, in Behalf of the Church Missionary Society, in the Years* 1844–46. By the Rev. George Smith, M. A., of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and late Missionary to China. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

This new and very acceptable volume, on the present state of the great maritime cities of the Chinese empire, abounds in interest and important information, which is to a great extent new to the mass of readers. We do not remember any work, devoted to this subject, from which a more satisfactory notion could be obtained, than from Mr. Smith's agreeably written and luminous pages. The illustrations which accompany the work are beautifully executed, and comprehend, in addition to views of Hong Kong, Victoria, and Macao, a number of curious fac-similes of Chinese drawings. A valuable map also adds to the value of the work, which, taken altogether, may be regarded as by far the most admirable production of its class—revealing more about the manners, customs, and institutions of China, than any that has yet appeared: and as that anomalous nation are becoming more and more accessible to our commerce and the influence of religious truth, this book is doubly valuable. We earnestly commend the volume to our friends, as well deserving perusal and preservation.

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6. *Revolutionary Services and Civil Life of General Wm. Hull: prepared from his Manuscripts by his Daughter,* Mrs. Maria Campbell. *Together with a History of the Campaign of* 1812, *and Surrender of the Post of Detroit.* By his Grand-son, James Freeman Clarke. 8vo., pp., 482. New-York: Appleton & Co. 1848.

We have been rather unexpectedly interested with this volume. The time has doubtless come when impartial justice should be rendered to the memory of the unfortunate general. The political animosities of the period in which General Hull met his reverses are now gone by, and the public ought to be prepared to look at facts calmly, and judge of them impartially. Let the grounds of justification now set up by the descendants of the general be carefully weighed, and let justice be awarded. Upon the entire conclusiveness of the justification we do not pretend to pronounce; but we do say that it deserves serious consideration, and goes far to mitigate the severe judgment that has rested upon the name of General Hull ever since the unfortunate affair of Detroit. He was an officer in the revolutionary war during its continuance, and never faltered at the post of duty. We cannot speak in too

high terms of the filial affection and respect which have produced this publication, and cannot but desire most earnestly that its ends may be answered to the full satisfaction of those under whose auspices it comes forth.

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7. *A Reply to Dr. Milner's "End of Religious Controversy," so far as the Churches of the English Communion are concerned.* By Samuel Farmar Jarvis, D. D., LL. D., Historiographer of the Church, Author of "A Chronological Introduction to the History of the Church," &c. 12mo., pp. 251. New-York: Appleton & Co. 1847.

The present work is such as we should naturally look for from *Dr. Jarvis*. It exhibits profound learning and research, and is generally conclusive, only halting a little on the lame leg of "the churches of the English communion." On the doctrine of "tradition" the doctor seems to stride the line between *Puseyism* and *evangelism*. He is not willing to admit the *divine authority* of traditional interpretation, and so concede "the double rule of faith;" and yet he acknowledges in behalf of "the churches of the English communion," that "they maintain, throughout the Prayer-book, the catholic interpretation of the Scriptures as the rule of faith and practice,"—in a word, the *quod semper*—rule of *Vincent of Lirin*—a rule that is both nonsensical and impracticable. Dr. Jarvis makes several things exceedingly plain; one is, that Dr. Milner is often *dishonest* in his quotations. This is nothing new for a *Romanist*. This class of writers deal in "all deceivableness of unrighteousness." This is their vocation; and of course they must be expected to labor in it. Notwithstanding the exceptions which we are compelled to make to the book before us, we still regard it as a valuable contribution to the great controversy with Romanists.

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8. *Life of Major General Zachary Taylor. With Notices of the War in New-Mexico, California, and in South Mexico; and Biographical Sketches of Officers who have distinguished themselves in the War with Mexico.* By John Frost, LL. D., Author of "Book of the Army," "Book of the Navy," &c. 12mo., pp. 346. New-York: Appleton & Co. 1847.

This is designed to be *a book for the times*. It contains a complete account of all General Taylor's engagements, and sketches of the movements of the southern division of the army. The work is illustrated by diagrams, portraits, and battle-scenes,—many of them sufficiently horrible. We only wish the author could have given us in the conclusion of his book a history of an *honorable termination of the war*. We hate war, and we deprecate the *war spirit*, and are not certain but such books as the one before us may have a tendency to promote that spirit.

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9. *Life of Henry the Fourth, King of France and Navarre.* By G. P. R. James, Esq. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

Few writers of the age possess equal advantages with Mr. James in the qualifications of an historian of this particular epoch of French

history: his reading and researches have evidently been in that direction, as is evident by reference to the titles of many of his numerous historical romances. The age of this remarkable prince was pregnant with great events, and distinguished by some of the greatest names in the annals of France, among whom the duke of Sully stands conspicuous. The terrible contests between the Protestants and the Catholics, the slaughter of the Huguenots, and the tragical demise of the previous monarch,—all combine to give to this section of history an extraordinary and powerful interest. These beautifully written, and, we may add, beautifully printed volumes, can scarcely be perused by any one without adding greatly to his stock of knowledge,—for many new facts and elucidations are here given, for the first time, respecting the character of Henry IV.,—and few books could be selected better suited to contribute to his intellectual enjoyment. The work forms an excellent sequel to the favorite volumes of Miss Pardoe on the "*Court of Louis XIV.*,"—a production which has recently won such a host of admiring readers.

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10. *Thomson's Seasons. Illustrated by Seventy-seven Exquisite Designs by the Etching Club, &c.* Edited by Bolton Corney, Esq. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

This superb volume presents one of the most costly and elegant specimens of the art we have yet seen,—we ought rather to say *the* best in its department. Every one is familiar with the rich and elaborate poem which is here so charmingly embellished: perhaps few of the standard productions of the muse afford so wide a scope for the skill of the limner. This volume appears at a period when pleasure books and works of fancy and pictorial adornment are most rife; but we venture to say that this will be regarded with undoubted preference by many, if not most, of those who seek a worthy token of regard for presentation, in the shape of an elegant and intrinsically good book. Unlike the "*Annuals*," it is of perennial verdure and beauty. The publishers have, we observe, in progress a series of these classic and most elaborate editions of the great poets, Goldsmith, Milton, Cowper, &c.

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11. *Outlines of General History, in the Form of Question and Answer; designed as the Foundation and the Review of a Course of Historical Reading.* By Richard Green Parker, A. M., Author of "Aids to English Composition," "Geographical Questions," &c. Harper & Brothers.

The previous books from the pen of Mr. Parker will form the readiest passport to popular favor for this new work; in which it seems to be the aim of the author to invest the study of history with an interest it seldom claims in the ordinary scholastic method. Thus, history is made to appear as "*philosophy teaching by example*," and not simply as a series of events and names. We commend this useful and instructive work to all who have charge of the important task of teaching as well worthy their attention; and to all others as an excellent common-place book of reference to supply the lack of defective memory.

12. *The Philosophy of Life and Philosophy of Language; in a Course of Lectures.* By FREDERICK VON SCHLEGEL. Translated from the German by the Rev. A. J. W. MORRISON, M. D. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

THIS is the last publication of the great German philosopher: his *Lectures on the History of Literature* won for him a reputation of the highest order. His present work is devoted to metaphysical topics of high interest, comprising fifteen lectures, which treat, among others, of the following subjects,—the soul, its relations with the Deity and with knowledge,—divine providence, as discernible in outward nature in the world of thought and the history of mankind,—an attempt to trace the development of the human mind within himself, in science and in public life,—its progress and advancement to perfection, &c. The style is elegant and the reasoning profound. But the philosophy and theology of the work are truly *German*. Those who want a fair specimen of German metaphysics will find it here.

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13. *Notes on the Parables of our Lord.* By RICHARD CHENWIX TRENCH, M. A., Vicar of Itchen Stoke, Hants; Professor of Divinity, King's College, London, and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Oxford. First American, from the third English, edition. 8vo., pp. 409. New-York: Appleton & Co. 1847.

"THE Parables" constitute one of the most instructive and interesting portions of Holy Scripture. And yet for the want of a correct understanding of their structure, and the rules by which they only can be understood and interpreted, these portions of our Lord's discourses are often most wretchedly mangled and misapplied. The work before us opens with nearly fifty pages of introductory matter upon the structure and interpretation of the parables, in which we have condensed the results of much learned labor. The body of the work consists of dissertations upon *the thirty parables* of our Lord, in which the author labors to set forth their meaning and the practical lessons which they teach. We regard the book as a most valuable contribution to the stock of Biblical learning, and almost a necessary appendage to the library of a minister of the gospel. We cordially thank the enterprising publishers for incorporating this learned and useful publication with the theological literature of this country.

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14. *Elements of Divinity: or, a Course of Lectures comprising a clear and concise View of the System of Theology as taught in the Holy Scriptures. With appropriate Questions appended to each Lecture.* By Rev. THOMAS N. RALSTON, A. M. 8vo., pp. 463. Louisville, Ky.: published by Morton & Griswold, and sold by the agents of the M. E. Church. 1847.

So far as we are able to judge, by a very cursory examination, the present volume is not only orthodox in its principles, but able both in its plan and execution. "The design of the work," as the author informs

us, "is to present a clear and comprehensive outline of the general system of Bible theology in a smaller compass, and a form less intricate and perplexing to private members, young ministers, and students in divinity, than the more critical and voluminous works heretofore published on the subject admit." Such a work was undoubtedly wanted, and the effort of the author promises to meet the desideratum. The reasoning is clear and conclusive, and the style of composition well suited to the theme. To those who want a concise system of divinity we have no hesitation in recommending this work.

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15. *Memorials of the Introduction of Methodism into the Eastern States; comprising Biographical Notices of its Early Preachers, Sketches of its First Churches, and Reminiscences of its Early Struggles and Successes.* By Rev. Abel Stevens, A. M. Boston: Charles H. Peirce, Binney & Otheman. New-York: Lane & Tippett. Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Mitchell. 1848.

This is a pleasant and an instructive volume. It consists of such historical notices, incidents, and personal adventures connected with the early history of Methodism in New-England, as will be read with interest and pleasure, especially by Methodists. The scenes and events are sketched with no little beauty and vigor. The history of the labors of our pioneers in different parts of this country ought to be wrested from oblivion while it may. The time will very soon come when original information will be out of the question. Our fathers should be encouraged to write their history, and, where this cannot be done, their children should take down their story from their mouths, and put it into such a form as will enable the church to see what God has wrought, and as will furnish materials for a full and accurate history of the great revival of religion in this country through the instrumentality of the Methodist preachers. The mechanical part of this work is beautifully executed in two forms, 12mo. and 8vo., with large margin. We hope the author and publisher may meet with ample encouragement.

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16. Η ΚΑΙΝΗΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. *The Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, in Greek. With English Notes, Critical, Philological, and Exegetical; Maps, Indexes, &c., together with the Epistles and Apocalypse. The whole forming the complete Text of the New Testament. For the Use of Schools, Colleges, and Theological Seminaries.* By Rev. J. A. Spencer, A. M., Author of the "Christian Instructed," "History of the English Reformation," &c. *τὸ καλὸν κἀγαθόν.* New-York: Harper & Brothers. Large 12mo., pp. 612. 1847.

An American edition of the Greek Testament, suited to the use of schools and colleges, has long been a desideratum. The present issue promises fair. We have had it upon our table but a short period, and have consequently only had time to read the editor's preface, and to examine the "Notes" upon a few select passages. He informs us that "the *text* is that of the learned and accurate Dr. Mill, printed at

Oxford, in 1707, at the same university in 1828 and 1830, and finally under the care of Dr. Burton, by whom it was adopted in his edition with notes, Oxford, 1831." He has followed "the division into verses," rather against his "preference," by "the urgent request of the publishers." In this we think "the publishers" right. But to carry out his arrangement so far as might be, he begins each paragraph with the word in capitals, and each sentence with the first letter a capital. This arrangement is admirable. The mechanical execution of the work is in the best style of the house. The type, of both text and notes, is large and free, and the paper fine. We wish the enterprise the largest success. And if furnishing this beautiful edition of the Greek Testament in any measure contributes to the desirable object of introducing it into our academies and colleges as a text book, the publishers will have contributed to one of the greatest and noblest objects. If we find occasion, or judge it useful, we shall probably resume the subject and treat it more at large.

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17. *A Memorial of the Ministerial Life of the Rev. Gideon Ouseley, Irish Missionary. Comprising Sketches of the Mission in Connection with which he labored, under the Direction of the Wesleyan Conference; with Notices of some of the most distinguished Irish Methodist Missionaries.* By William Reilly. New-York: Lane & Tippett. 1848.

The subject of this Memorial was one of the most extraordinary men of his age. He devoted the greater part of a long and active life to the work of a missionary among the Irish Catholics, preaching in both the English and Irish languages wherever he could raise a congregation—often in the streets and markets—and his labors were, by the divine blessing, crowned with large and glorious success. The whole book constitutes one of the strongest practical arguments against Romanism we ever read. It also furnishes abundant proof that the poor deluded victims of a ghostly despotism are, under some circumstances at least, perfectly accessible. Multitudes listened to the ministry of Mr. Ouseley in spite of the priests, and many were powerfully converted from the error of their ways. The fruits of his labors which still remain are abundant,—some of them now adorn the Irish and English Conferences. Every one ought to read the Memorial of Ouseley as soon as it comes within reach. The author was long a colleague and intimate personal friend of Mr. Ouseley, and was well qualified to do justice to his subject.

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18. *Artist-life: or, Sketches of American Painters.* By Henry H Tuckerman, Author of "Thoughts on the Poets," &c. 12mo., pp 237. New-York: Appleton & Co. 1847.

This book is made up of graphic sketches of twenty-three American artists, beginning with Benjamin West and ending with G. L. Brown. The author brings out the peculiar excellences and defects of his subjects as artists with the skill of a master. The book is as fascinating as it is instructive.

SUNDAY-SCHOOL BOOKS

Published by Lane and Tippett, for the Sunday-School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Some months have passed since we have been able to even glance at what is doing in our Sunday-school department of publication.

Attention to the subject has now convinced us that, unless something is lacking besides good books in sufficient quantities, tastefully gotten up and cheaply furnished, the Sunday-school cause must triumph. Indeed, we find before us not only new books, but whole libraries, that have been published since we formally noticed the issues of this department. The editor is prosecuting his plans with commendable zeal and with marked success, and every friend of the sabbath-school cause cannot but be cheered with a constant accumulation of books of the right stamp which constitute the result of his talents and industry. There is no longer any necessity for a deficiency of suitable books in this department:—only let the *want* appear, and the *supply* will be forthcoming. We would call special attention to the

CHILDREN'S LIBRARY,—Series A and Series B.

Of the first series of this library there are already seventy-five volumes, which, for cheapness, elegance of appearance, and adaptation to the wants and taste of young children, are probably unexcelled by any Sunday-school library extant.

It is really enough to make one wish he were young again to see the shining red covers, the speaking pictures, the large, clear type, and the short and sparkling sentences which this library presents to the eye. But its highest excellence consists in the pious and evangelical sentiment that is contained in every book.

Series B now numbers fifty volumes of a larger size and of a slightly more elevated character, although quite within the range of small children.

We learn that it is the intention of the editor to enlarge the above library until each series shall number one hundred volumes, and that several choice works are now in press for this object.

To the regular

YOUTH'S LIBRARY

not less than thirty new volumes have been added since our former notice, of which we subjoin abbreviated titles in their numerical order:—

379 Benevolent Traveler
380 The Ball we live on
381 The Early Dead
382 History of Ancient Jerusalem, by Dr. Kitto.
383 History of Modern do.
384 The Arab
385 Life of the Saviour, vol. 1
386 do. do. vol. 2
387 The Encourager, vol. 2
388 The Prairie
389 The Desert
390 The River and the Sea
391 The Mountain and Valley
392 The Fisherman's Son
393 The Coal Pit
394 The Boatman's Daughter
395 Dawn of Modern Civilization
396 Life of Cyrus
397 William, the Converted Romanist
398 Indian Archipelago, vol. 1
399 Do. do. vol. 2
400 Bible Scholar's Manual
401 Notices of Fuhchau and the other open ports of China, with reference to missionary operations
402 Island of Cuba
403 Harriet Gray
404 The Devout Soldier
405 Neddy Walter
406 Parting Precepts to a Female Sunday Scholar
407 The Highland Glen
408 The Life of Mohammed
409 Lives of the Cæsars
410 Hadassah, or the Adopted Child.

We regret that our space does not admit of our noticing the above works severally, according to their merits. We may say of them without exception, that a critical examination will prove them to be far more valuable than many volumes of far greater pretensions. We hope to give a full notice of some of the above works in our next.

William Rivers

THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1848.

EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D. D.

ART. I.—*Reports of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, for the years* 1818 *to* 1846, *inclusive:* in ten volumes. 8vo. London: Published by the Society.

IT IS now more than sixty years since the first Wesleyan missionaries, under the superintendence of Dr. Coke, were sent forth to labor in the colonies of Great Britain. It was not, however, until the year 1817 that the Wesleyan Missionary Society was formed; although, in the interval, the great work had been prosecuted with diligence, and attended with such success that, at the formation of the Society, they had in foreign lands nearly one hundred missionaries, and a membership of two thousand. Having before us the Annual Reports of this Society, from the year 1818 (the first) to 1846, inclusive, we purpose to devote a few pages to its history; hoping thereby, not only to make the reader better acquainted with their labors, their disasters, and their success, but to stimulate our own branch of the Wesleyan family to greater zeal and more systematic efforts for evangelizing the world.

The object of the Society, as stated in their "Laws and Regulations," is confined exclusively to the support and enlargement of *foreign* missions. The annual payment of one guinea, or a donation, at one time, of ten pounds or upward, entitles to membership and to a copy of the Society's Annual Reports. The business of the Society is in the hands of the British Conference; which body appoints a General Committee of fifty, including always the president and secretary of the conference for the time being, to whom is intrusted the entire management of its affairs, subject to the revision of the conference, at their annual sessions. This committee is composed of laymen as well as ministers, of whom eight traveling preachers, and eight other members of the Methodist Society, are selected from the country circuits; the rest from resi-

dents in or near London, where meetings, for the transaction of business, are held monthly. Two general treasurers, one minister, and one layman, are annually appointed by the conference; and four of the preachers stationed in or near London are selected to conduct the official correspondence of the missions, and to perform the other duties of *secretaries*. They are expected to devote themselves, on the week days, exclusively to the interests of the Society; and, in common with other preachers, are subject to periodical changes in their fields of labor, according to the rules of the connection.* Very great care appears to be taken with reference to the appointment of missionaries. Candidates must first be recommended by the preacher in charge of the circuit, approved by the quarterly conference, and examined and approved by the annual district meeting, before their names are placed on "the list;" from which those who are deemed most eligible are selected and examined by a special committee in reference to their missionary views

* The expenses of conducting the Society's correspondence, for the three past years, are as follows:—

	1843.	1844.	1845.
Salaries of four secretaries, - - - - -	£627	575	919
House rent for do., with coals, candles, taxes, and insurance, - - - - - - - - -	547	500	517
Additional furniture for do., with repairs, - -	274	366	244
Making for the secretaries, - - - - -	£1448	1441	1680
Salary of accountant and clerks, - - - - -	663	717	736
Stationery and account-books, - - - -	120	135	110
	£2231	2293	2526

Previous to the building of the Wesleyan Centenary Hall the business of the Society was transacted in a rented house, in which one of the secretaries resided. In the Report for 1841, it is said, "that the new and very convenient Mission House, which they have now the pleasure and benefit of occupying, for the transaction of the Society's multifarious business, has been liberally and *gratuitously presented* to the Society by the committee and contributors of the Wesleyan Centenary Fund. In thankful commemoration of that fact, it has received, in union with the noble building intended for more general connectional purposes, which is placed under the same common roof, the designation of *The Wesleyan Centenary Hall*. The Mission House is a *gift* to the Society—a gift most munificent, seasonable, and acceptable." There is charged to the Society in the Treasurer's Report for the year ending December 31, 1845, for "taxes, rates, insurance, &c., for The Centenary Hall, £579 2*s*. 2*d*.;" being considerably more than the rent, taxes, and insurance, of the houses occupied by the four secretaries, including their annual allowance for coals, candles, &c.

and qualifications. Having passed these ordeals, it yet remains that they be approved by the ensuing conference; and, even after all this, the General Committee, if a majority see cause, have the right to suspend the appointment. The plan for stationing the missionaries is drawn up by the secretaries; by whom it is laid before the General Committee in London, and, if approved by them, recommended to the conference.

The "*Standing Instructions*" to all who are sent out as missionaries, relative to their conduct in foreign lands, enjoin, among other things, cheerful obedience to all lawful authority; entire neutrality with reference to secular disputes and local politics; and a course of conduct that shall always evince that their only object is the spiritual welfare of their fellow-men. Positively, in all cases, are they forbidden to "*follow trade;*" and it is the expressed desire of the body by whom they are sent forth that they be "at the remotest distance from all temptation to a secular or mercenary temper." All their time and energies are to be sacredly devoted to the duties of their mission; "because," say the Instructions, "the committee feel themselves fully pledged to pay an affectionate attention to all your wants, and to afford them every reasonable and necessary supply." Every missionary is *peremptorily required* to keep a journal, and frequently to send home extracts from it, giving full and minute accounts of his labors, trials, discouragements, and success, together with any information and religious details deemed interesting. "Only," say the committee, "we recommend you not to allow yourselves, under the influence of religious joy, to give *any high coloring of facts;* but always to write such accounts as you would not object to see returned in print to the place where the facts reported have occurred."

The *income* of the Society, and its *expenditures*, have gone on increasing, from the year ending June, 1818, when the receipts were £20,600, to the year ending December 31, 1845, when they amounted to the "cheering sum" of £112,823; being an average annual increase, for the twenty-seven years, of about, in our currency, *fifteen thousand dollars.** The disbursements, as per the *first* Annual Report, were about £18,500; which had increased, as stated in the Report for the year ending April, 1846, to one hundred and twelve thousand pounds sterling; or more than *half a million of dollars.*

* The receipts for the year ending December, 1846, were, as we learn from a paragraph in one of the periodicals of the day, £115,762; being an advance of £2838.

These amounts have been raised mainly by annual subscriptions and collections, from the various circuits, which are formed into "branch" societies, in connection with the district associations, which are called, "Auxiliary Societies." The treasurers of the circuit societies are required to pay over all funds in their hands, once a quarter, to the treasurers of the district societies; by whom, every three months, or oftener, remittances, deducting only necessary incidental expenses, are required to be made to the General Committee, in London. In addition to the amounts collected at home, it is very gratifying to notice the fact that latterly considerable sums have been received from the *foreign stations*, showing that the converts from heathenism and idolatry have been taught to know Him who said, "It is more blessed to give than to receive;" and thus, by their works, they give the best possible evidence of their faith. In addition to the large sums which, of necessity, the foreign stations severally raised for their own local religious purposes, the Society received from this source alone, during the year ending April, 1846, more than *fifty thousand dollars*. Report, p. 2. Honorable mention is made, too, in the Reports, and deservedly, of the efforts of *the children of Great Britain*. The juvenile Christmas offerings indicate that there is no fear that the missionary spirit will die out when the fathers have gone to their reward. The whole juvenile effort for the year 1846 "is believed," says the Report, "to have raised nearly £5500. For this noble, seasonable, and most acceptable enlargement of their annual resources for usefulness, the Society will, with the committee, be deeply grateful to the interesting parties concerned."*

* On this subject the secretaries say, and we quote, as a hint that might be followed out with happy results in our own country:—"That effort," the juvenile, "was suggested to the children and young people of the Wesleyan societies and congregations, in order to prevent, in 1841, the recurrence of so great an evil as the creation of a new debt, by the possible failure of the accustomed income to meet the probable expenditure. The suggestion, though made under the disadvantage of haste and inadequate preparation for such a movement, was very generally and zealously sanctioned by the ministers of the connection, by our juvenile friends, and by their honored parents. Only *one shilling*, to be given or collected at Christmas, was respectfully solicited from each child of Wesleyan families; and the produce was estimated at only £3000." It amounted, the first year, to £4890; and, in 1846, to the sum named above. "Scarcely less gratifying," they continue, "if not more so, than the pecuniary result, have been the numerous manifestations of good feeling and good principle which the occasion called forth;—very earnest wishes having been expressed by juvenile collectors, that they may be *permitted* to enjoy a *repetition* of the like privilege and pleasure in future years. *And why*

In looking over the long list of "former donations of ten pounds and upward, to December 31, 1844," a list occupying twenty-one columns, of the smallest type, we were not more struck by the liberality therein evinced, than by the ingenuity by which very many of the donors choose to be known; or, rather, to remain unknown. Thus, the large amount of £1943 is credited to A. B.; A. B. C. contributes £25; A. D. £200; A. M. £200; A. P. £50, and thus on, through the alphabet, down to X. Y., who gives £700, and two benefactors who each chose the letter Z. More than two hundred different contributors hide themselves under the simple designation, "Friend;" among them we notice "A Friend in America," £40 9*s.* 6*d.*; and a "Friend in New-York," £25 10*s.* 8*d.* A number of these "Friends" are donors of one hundred pounds each; several of two, three, five, six, eight, and one of twelve hundred pounds. Under the guise of a partnership concern, with the signature "Two Friends," comes a donation of £2100. Then we have "A Debtor still," £50; "Anonymous," £2000, and a dozen others, with various amounts, have selected the same signature. "A Poor Tetotaller," £40. "Debtor to the Jews and to the Greeks," £66. "Debtor to Greeks and Barbarians," £250. "Debtor to Methodism," £500. "It is the Lord's," £30. "Methodist who adopted Jacob's vow," two, each £100. "To whom my more than all is due," £100. There are also pleasing recognitions of divine goodness under the designations, "Thank offering," "Talent to be Improved," "Christmas Offering," "Profit of Commercial Speculation," "Profits in Business," "Profits of first Edition of Memoir of *W. Carvosso*," £50; "Part profit of *Dr. A. Clarke's* Wesley Family," £26; "Net produce of *Richard Watson's* Sermon on the Religious Instruction of Slaves in the West Indies," £44; and a great variety of others of similar character.

In the list of "*Donations upon Annuity*, from the year 1819 to 1845, inclusive," are sums of one thousand, two thousand, three thousand, and one of ten thousand pounds; which amounts, subject to an annual interest during the life-time of the donors, revert, at their death, to the Society. The *legacies*, the receipt of which is

not, if a missionary exigency shall require it! 'The Lord hath need of *them*,' as well as other laborers; and they may probably experience through life the beneficial influences of such an early and active engagement in his service. They may, by God's grace,

> 'To love's *habitual* sense, by acts, aspire,
> And, while they *kindle*, *catch* the gospel fire.'"
>
> *Report*, 1842.

acknowledged in the Reports, from the year 1815 to 1843, inclusive, are in number more than 350; on an average, more than twelve per annum, or one for each month, during that period. In amount they vary. We notice thirty-seven of £100, and less than £200; as many between £200 and £500; eight of £500 and upward; six of one thousand pounds each; one of £1450; one £5274; and one, that of Miss Houston, of Ireland, amounting, within a trifle, deducted, we suppose, by government, to ten thousand pounds sterling.* *Parliamentary and colonial grants*, for educational purposes, and in aid of the schools in foreign lands, under the care of the Society, are also acknowledged as sources of revenue, though, from their fluctuating nature, and, as in the case of legacies, their uncertainty, little dependence is placed upon them. In alluding to this class of miscellaneous income, and to a decrease in its amount for the year 1841, arising mainly from the diminished number of legacies, the committee, while they sincerely rejoice in the continued health and life of the Society's attached friends and supporters, and pray that, "long, if it please God, may they live, to get good, and to do good, while it is in the power of their hands to do it," add, very seasonably, the respectful request that, "living or dying," they will remember the paramount claims of the great cause of missions on their "*present* charity," as well as "on their mortuary arrangements and distributions."

Urged on by manifest and repeated tokens of divine favor, stimulated by incessant calls for help, and met in all directions, and from every quarter, with exhortations and encouragements to go forward, the committee appeared before their constituents, at the annual meeting in 1840, with the astounding, but glorious, news, "that the Society was in debt more than *twenty thousand pounds*," which indebtedness had so increased during the succeeding year that the balance due the treasurers, on the 21st of April, 1841, amounted to *thirty-nine thousand nine hundred and sixteen pounds, six shillings, and eleven pence*—a sum not far from two hundred thousand dollars. Truly a large amount; and well calculated to alarm the timid, as it did; better calculated, as it also did, to call forth redoubled energies and increasing liberality. With the consciousness of having simply done their duty; and, at the same time,

* The government seems to vary in its claims upon legacies; thus, from two bequests, of one hundred pounds each, acknowledged in the Report for 1843, a deduction of ten per cent. is made; and the amount received by the Society is, in either case, only ninety pounds. Next year, from a legacy of four hundred pounds, there is deducted "less duty, £52 12*s.*;" or, more than *thirteen per cent.*

feeling keenly their embarassments, the committee speak of this large indebtedness as necessarily resulting from the increasing prosperity of the cause of God, in answer to the prayers of his people; and, say they,—"Unless those prayers went out from 'feigned lips,' we must prepare for the consequences. *We must cease to pray,* or *learn to give on a scale of corresponding generosity.*" A simple truism; and yet how full of potency! It is the entire argument in a nutshell, a two-horned dilemma, presenting an alternative, upon which no true disciple of the Saviour will dare to hesitate. The managers continue:—

"In the mean time, our object should be to prevent any further accumulation of the debt, by resolute exertions to make the *current year's income adequate to its anticipated and unavoidable expenditure.* To this point, just now, and during the remainder of 1840, let our energies be directed with much more than former or ordinary zeal. Let no Branch Society, or individual members, confine their efforts to *such* an increase of contributions as they might deem sufficient, on the merely arithmetical principle of giving their own insulated and average *share* of the sum to be raised by the whole body of our friends. Such a principle would be, to a great extent, as fallacious and inefficient in future, as it has been proved to be, whenever adopted, in time past. Let all and each, in every city, town, and village, do, not what others do, or ought to do, but their very *utmost* and their *best*, even as God hath prospered and enabled them; measuring their liberality, not by the doings or supposed duties of others, but by their own several obligations and means, and by the urgent, the paramount necessities of the case, which is really and truly that of *souls perishing for lack of knowledge.*"

Then, with regard to the debt already existing, they speak in language of strong confidence; in the midst of all their anxieties, assuring the Society and the world, that of its speedy liquidation "they will not, they cannot, entertain a doubt or a fear." In this emergency, we meet with no intimation of such a thought as recalling one missionary, or of abandoning any field already occupied. They speak, indeed, of the dire necessity, "most calamitous and awful," of refraining, for the present, from commencing any *new* missions, and from sending out *more* men to those already established; but give no place to the monstrous idea of furling, for this reason, the standard of the cross where it had once been planted. Alluding to the Society's omission to send adequate reinforcements to existing missions, the Report for 1842 says:—

"In this way, money has been saved; but who dare say that souls, immortal souls, have not been lost, which, if duly sought, might have been found, and recovered to holiness and to God? The evil is to be removed, not by any unwarrantable and habitual expenditure exceeding

any income on which our Society can, as yet, reasonably calculate, but by a resolute and united determination *to increase our income*, so as to meet the proper expenditure. Instead of reducing the expenditure, by ruinous retrenchments, and obstinate refusals to listen to the cries of perishing men, to the level of the income already realized, it were surely more Christian and more humane to put forth every lawful and practicable effort for raising the income to the level of that increased and growing expenditure, which can be so usefully and beneficially employed, to the utmost extent of our utmost ability. None but an infidel at heart, or a downright worldling, can fail to perceive that we live in an age, when the great Master and Lord requires that those whom he has intrusted with '*his goods*,' and constituted his stewards for the rest of the family of man, should be more than ever 'faithful' in the use of worldly property, so that, with humble joy, and not with shame and grief, they may render to him their final account."

A subsequent Report (1844) deals in still stronger language:—

"In the present state of the world, we may as well speak out at once, like bold and honest, though guilty, rebels against Christ, and proclaim our resolution *not to execute at all* the Saviour's commission and command, 'Go and preach the gospel to every creature,' if we are not prepared to encounter large and even growing expenses. The tendency to increased expenditure is continually operative, from the multiplication of missionary families—the manifold contingencies to which such a work, if extensive, must ever be liable—and, even from the *very success with which it pleases God to crown our incipient efforts;* for here, as in the matter of personal religion, one advance is sure to make an opening for another, and to entail upon us *the moral obligation* of following it up by further progress."

The result showed that the confidence of the committee was not misplaced. Efforts were redoubled in every circuit, and almost all largely increased their contributions. Foreign stations also responded heartily to the call for help; and the missionaries themselves, in several instances, requested a reduction in their salaries.* With joy and thankfulness, the Report for the year ending April, 1846, acknowledges a large increase in the sums contributed for the

* The committee advert, with feelings of much more than ordinary satisfaction, to the noble manner in which the missionaries in Kaffraria have practically manifested their sympathy with the Society in its financial difficulties. Besides reducing their hitherto customary charges for extraordinaries, by a sum of £266, they themselves subscribe a further sum of £290, by a *voluntary relinquishment of ten per cent.* of their regular and ordinary income, as missionaries, and *present the amount as an offering to the Society.*—*Report*, 1841.

The missionaries in the Bechuana district have presented to the Society a *donation of ten pounds* each toward the payment of its debt; a contribution which they were not able to offer without an effort of self-denial.—*Report*, 1843.

current expenses; and announces to the world, in well-applied capitals, "the Society is OUT OF DEBT."

In adverting to the *labors* of the Society, we give the first place, as is done in the Annual Reports, to *Ireland*, one of the most difficult and least promising fields which they have undertaken. Poor, ignorant, and superstitious, perhaps beyond any people on the face of the earth, and, at the same time, watched over by the sleepless vigilance of the Romish priests, it is not wonderful that the Irish people, in those sections where the Papacy holds its iron sway, are averse to the teachings of what they have been taught to consider the Protestant heresy. Gratifying success has, however, crowned the labors of the missionaries in many instances; and it is stated, in the Report for 1831, that nearly all the stations first occupied are now circuits, sustaining themselves without foreign aid. The gospel continues to be preached there in the Irish language, as it was by the indefatigable *Graham* and the zealous *Walsh*, in the days of Mr. Wesley. The most successful laborer in that field, however, seems to have been the untiring *Gideon Ouseley*. Familiar with the character and prejudices of the people, thoroughly acquainted with their language, and wonderfully acute in detecting and exposing the subtilties of Popery, hundreds, if not thousands, of souls were the fruit of his ministry. Until within a few days of his death, on the 14th of May, 1839, he continued to travel and preach, generally, to three or four congregations every day.

One of the most interesting features of this part of the work is the system of missionary day schools, of which there are upward of sixty, containing more than four thousand six hundred children; many, if not the most, of whom are of Romish parentage. The six schools founded by Dr. Adam Clarke are still sustained by the Society, and are in active operation. The number of missionaries and assistants is twenty-five; of salaried day-school teachers, sixty-five; of chapels and other preaching places, two hundred and eighty-four, and of accredited church members, three thousand one hundred. About one-fifth of the entire expenses of the missions in Ireland was met, in 1845, by collections in the mission stations, and the balance more than made up by contributions received through the Hibernian Missionary Society; so that, in this respect, England has nothing to boast of on the score of liberality toward her down-trodden neighbors and fellow-subjects.

In *Germany* the Society has one missionary agent. He is stationed at *Winnenden*, in the kingdom of *Wirtemberg*, and had under his charge, in 1846, seven hundred and nineteen full and accredited church members. The first notice we find of this mis-

sion is in the Report for 1831, when a gracious work commenced, and more than one hundred persons were awakened, and formed into a society, under the care of a zealous leader and exhorter. The succeeding Reports speak, for the most part, encouragingly of the labors of the missionary, and of his prospects; and it appears to us somewhat strange that he has been left so long to labor alone in that promising field. He has, indeed, the assistance of several local preachers and exhorters, who have been raised up among them; but the entire annual expense of the mission is only about seventy pounds.

In *France and Switzerland* are ten principal stations, one hundred and twenty-four chapels and preaching places, with a membership of one thousand and seventy-one, being about three hundred more than in Germany, and two hundred and eighteen *less than were reported in* 1844. They are under the care of thirty-six missionaries and other paid agents. *William Toase* is the well-known superintendent of these missions; or, as he is styled, the chairman of the district. We find his name in connection with this field of labor so long since as 1818, although he does not appear to have been attached to it during the whole of this period. The annual expenses of this district vary. In 1843 they amounted to £5114; but in this sum is included an item, "rent of chapels," the precise amount of which is not stated.

From *Cadiz*, in benighted *Spain*, the Society's missionaries, who had commenced their labors under what were deemed favorable auspices, and who, for a season, breasted nobly the storm, were finally driven, by the violence of Popish persecution, and the Society seems to have abandoned that entire kingdom, with the exception of Gibraltar, to which post a Wesleyan missionary was appointed so long since as 1804. Here the Society has sustained *one* missionary ever since its organization. His labors, we judge from the Reports, are mainly confined to his own countrymen, the soldiers in the garrison and others, and do not seem to have been very successful. In the Report for 1818, we are told that "the work proceeds with encouraging success," and that the "number in society is one hundred and twenty." After the lapse of more than a quarter of a century, during which there had been always one and sometimes two missionaries laboring there, the membership amounted (Report for 1845) to only sixty-four, and the year following, in which "the station exhibited marks of improvement," the number in society was seventy-four, being a decrease of forty-six in twenty-eight years.

The Island of *Malta*, in the Mediterranean, containing, at that time, a population of ninety-six thousand, speaking the language of Rome and of Mecca, was made a mission station in 1823, and was deemed a field of "immense importance."* From the bigoted intolerance of the Romish priests the missionaries received almost every variety of annoyance and persecution. Dr. Naudi, a native of the island, and a recent convert from Popish superstition, translated several sermons, and a part of the New Testament, with Mr. Wesley's Notes, into Maltese, which language is also used, with some slight variations, in the Barbary States. For several years the indications of success were encouraging; but, in the Report for 1834, the station at Malta is said, though "by no means without fruit," not to have yielded "that harvest which might have been hoped for from so much labor and expenditure." In 1843 we are told that the operations of the mission at this place *do not extend to the native Maltese;* to whom, by Protestants, "little or no access is gained;" and, in the succeeding year, the field, once so promising, and from which so much had been expected, seems to have been entirely abandoned.

To *Alexandria*, in *Egypt*, a missionary was sent in 1825, who, in the following year, reports encouraging circumstances. In 1829 an Arab school had been established, containing about forty boys. In 1830 the missionaries were fully employed in preaching, in conversations, and in the distribution of the Scriptures and tracts. "No obstruction exists to the preaching of Christ, if direct controversy be avoided." In 1834 the committee, for reasons assigned, determine *not* to abandon this promising field; but, the next Report (1835) tells us that the mission at Alexandria has been, with great reluctance, "for the present relinquished," assigning, among other reasons, "the failure of Mr. M'Brair's health, and the increasing extent and fatality of the plague which was desolating that part of Egypt."

The *Ionian Isles* were regarded, by the committee, in 1828, as "affording a valuable post of observation, from which suitable preparations may be made" for the spread of the gospel into different parts of Greece. Accordingly, in that year, two missionaries were appointed with directions to embrace the first opportunity to visit the Morea and Palestine. Some favorable results were reported, more especially from the Island of Zante; but, in 1834, in utter

* Of the inhabitants of this island, Mr. Bartholomew, in a letter published in the Society's Report for 1830, says sixteen thousand (about one-sixth) are priests and friars.

discouragement, the field was given up, and, says the Report for that year,—

"To this conclusion the committee were led with the less reluctance, when they considered that loud and numerous calls are now addressed to them from places where no obstacles exist to the full exercise of the Christian ministry; and, when they reflected further, that one great object of their Mediterranean missions, the occupation of certain *posts in advance*, in which their agents might be ready to avail themselves of any favorable openings for the spread of the gospel among the varied population of the contiguous countries, *does not appear likely to be accomplished, at present, as far as the agency of this Society is concerned.*"

To *Sweden* a missionary was sent in 1827, and from Stockholm, where he took up his residence, he writes, in that year, of "pleasing prospects;" and, in the next, the Report speaks of "many encouraging tokens of success." Mr. Scott, whose visit to this country, in 1841, will be remembered by many of our readers, succeeded to the charge of this mission in 1830; and, two years after, is spoken of as "having obtained an acquaintance with the vernacular tongue, and preaching every week to crowded congregations of native Swedes." In 1838 the Society appropriated five hundred pounds toward the building of a missionary chapel at Stockholm; and the missionary writes:—"Blessed be God, the work of salvation is going forward, especially in the Swedish congregations. The crowds lately have been unusually great, and the public services, in both languages, have been peculiarly solemn and influential." In the Report for 1840, it is stated that "Mr. Scott's ministry has been owned by the great Head of the church, in the conversion of many from the error of their ways;" and in that for the next year an account is given of the opening of a "large and commodious chapel," at which the services were conducted by two distinguished clergymen of the Lutheran Church. Allusion is made to Mr. Scott's visit to the United States, and the "important assistance" received by him in this country, toward meeting the expenses of "building the chapel in the capital of Sweden," is acknowledged in the Society's Report for 1842, which says:—"The importance of Mr. Scott's ministry, as a testimony for the truth, is rendered more than ever apparent." The committee specially commend him to the prayers of the friends of the Society, "that he may be divinely guided and sustained in the difficulties by which he is surrounded." We turn, with anxiety, to the Report for the succeeding year; but, strange as it may seem, we find there no mention whatever of Sweden. It was due to the friends of the Society, and it was specially important, as a matter of history, that

the committee had given an account of the reasons for so lamentable an event as the total abandonment of a station for which so great an interest had been excited and so much money had been expended. But those reasons the reader must seek from other sources. The treasurer's report (1842) winds up its history, without a word of explanation, by the item :—"Stockholm Mission—and *return of Mr. and Mrs. Scott and family, and of Mr. Edwards*, £429 9*s*. 2*d*." The total amount expended on this mission, from which ought to be deducted several Swedish donations, exceeds five thousand pounds sterling, exclusive of the collections made by Mr. Scott.*

Passing from Europe, we come to what has been justly styled the widest and most inviting field for modern missionary exertion. It is the vast continent of Asia and the islands of the eastern seas, containing a population estimated to amount to two-thirds of the human race. Here the absurdities of Buddhism, the immoralities of Brahminism, and the sensualities of Mohammedanism, have held, for ages, almost undisputed sway ; but the obstacles presented by either, or by the three combined, do not begin to compare with those thrown in the way of the truth as it is in Jesus, by the degrading, blinding, and intolerant bigotry of the Romish superstition. It is estimated that, in this part of the world, there are, at least, *two hundred millions* of human beings, who are, "directly or indirectly, under the sway of Great Britain; and it is probable that political and commercial intercourse has made the national character of Britain to be known and respected by almost two hundred millions more."

The accounts from the mission at *Ceylon*, we are told in the Report for 1819, continued to afford the greatest satisfaction and to encourage the best hopes. It had been established some five years previously. The membership in Asia, including seventy in New South Wales, was at this time three hundred and nineteen. "We occupy," says a missionary on the south division of the island, "the whole of the Singhalese coast, in which we have sixty-three places where we preach, and three thousand seven hundred and three children daily

* The facts are, that Mr. Scott, upon his return to Sweden, was accused, in the public journals, of having abused the Swedes and their religion when in America; and a persecution followed, which compelled him to leave Sweden. The whole was the work of designing men, who wished to find occasion against one of the most faithful and successful missionaries whom the Wesleyan Missionary Society have ever sent out. But, though the government closed the Wesleyan Chapel, and expelled Mr. Scott, the work of God is going on, in spite of all opposition. To God be all the praise!—*Ed.*

instructed." At these stations religious services were conducted in the Singhalese language, and in the absence of the missionaries the *liturgy* was read by some one of the native converts. From *Columbo*, in the same year, information was received of the employment of native Singhalese in the work of the ministry, and two priests of the highest order of the Buddhist priesthood having found their way to England, were taken under the protection of the Society and their religious and literary instruction superintended by the late Dr. Adam Clarke. A very interesting and affecting letter from *George Nadoris de Sylva*, who styles himself "high priest over the Buddhist priests of his caste in the Island of Ceylon," published in the Report for 1819, explains the system of Buddhism, and ably refutes its absurdities. After giving an account of his interview and arguments with the missionaries, "with whom," says he, "I strove and fought several times, my heart turned toward the Christian religion, as a plantain-tree which is bended by the heaviness of its clusters." "It is to be noted," he continues, "that the religion of Buddhu existed in this island for the space of two thousand three hundred and sixty years; but that no such pagan opposer as myself was ever converted to the Christian religion: consequently, that God, who did break away my hardness and enmity, and made me a Christian, may in a short time make all the other heathen opposers also to be Christians. And though there were ministers of the Christian religion who formerly lived in this country, they never converted even an *Oepaseke*, or a little-learned Buddhist; but that after the arrival of the missionaries to Ceylon, even the Buddhist priests and ministers were converted to the Christian religion."

Great attention appears to have been paid, from the beginning, to schools for the instruction of adults and native children, the main object being always kept in view,—that of imparting religious instruction. "Every school-house," says one of the missionaries, is "sacredly set apart as the house of God;" and all who attend are taught to regard it as a sacred place. The influence thus exerted extends to the parents, friends, and neighbors, of the pupils, and prepares the way for the preaching of the gospel in places previously inaccessible. There were in the Singhalese and Tamul districts, in 1820, eighty-six schools and nearly five thousand scholars. As a specimen of the whole, and as a sample of the manner in which these accounts are given, we copy from the Report for 1820 the account of the Colpetty school:—

"The average attendance in the school is from one hundred to one hundred and twenty;—a calculation which we take from the 'daily

return of numbers in the school.' Out of this number forty-six boys and thirteen girls can read very well in the English Testament; sixty-two boys and twenty-three girls can read the new version of the Singhalese Testament; most of the boys write their own language on the Ola, or, more properly, the Talipot leaf; fifty-two of the boys and several of the girls write copies in English on paper; and we hesitate not to say, that most of the children write their English copies much better than the generality of children in English schools, of the same standing: indeed, their aptness in this respect exceeds anything we usually see in European children. In addition to their daily exercises, they are all learning catechisms, both in English and Singhalese, which they commit to memory with great facility; this they do principally when they have finished their other work in the school, or when at their own houses. Many of the children have got on so well with their catechisms of different kinds, that they can not only repeat any part either in Singhalese or English, but their minds and thoughts are become so conversant with divine subjects, that we can hardly ask them any question connected with the leading truths of the sacred Scriptures, but we shall have a speedy and correct reply. Their knowledge of God's word, and in many instances of experimental religion, is really surprising. Many of them have taken great delight in committing to memory whole chapters of the New Testament, both from the evangelists and the epistles, together with a number of psalms and hymns, with which we have regularly furnished them, both in their own and the English languages."

A practical printer was sent to Colombo, in Ceylon, in 1818, and the Society's press is kept in active operation by the labors of the missionaries in translating catechisms, liturgies, and other religious works.

"In addition to the entire New Testament in Singhalese, there have been printed at the mission press the parables of our Saviour, the discourses of Christ, the sermon on the mount, separately; Ostervald's History of the Bible, abridged; prayers and collects from the liturgy, all in Singhalese; and the miracles and parables of our Lord, in separate volumes, in the Tamul."

The remarkable conversion of another Buddhist priest is detailed, and a copy of his address to the people, on publicly renouncing idolatry, is given in the Report for 1827. His name was *Wallegedere Piedassi Terrunnanse.* He had been a priest for fifteen years—was a learned man and of the highest caste. He publicly declared his conviction that there was no truth in the Buddhu system, and that there was no hope of salvation save that revealed in the Christian Scriptures. After giving further account of his experience he added,—"I now come openly, in the presence of this congregation, and declare all these things. I lay aside my robes, and, as an humble learner of the right way, take my place among you;

and the prayer of my heart to the God omnipotent is, that, as I rejoice in embracing this faith, all other heathens may also be brought to this knowledge through this Saviour." As was to have been expected, his sincerity and decision were soon severely tested. He was waited upon by a large delegation of the priests, his former colleagues, and every possible inducement was held out to prevail upon him to return. Threats were added to entreaties. Some said if they had him in their power they would kill him by "scraping him in pieces with their nails." In this district alone (the Ceylon) there is reported, for the year 1826, an increase in the membership of eight hundred and sixty-two. About this time the Wesleyan Institution for the religious instruction of pious young men of promising talents was established at Colombo. Its object is to train them up for posts of usefulness as teachers and missionaries among their own countrymen. Favorable accounts are given of the success by which this effort has been crowned. In 1829, at the close of the public examination of the students, three left the institution to enter upon the work assigned them; one as an assistant superintendent of schools for the Negombo station, the second as teacher of English and Singhalese at Amlamgoddy,—both to labor also as local preachers,—and the third as an assistant to the missionary at Jaffna. In the Report for 1842 is a letter from Mr. Percival, of the Tamul district, in South Ceylon, in which he says:—"Yesterday, one of my late students, a Tamul youth, whom we have named David Stoner, preached for the first time in our large chapel, and gave us a very excellent sermon. He is about twenty years of age."

In the general summary, as given in the Society's Report for 1845, the entire aspect of the missions in both the northern and southern districts of Ceylon is said to be one of great encouragement and hope:—

"In the southern, or Singhalese, district, the soul-destroying errors of Buddhism are losing their hold on the minds of the natives. Twice the people of Doudra have risen in a body against the Buddhist priests, and avowed their purpose to renounce them for ever; but some influential men among them produced a reconciliation. The missionaries are of opinion that the time is not far distant when the whole system will fall."

In these two districts (North and South Ceylon) there are, as by Report of 1846, nineteen missionaries, one hundred and fifty-nine subordinate *paid* agents, twelve hundred and forty full and accredited church members, one hundred and twenty day-schools, containing nearly five thousand scholars of both sexes, all of whom

receive religious instruction. Truly God has abundantly blessed the labors of his servants, and the spirit of the apostolic Coke may look down well pleased upon this field, on his way to which, it pleased the great Head of the church, in his mysterious sovereignty, to call him to his reward.

The next in order is the *Madras* district, in which there are four hundred and twenty-one church members, and over two thousand scholars in the day schools, the whole under the care of eighteen missionaries and sixty-six paid agents. In 1818 there were in this entire district but two missionaries—one at Bombay, and one at Madras. The former proved an unproductive soil; and in 1821, no apparent fruit succeeding, it was abandoned. In September, 1820, was formed the station at *Negapatam*, whence the missionary writes:—

"The district is said to contain two hundred thousand inhabitants. There are numerous towns and villages in all directions, which literally swarm with human beings; and these vast multitudes are, to all human appearance, perishing for lack of knowledge, having no hope and without God in the world. . . . . They all appear to be as depraved in their actions, as they are blind in their principles. There is nothing in heathenism calculated to restrain its votaries from vice. On the contrary, the very images which are the objects of worship, are many of them personifications of sin. It was after I came here that my mind was first filled with horror by a sight of the *lingam*, an image too indecent to be described; and yet this scandalous figure is daily worshiped by all classes of natives, both men and women. Thus their very religious services are calculated to corrupt the heart, to sensualize the mind, and to lead to every description of vice."

Other stations were successively occupied; and some of them, after a short season, abandoned. The annual reports from this entire region are varied by sadness and joy. Now the hearts of the missionaries are made glad; and now, deep gloom seems to rest upon their prospects. In 1830 the report is, that the laborers in this distant quarter are rejoicing in the sensible manifestations of God's presence, and "many idolaters have been converted from the error of their way during the past year." Then, again, they allude to the apostasy of some for whom they entertained the highest hopes. The severity of the persecutions through which the young converts in these regions are called to pass,—expulsion from families, ridicule, loss of caste,—may be imagined, but, by the dwellers in the midst of civilization and refinement, cannot be adequately appreciated. In this same year (1830) the mission at *Calcutta* was "commenced under favorable auspices." In the year following it had "found a wide and promising field of labor," and the schools

were "thronged with interesting children of both sexes." In the Report for the year ending April, 1833, we are told—and the announcement almost induces the belief that the previous prospects had been exaggerated:—

"The mission in *Calcutta* has recently passed under the serious review of the committee; and it has been considered not to have presented those results which warrant its continuance, especially as the expenditure necessary for its support may be more usefully directed to the improvement of some of those splendid openings for the evangelization of the heathen with which Providence has favored the society in some other parts of the world. The native chapel, which has been erected at a very moderate expense, will be usefully occupied by some other branch of the Christian church."

The year 1836 appears to have been one of great prosperity to the mission. At the Madras station fifteen native converts were received by public baptism,—one of whom was a Brahmin, called by the missionaries Jabez. On the first Sunday in August, of that year, occurred one of the most memorable events in the annals of missionary success. It was the public baptism, in the Wesleyan Chapel at Madras, of *Arumuga Tambiron*. He was a native of the province of Tanjore, and, when very young, was attached to the sect *Siva*. Invested with the yellow robes, neck-beads, holy ashes, and other insignia of that sacredly esteemed office, he proceeded with others of the Siva sect to visit the most celebrated holy places, and to bathe in the Ganges and other sacred waters. In these journeyings all his associates, ten in number, perished by diseases and wild beasts; and he alone returned to Madras, where he was held in the highest veneration. "Fifty years of my life," he says, "have been thus spent. I sought all heathen books, but found nothing for the soul. . . . I found nothing in heathen books, in heathen temples, in heathen ceremonies, to *satisfy the soul*. I met with this minister, [pointing to Mr. Carver,] and he opened to my understanding the way of salvation, the treasures of the Scriptures: they suited my dissatisfied heart. I went again and again to the missionary; I determined to abandon heathenism! By heathenism I got money in abundance, and honor! I was *worshiped* by my disciples; but my soul shrunk back at the blasphemy of the God of whom I had heard." Almost incredible was the sensation in all that region when his determination became known, and desperate the efforts to prevent its accomplishment. Numerous plans were laid to carry him off by force; one of which nearly succeeded, and his death would have been the inevitable consequence. "I should not have been left alive," said

he, "twenty-four hours,—they would have beaten me to death." The Lord, however, preserved him; and, on the day appointed,—

"At seven o'clock in the morning we proceeded to the chapel, distant near four miles. Crowds of natives had filled the chapel and the street in front of it, and we could only obtain admittance by a private entrance. . . . . The breathless anxiety, the deep silence, the earnest attention manifested by Europeans, country-born persons, and natives, increased the solemnity of the whole service. But when Tambiran approached the altar, the congregation rose simultaneously to witness the act of his renouncing heathenism. There he gave up his yellow robes, the sacred locks of hair, and the lingam, the abominable object of adoration among so many of the Hindoos. He then received from the hands of the minister a copy of the sacred Scriptures and the liturgy in the Tamul language, and knelt down; and, after a gentleman had audibly pronounced WESLEY ABRAHAM, he was solemnly baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. The Christian part of the congregation then stood round him and joined in singing the hymn of praise which he had prepared; and which has since been published in Tamul and English, and sought for by thousands of natives. The last stanza is here given:—

"Encircling the temple in holy processions, with prostrations and tears,
In every street and every place I saw the same figured images
Adorned with garlands, flowers, heathen vestments, and jewels,
And at all other feasts I slavishly served.
O liberating Lord God! O all-gracious Teacher, O triune Deity!
Thou who graciously receivest me at thy feet:
I worship thee, THE LORD JESUS!
I WORSHIP!"

The Bangalore printing office continues to be a most successful auxiliary, and issued, during the year 1843, of books of instruction, reading lessons, catechisms, Scripture selections, English and Canarese dictionaries, and other works, no less than 547,580 pages. In the last Report before us the committee express their anxiety to increase the number of laborers in this most important field.

Our attention is next directed to the *Australia* and *Van Diemen's Land district*. To New South Wales a second missionary was sent in 1817,—the first having been laboring there alone for the two preceding years. In the Report for 1820 it is stated, that on an average not less than two thousand convicts are annually cast upon its shores; which fact, taken in connection with its constantly increasing commerce, engages powerful sympathy in its behalf as a missionary station; and the hope is entertained that this colony, literally a den of thieves, may become the Great Britain of the Southern Ocean, whence may emanate light to the myriads that are

groping in thick darkness around them. In this year a missionary was also sent specially to the aboriginal natives of New-Holland,—than whom no people on the face of the earth are in a state of lower degradation. The attempt was by many deemed utterly hopeless; and the prospect, even by the missionary, regarded as discouraging. In 1823, after dwelling upon the difficulties in his way, and detailing some of the absurd and groveling practices of their superstition, he adds: "One soul, however, I am happy to believe, has, out of this depraved class of human beings, by the blessing of God upon this mission, been admitted to his glory." In 1828 the mission to the aborigines was, for the present, suspended; and the attention of the missionaries chiefly directed to the British inhabitants, convicts and others, in the colonies. In 1837, the ground having been again explored, it was determined to commence this arduous undertaking anew; and missions exclusively for the aborigines have been established successively at *Swan River* in Western Australia, where, by the last Report, (1846,) there were fifty members—whites and natives—in society; and in Australia Felix, at a locality to which the missionaries have given the name, *Bunting-Dale*, which reports as yet but *two* accredited church members. The missionary at the Swan River speaks encouragingly, and, referring to a season of revival among them, (Report for 1846,) he says:—

"Many of the natives met together, and engaged for hours at a time in prayer and supplication. To have seen these Australians bathed in tears, broken in heart, and crying, 'Jesus, save me! O Lord, save me! Come and save me now!' would have astounded infidels, and gladdened the hearts of our English friends, as it has done ours. In the course of the week several of our eldest native girls were scripturally converted, and afterward three of the native youths. One of them is married; and he and his partner—who had been previously 'saved by grace'—are now rejoicing together in the faith and hope of the gospel, and, by their consistent spirit and conduct, are furnishing evidence of the gracious change which they have experienced."

Several similar instances are given in which it is said the Australian converts evince the genuineness of their conversion by a remarkable attention to order, cleanliness, and industry. There are now within the limits of this district fourteen principal stations or circuits, eighteen missionaries and assistants, and two thousand eight hundred church members.

The mission to *New-Zealand* was commenced in 1820, in a part of the island distant from the field already occupied by the Church Missionary Society. The natives are cannibals; and at

the time were at war among themselves. One of the missionaries says:—

"After my arrival, I learned that SHUNGEE and his party slew one thousand men,—three hundred of whom they roasted and eat before they left the field of battle. . . . . In war the New-Zealanders give no quarter to the men, and take all the women and children prisoners. These they divide among themselves, according to the number of men killed. The slaves are conducted to the villages of those who have taken them captive, and are compelled to labor for their owners; and are sometimes used in the most afflicting manner, being frequently killed and eaten as an act of revenge."—*Report for* 1822.

Of course the prospect of effecting any good among these barbarians, dwelling in habitations of cruelty and delighting in blood, was to the eye of reason exceedingly dim. For several years the messengers of peace were treated with contempt, and their steadfast refusal to barter muskets and powder with the natives excited their anger. Early in 1827 the missionary premises were attacked by a lawless band, and burned; and the mission family, consisting of sixteen, including women in delicate health, and seven native children, were obliged to flee for their lives. We have seldom read a more affecting narrative than that drawn up by these devoted servants of the Lord Jesus, in which they give an unvarnished account of their trials and sufferings, and of those horrible scenes to which they were witnesses when driven from "Wesley-Dale." "However," say they, in conclusion, in the spirit of men who count not their lives dear unto them, "we beg it to be distinctly understood, that our mission to New-Zealand, though suspended, is by no means abandoned. While we are not blind to the difficulties which at present obstruct its progress, we are convinced that it may yet be prosecuted with rational hope of extensive and lasting usefulness." And it was even so. The next year they were permitted to resume their holy enterprise on an invitation from one of the chiefs, but in a part of the island some forty miles from their former station. The death of the bloodthirsty *Shungee*, in March, 1828, seemed to have a favorable influence on the remaining chiefs; a season of tranquillity ensued; and the Report for 1831 announces that "a few first-fruits have been reaped in New-Zealand." The peaceful death of a converted native, by name *Hika*, a youth of eighteen, gladdened the hearts of those who were toiling in that barbarous land, and they thanked God and took courage. In 1834 the report from New-Zealand is still more cheering. The conversion, baptism, and happy death, of a chief named *Hae Hae*, and of a slave, once one of the most abject, degraded, and vicious of his race, by name *Koteca*, illustrated to those faithful men the truth

of the promise,—"They that sow in tears shall reap in joy." The last words of *Hae Hae* were, "I am going; farewell! I am going to Jesus. I have no fear." The day before his death he warned and exhorted his weeping relatives and urged them to meet him in heaven. The history of the slave, *Koteea*, to whom at his baptism was given the name *George Morley*, is full of interest, and may be found, with an account of his zeal and anxiety for the conversion of his countrymen, in the Missionary Notices for 1834. In the Report for the next year, so wonderfully had the work of grace progressed, that *sixteen* native converts, some of them chiefs, were employed regularly as assistants to the missionaries. A printing press was sent out; and, says the Report, "an indefinitely extensive field for the employment of missionaries and the establishment of Christian schools appears to open before the Society in that part of the world." From that time to the present, with the exception of insidious, but for the most part unsuccessful, attempts to lure away converts by the Roman Catholics, and a disgraceful and sanguinary war waged by the English soldiers against the natives in the north part of the island, all the accounts are in the highest degree cheering and encouraging.* The Report for 1846 gives as the number of chapels and other preaching places on the island, *one hundred and ninety-eight;* of missionaries, assistants, and other paid agents, *thirty-four;* of local preachers, (natives,) *two hundred and twenty-two;* and of full and accredited church members, (in addition to three hundred and thirty-four on trial,) *three thousand five hundred and seventy-one.*

At *Tonga*, one of the *Friendly Islands*, the Society's first missionary landed on the 16th of August, 1822. He was received with kindness by *Palan* and other chiefs, who readily promised to

* With reference to Popish and *other* opposition, the Report for 1845 holds this language:—"The agents of Popery are busily at work; and certain intolerant clergymen of a *professedly Protestant* church are endeavoring, and too successfully in some places, to unsettle our native converts by calling in question the ministerial character of the society's missionaries, and the validity of their ministrations." In the Report for 1846, speaking of the New-Zealand district, they say:—"Certain exclusive Episcopal clergymen are working *a greater amount of mischief* by introducing among our people unprofitable disputations, and by prejudicing them against their former religious teachers, than even the emissaries of Rome ever have been able to effect." One of the missionaries deplores "the evils resulting from the *wily high-churchism* at present rampant in the land." "A spirit of division," he says, "has been engendered, and animosity and disputation have made their appearance in our previously peaceful borders."

send their children to the proposed school; and added, "We will come ourselves and learn something from the white people."

The doctrine of the transmigration of souls prevails among the natives of all these islands. An aged chief being asked how old he was, replied, about a thousand years; and "there is scarcely a man on Tonga but thinks he has lived hundreds of years." The islands are about one hundred and eighty-eight in number; the natives are large, well-formed, and far more intelligent than the New-Zealanders. *Palan* is represented as a remarkably fine looking man, and is "much heavier than two common-sized Europeans." For twenty years previous to the arrival of the missionary the different islanders had been engaged in almost incessant wars, which were conducted in a way more bloody and horrible than can well be conceived in civilized countries. By their own acknowledgment, the islands were more than half depopulated by these contests, and the time selected for the commencement of this mission seems to have been peculiarly propitious. In 1831 its success is said to have been signal and gratifying, and there were then—although but three missionaries had labored among them—two hundred and eighteen members in the society, and two hundred and thirty-two on trial. In this year additional missionaries were sent out, and a printing press, by which they were relieved from the excessive and almost incredible toil of preparing manuscript books of instruction for more than a thousand adults and children then in their schools.

At the *Habai* Island, another of the group, the success of the missionaries was still greater. In the Report for 1832, the king is said to have begun to meet in class; and soon after, having given satisfactory evidence of a change of heart, was publicly baptized. His heathen name was *Paufahan;* and, in the midst of a congregation of two thousand, after a sermon by the missionary, "in a modest and devout manner," he publicly professed his faith in Christ. "I stand here," said he, "in the presence of God, and in the midst of you, my people, to make known to you my mind toward the Lord Jehovah. I thank the praying friends for having sent a missionary to my land, to instruct me and you, my people, in the things of God. A short time ago I was wicked in my life, serving the devil with all my might; and I was very near burning in the unquenchable fire of hell. But now, I thank the Lord Jehovah, and his Son, Jesus Christ, for having sent the gospel here to teach me and you, my people. It is because of this that I stand here this day alive. For the last eight months I have been united to religious society, and I have been earnestly seeking the Lord, that I might do that

which is right in his sight, and I come this day to give myself and these, my children, body and soul, to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to be baptized in his holy name. I sincerely thank him for his great love to me and to you, my people, and I do now take him for my Lord and my God; and I earnestly desire also to be baptized with the Holy Spirit, and to be filled therewith." On the same island, soon after this event, was witnessed one of the most signal triumphs of the gospel. It was the conversion of *Tamaha*, a female who had been esteemed a deity, and to whom the natives had long paid divine homage and adoration. So rapid, and withal so deep, was the work of grace thenceforward, that, says the Report for 1846, "the word of prophecy has had its accomplishment, and a 'nation has been born in a day;'" and, in the next account, it is said of the twenty islands known as *Habai*, "There remains little room for the *extension* of the work. Idolatry has ceased to exist, and almost the whole of the adult population are now members of Christian society." The news of this wonderful work of grace, it seems, had by this time reached Rome; and in 1837 his holiness, the pope, sent to the Friendly Islands a bishop and five missonaries; who, in an interview with several of the chiefs, professed anxiety to instruct the people in the *old* religion: that which you have been taught, said they, is *new* and lately sprung up. The honest simplicity of these babes in Christ was, however, more than a match for their jesuitical cunning; and permission to stay was refused them at every place where they called. "O bless the Lord for this!" exclaims the missionary, in giving a plain statement of the facts; and he concludes with the thrilling appeal:—"Who can bid *them* God speed, and be free from the blood of souls? No, never, never may the mother of harlots, or her children, gain any footing in the Friendly Islands, or any of the islands of these seas!—O! may God prevent, may Christ, the good Shepherd, prevent it! and may the *Methodists*, and *all* the friends of our common Christianity, come forward to send *us more missionaries!*" But the man of sin does not so easily abandon his designs. Baffled and driven off, as his emissaries were, they soon after appeared again, itinerating to the various missionary stations, and endeavoring, by every means, to subvert the faith of the converts. In the prosecution of this object, says the Report for 1845, "every species of calumnious misrepresentation has been resorted to;" and in that for 1846 we have an account of their conduct at *Uvea* or *Walliss'* Island, which is enough to make an angel weep. The native teacher, who had charge of the little society there, after detailing sundry scandalous transactions, thus proceeds:—

"We had built us a chapel, which was finished, and neatly ornamented all over with the various-colored sinnet; and, after it was opened, the two priests gave orders to the people of the island to burn it with fire, for it was truly the devil's house; and *the house was set on fire in the night, and burned down.*"

By the machinations of the priests a bloody war ensued, in which the writer of the above letter was slain, and a large proportion of the converts were induced to attach themselves, nominally at least, to the Popish religion; and thus, in the opinion of the missionaries, their goodly prospects are, in that little island, blasted. In this entire district there are but ten "paid agents," including missionaries and assistants; while the number of "full and accredited church members" is six thousand five hundred and ninety-seven.

The *Feejee Islands*, also in the South Sea, constitute another district. The natives were remarkable for savage ferocity of character;—cannibals, delighting to feast upon the flesh of their enemies, and, indeed, esteeming it a religious duty to offer human victims as sacrifices to their gods. Among these savages a mission was established in 1836. In 1840, so diligently had the missionary applied himself that he had composed a grammar and dictionary of the language, had translated portions of the Scripture, and prepared several elementary books of instruction: a printing press was received from Great Britain, and copies were multiplied and circulated in the schools already established. Enduring hardships and privations, in the midst of perils and dangers, the missionaries, men and women, seem to have been endued with more than mortal courage, and they toiled on, trustingly, cheerfully, even amid scenes like the following, which we copy from a letter sent home in 1842:—

"We have seen the mangled bodies of those who have been massacred or slain in war, dragged on the ground, with a rope round their necks, to the public market-place, and, in broad daylight, offered to the gods, cut up, cooked, and eaten; and all this in the immediate vicinity of the mission premises. These horrid deeds are not the effects of a fit of passion; the Feejeeans do not eat men as a lion devours his prey, as we had thought; but the whole tragedy of cutting up, cooking, &c., is performed without the least emotion, and without any apparent shame. We have seen the widowed mother led alive to the grave by her own sons, and by their cruel hands strangled, and that without any apparent remorse, either for the loss of a parent, or the perpetration of such a horrid murder. They are without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful. We have wept over these cannibals, and remonstrated with them, *and have been threatened with death for such interference;* but, though thus repulsed, we have tried again and again, and, thank God, we are now becoming more successful."

During almost the entire period, since the establishment of the mission, wars have been raging among the different islands—wars attended with almost every species of cold-blooded cruelty; yet, in the midst of all, God's promises to his faithful servants have been verified, and gloriously fulfilled. At no time have there been more than seven missionaries in the district; yet, as the fruits of only ten years' labor, they report, in the four Feejeean circuits, upward of *eleven hundred members*, of whom forty-four are licensed native preachers, who render cheerful and valuable assistance. As was to have been expected, opposition and annoyance of another kind are now to be endured. From the Report for 1846, we learn that a Roman bishop and two priests had arrived at one of the islands; and, although the king was unwilling to receive them, yet the priests remained, and will doubtless pursue their unholy work.

Passing from these islands of the sea, we come to the Society's missions in *Southern Africa*. These are divided into three districts. The first, *the Cape of Good Hope*, in which are nine missionaries and assistants, and twelve hundred and forty church members; second, the *Bechuana*, employing seven missionaries, and reporting a membership of six hundred and ninety-eight; and, thirdly, the *Albany and Kaffraria*, in which are twenty-five central, or principal, stations,* seventy-six chapels and other preaching places, twenty-three missionaries, and fifteen hundred and ninety-two church members. In these, as in all the other statistics of the Society, persons on trial for membership are not included. These amounted to several hundred in the districts under consideration; and, in the last Report, the number of attendants on public worship in South Africa, including members and scholars, is set down at nearly *sixty thousand*. A glorious result to have been almost entirely brought about within a quarter of a century; and full of interest is the history of this enterprise from the time when that most laborious servant of the Most High, Barnabas Shaw, commenced the work among the "*Little Namacquas*." Resolutely bent, by God's grace, on the salvation of the degraded Hottentots around him, he built a dwelling place for himself, and, soon after, with such assistance as he could obtain, erected a chapel, in which he gathered the natives, and talked to them about Christ. He called his little solitary station Mount Zion. Strong in the faith, he labored for awhile alone; nor long without fruit. From the

* Many of these stations have been named by the missionaries. Thus, in this district, we have *Newton-Dale*, *Wesleyville*, *Mount Coke*, *Butterworth*, *Beecham-wood*, *Clarkebury*, and *Buntingville*.

Namacquas the Lord raised up a helper for him—*Jacob Links*—who, being employed by the Society as an assistant missionary, labored faithfully for several years, and was murdered by his countrymen in 1825. William Threlfall, a missionary from England, and another converted Hottentot, were killed at the same time. But the work of God went on; additional missionaries were sent out; new stations were occupied; and, to replace the martyrs, the Report of the very next year speaks of three native teachers, of decided piety and talents, raised up *from one Hottentot family.* In addition to the numerous schools that had been established, a seminary, of higher grade, designed for the instruction of persons to be employed as teachers and natives called to the ministry, was commenced in 1838. It is called the "Watson Institution," and numbered among its first pupils three converted Kaffers, three Bechuanas, and one Mozambique. A periodical in the Kaffer language was also issued, and gained rapidly in favor with the natives who were able to read. It was called *Umshumayeli Wendaba;* or, the News Teller. The articles inserted in its columns were designed to advance the cause of the Redeemer by exposing the absurdities of superstition, and by the increase of general knowledge. It was supplied only to subscribers; as all were made to understand, from the beginning, that it was to be sold, not given gratuitously. In 1840 upward of three hundred copies were circulated. At *Thaba Unchu*, in the Bechuana district, one of the furthest stations in the interior of Africa, in the fourth year of its existence as a missionary station, the adult natives had made so much proficiency in reading that the missionary had translated and printed, in the *Sichuana* language, several of the Saviour's parables and other little works; and from *Plaatberg*, another infant station, the gratifying intelligence was received that, under peculiar circumstances, upward of three hundred dollars, or £22 14*s.* sterling, were obtained toward defraying the expenses of the station, besides nearly ten pounds in missionary subscriptions. In the Report for 1839 is a very interesting letter from the missionary at the *Beka station*, in Kafferland. We make an extract, which affected us not more by the ingenuity of the object for which the request is made, than by the singleness of purpose evinced by the petitioner:—

"And there is another thing, as connected with the sabbath, which I must beg leave to bring before the committee, or the friends of missions generally; and that is, that they would furnish us with a quantity of the stuff of which flags are made, that we may hoist them at different points. I have one here; but Pato has requested that more may be put up, so that, as soon as ours is seen on a Sunday morning, all may be hoisted

throughout the tribe, as a kind of telegraphic dispatch, announcing the Lord's day. Many of the people plead ignorance, and the chief is anxious to take this plea from them, so that, throughout this tribe, every one may be able to know, by these silent, yet efficient preachers of the law, that the sabbath-day has arrived. Had I my wish, and did I possess the means, I would not rest until this plan of telegraph was adopted, every Sunday, throughout Kafferland; the more so as the Wesleyan missions alone extend throughout the whole length of Kafferland proper, namely: about two thousand five hundred miles. I have never asked any favor for any particular station before; nor have I ever received any; nor is what I now ask, for the personal comfort of myself, or of any on the station; it is purely for the service of God, and therefore I feel no delicacy in making the request."

Doubtless the bunting was sent by the first opportunity; and long may the flags wave as successive sabbaths dawn. In 1840 very gratifying accounts were received from the mission among the *Mantatees*, a large and powerful tribe "until lately shut up in the densest darkness." Their country is also included in the Bechuana district. Two of these native converts died triumphantly during the preceding year, the first adult Mantatees, it is said, who have departed this life in the faith of Christ. In this region is the *Mantatee branch* of the Watson Institution, at which sons of the most influential chiefs and others are receiving instruction,—a copious grammar of the language having been prepared by the missionaries, and printed, with other books, at the Society's press at Thaba-Unchu. An improved edition of the entire New Testament, in the Kaffer language—the first having been exhausted—and about three-fourths of the Old Testament, the whole translation, with the exception of a portion of Paul's Epistles, the work of the Society's missionaries, were issued from their press early in the year 1846. The devoted Barnabas Shaw is still laboring in that distant field, and with him a son, who was born in Little Namaqualand, now also a missionary, and actuated by his father's spirit. Indeed, a more zealous and successful band of laborers are nowhere to be found in Christ's broad vineyard than the Wesleyan missionaries in Southern Africa.

On the south-west part of the large Island of *Madagascar* a mission was commenced in 1824. A gentleman who had formerly suffered shipwreck on that coast contributed three hundred pounds toward the expense of the undertaking, and the committee invited the prayers of Christians for its success. Two years after, it seems to have been abandoned for reasons which may have been well enough known at the time, but which are not stated in the "Reports."

Western Africa.—From this department of the work, and more especially from the Society's oldest station, *Sierra Leone*, the reports have been, from the beginning, full of melancholy interest. The first missionary sent to this field was Mr. Warner, in 1811. He died in about a year after his arrival. Thenceforward, one after another, in rapid succession, the missionaries have fallen under the deadly influence of the climate; yet has there been no lack of laborers, and the work of God has steadily advanced. Precious is the memory of those who volunteered for this forlorn hope, and who died there with their armor on. The first Report before us announces the death of Mrs. Brown, and the removal of the other missionaries for want of health. In 1819 Mr. Gilison died,—a few months after his arrival; Mr. Bell followed him to the grave in 1822, and in the next year both the missionaries, Mr. Lane and Mr. Huddlestone, died within three months of each other. The latter gives a touching account of the last sickness of his colleague, and on the same page is recorded, by the pen of his widow, a notice of his own peaceful departure. "He charged me," says she, "to tell the committee that he had exerted every nerve in the cause of the mission, and that he was dying happy in the faith." In 1824 two "heroic men," says the Report, "*gave the preference* to this post of danger;" one of whom, Mr. Harte, died in a few months. In 1828 Mr. Courties and Mr. May were stationed there; and the next year's Report says, simply and touchingly, "their labors were supended by death." In the same year died also Mr. Monro and Mr. Peck, and Sierra Leone is again without a minister. There was one yet left in Western Africa. Mr. Marshall was laboring successfully at St. Mary's, on the river Gambia; but him, too, the Owner of the vineyard called to his reward in the following year. Not long, however, was the field left vacant; and others heard and answered to the Master's call. In 1835 is reported the death of Mr. Clarke, who had been permitted to toil one short year; and, says the Report for 1836, the mission at Cape Coast has been suspended by the lamented death of Mr. Dunwell. Still seems the Lord of the harvest, in his mysterious sovereignty, to be saying to his collective church, as he said of old to Saul of Tarsus, I will show you how great things must be suffered for my name's sake. The year 1838 was one of unprecedented mortality, and Zion was called to mourn over the untimely departure of many of her most devoted champions. Mr. Crosby and Mr. Patterson died at Sierra Leone; Mr. Maer, wasted away by lingering fever, was released on board the ship in which he had embarked to return to his native land. Mr. Wilkinson, Mr. and Mrs. Harrop, Mr. and Mrs.

Wrigley, all members of this mission, were cut down in the midst of their usefulness. The Report for 1840 chronicles the death of Mr. Fleet and Mr. Parkinson. In 1841 two returned home emaciated with disease; while Mr. Spinney, Mr. James, and Mr. Jehu, were permitted to lay their bones beside their brethren who had gone before them. In the next year it was "the mournful duty of the committee to announce the lamented deaths of Mr. Thackwray, Mr. Walden, Mrs. Freeman, and Mrs. Hesk;" and, in 1843, Mr. Wyatt, Mr. Rowland, Mr. Shipman, and Mrs. Swallow, were called to their reward. In the early part of the year 1845, Mr. Watkins, who had been very successful at the *Akrah* station, was removed by death; and, in about six months after, his successor, Mr. Greaves, was summoned to his heavenly home. Blessed men! they counted not their lives dear unto them; their moral heroism is a precious legacy to the church of Christ, and we have a melancholy pleasure in placing their names upon our fleeting pages.

"God buries his workmen, but carries on his work."

In the midst of difficulties of various kinds—opposition, persecution, sickness, and death—the Sierra Leone Mission has so prospered, that the Report for 1846 sets down the number of full and accredited church members at three thousand one hundred and eighty-six; on trial for membership, seven hundred and fifty-eight. They are under the charge of four missionaries and two native assistants. The number of local preachers on the three circuits included in the district is fifty-seven;—all of whom support themselves and render efficient service on the sabbath.

The *Gambia* district, also in Western Africa, comprises four principal stations; St. Mary's,—first mentioned in 1824, and prosecuted under discouraging circumstances until 1834, when it was visited with showers of gracious influence, and the year following is reported as one of "unprecedented prosperity,"—Barrapoint, Nagabantang, and Macarthy's Island. The peaceful and industrious habits of the *Foulahs*, at this last-named station, marked them out as fit objects of missionary zeal to the indefatigable Coke; but it was not until 1832 that the Society, urged on by a pledge from certain benevolent persons to meet the whole expense for five years, resolved to plant there the standard of the cross. On this district there are now six missionaries and assistants, eight local preachers, and a membership of four hundred and seventy-eight.

The third division of the West African Mission includes the Gold Coast, Ashanti, Badagry, and other parts of Guinea. It dates its commencement in 1835, when a missionary was sent to

Cape Coast Town, who reported that not only did the European residents receive him gladly, but that many of the natives, the *Fantees*, were anxious inquirers,—one young man having journeyed nearly fifty miles to converse with him on the subject of religion. From its proximity to the powerful kingdom of the Ashantees, and its contiguity to the Niger, affording facilities to the nations on its banks, the mission at Cape Coast naturally excited much interest from its commencement. In 1840 one of the missionaries made a journey to Ashantee, an account of which, published in the Appendix to the Report for that year, is intensely interesting. He traveled through a densely populated region, and, in the midst of the most revolting scenes of heathenism, appears to have been favorably received by the greater part of the native chiefs. At most of the native towns he collected congregations, to whom he unfolded his design in visiting them, and spoke of the blessings of the gospel, "remarking," he says, "that as I was a minister of the gospel, I *could not prudently make them presents* according to the usual custom; it being beneath the dignity of Christianity, which is so truly excellent in itself, that it requires no recommendation except a conviction of its value." So favorable was the impression made by the publication of the missionary's journal, that a special appeal was made to the British public; and, in 1841, more than five thousand pounds sterling were contributed for a mission to the Gold Coast and Ashanti,—"one of the most important undertakings," say the committee, "of modern days." From *Kumasi*, the capital of Ashanti, the missionary writes, under date January 2d, 1844:—

"Having been, through divine mercy, spared to labor on this station during the past four months, I am able from constant and daily intercourse with the people to speak with greater confidence as to our prospects of success, than when I last addressed you. It may, indeed, be said that the present state of things is such as to warrant the expectation that ere long a large accession to the kingdom of Christ will be made from the (at present) degraded and sanguinary Ashantees. Even now we have the most convincing proof that we have not labored in vain, nor spent our strength for naught. Some are inquiring, with much apparent sincerity, What shall I do to be saved? It has been my happiness to admit on trial two or three interesting and promising young men, (Ashantees,) who, from the spirit they manifest, bid fair to adorn their Christian profession, and ultimately to be made instrumental of good to their degraded countrymen. Besides these, there are others of whose conversion to the faith of Christ we may justly entertain strong hopes, but whom I have not yet thought it prudent to invite to unite themselves with us, as, owing to the peculiar circumstances in which we are placed, it is necessary to be exceedingly circumspect."

In another part of the letter he speaks of the character and habits of the Ashantees as follows :—

"The scenes I have been called to witness during my short residence here have in many instances been of the most soul-harrowing description; nor could I have thought it possible that human life should be so little cared for, or common humanity be so foreign to the mind, as is the case in Kumasi. I do not exaggerate when I say that during the past four months, at least eight hundred persons have fallen by the sacrificial knife, not one of whose dishonored remains have been laid in the grave. On several occasions I have seen the headless trunks of these poor victims lying in heaps of from fifteen to twenty, the swine and the turkey-buzzards either greedily preying upon them, or standing by literally gorged with the flesh of one's fellow-man."

At the great *yam-festival* at the capital of Ashanti, in 1845, at which, in former years, literally torrents of human blood were shed, but one person—and he a condemned criminal—was put to death; and on the principal day of the feast, while the excitement was at the highest, between one and two hundred natives withdrew from the scene of temptation, and met together, at the call of the missionary, for the worship of the true God. In 1842 a mission was commenced at *Badagry*, a region hitherto known only as the seat of the most sanguinary superstition, and the scene of the worst atrocities and cruelties of the slave trade. Schools have been established, and already fruit has made its appearance. The last Report, however, represents this mission, owing to wars raging among the different chiefs, as in the most critical circumstances. These bloody conflicts arise from the traffic in slaves, still carried on and encouraged by civilized and professedly Christian nations. Four slavers were lying off the town, awaiting a cargo, at the date of the latest intelligence; and, says the missionary, "It is the trade in human blood and bones,—man selling his brother,—and the callous, brutal, inhuman, and fiendlike state of mind which must ever be associated with it, that forms the mighty obstruction in our path." The Report expresses the greatest sympathy for this "excellent missionary and his heroic wife," and earnestly commends them and their mission to the prayers of all good people. The membership on this district is set down at seven hundred and fifty-one; there are twenty-four day schools, (one at Ashanti, and one at Badagry,) in which are seven hundred and forty-three scholars; the whole under the superintendence of ten missionaries and assistants.

We come now to the oldest, the most extensive, and, taking all things into the account, the most successful missions under the care of the Society. In 1786 Dr. Coke and three others landed

at *Antigua*, in the *West Indies;* and from that time to the present the Wesleyans have been ministering the word of life to the slaves and free persons of color in those islands. It is impossible to estimate the amount of good that has been accomplished by their labors; and the light of another world will reveal the number, who, through their instrumentality, have been made free in Christ Jesus, and added to the company of the redeemed in heaven. For the convenience of the reader, and for the sake of brevity, we have thrown the more important statistics of the five West Indian districts, as given in the Report for 1846, into the following tabular form:—

Districts.	Miss'naries & Ass'ts.	Other paid Agents.	Loc'l Preachers.	S. School Scholars.	Day Scholars.	Full & accredited C. Members.	On trial for membership
1. Antigua	21	51	32	6,093	2,824	14,151	282
2. St. Vincents & Demarara	20	37	42	4,129	2,651	12,942	266
3. Jamaica	32	47	56	2,200	2,897	25,049	597
4. Bahama	8	3	38	2,242	67	3,544	97
5. Hayti	5	6	5	128	535	261	1
Total	86	144	173	14,792	8,974	55,947	1,243

From this statement it will be inferred that the obstacles in the way of missionary success have not been so great as in many other places. And it is true. The negro is remarkable for his docility and patience; and the consolations of our holy religion are frequently embraced with eagerness and retained with energy by those who have been deprived of all their natural rights by the cruelty and avarice of their fellow-men. It is to be remembered, however, that the gospel found these poor creatures in the very lowest state of ignorance and degradation. Their desires and pursuits were almost on a level with the brutes that perish, and their chief concern was the gratification of their appetites and lusts. From infancy they imbibed lessons in dissimulation and falsehood. Without natural affection, living in a state of promiscuous concubinage, they had little idea of the nature of the relative duties of parent and child, or husband and wife. The discipline of the missionaries has always been strict on this point, and their instructions positively forbid them to admit either male or female to membership, or even on trial, so long as they continue in the sin of concubinage, or live with each other unless legally married. Hence, many who would have been gathered into the fold have been rejected,—their supreme law, the will of a tyrant, forbidding compliance with the law of Christ. The superstitions brought from

their native land, and handed down from one generation to another, are also a great obstacle in the way of their conversion. The influence of the "Obi," or "Obiah" witchcraft, upon their untutored minds is almost incredible. "A menacing word, or even a look from one reputed an Obiah man, is sufficient to fill their minds with the most dreadful apprehensions of future evil; and so powerful is the influence of imagination, that, in many instances, that which they most fear actually comes upon them: they sicken, pine away and die, under a disease which has no cause but their own superstitious fears."

In addition to the relentless hostility of many planters—the legal owners of these human chattels for whom Christ died—the missionaries have had to contend with the perverseness of the local governments, and bow to many ridiculous regulations imposed upon them in their labors of love. Now, every chapel must be closed by a certain hour; and now, no slaves are permitted to assemble after dark—a restriction almost equivalent to forbidding their meeting at all. Occasionally an insurrection breaks out—we marvel that they were not a hundred fold more frequent—and lo! the missionaries are charged with its instigation, their lives are threatened, their property destroyed, their chapels demolished. On one occasion obsolete laws are raked up and enforced; and on others, the mob rules and tramples upon all laws,—as at Barbadoes in 1823, when the chapel and mission premises were demolished, the little flock scattered, and the missionary and his wife obliged to fly for their lives from one hiding place to another; and, as at Montego Bay, nine years later, where, under pretence that the chapel was unlicensed, the mandate went forth that it must be closed, and the little society was forbidden, anywhere, to assemble for God's worship. The bigotry and intolerant zeal of Romish priests have also been aroused, more especially at Hayti, from which place the missionaries, in the Reports for 1821 and 1823, give some outrageous specimens.

By the tempests incident to the climate, the tornado and the hurricane, much loss in the destruction of chapels has occurred. Dominica was thus visited in 1835; ruin and desolation were spread throughout the colony, and many places of worship leveled to the earth. St. Vincents suffered still more severely from the same cause in 1832, and nearly every chapel was demolished. By those still more terrible visitations, earthquakes, greater losses have been sustained. In 1842 one of the mission stations was blotted out of existence; and instead of the usual account of its religious state and prospects as given in former years, we have

the affecting entry: "*Cape Haytien* destroyed by an earthquake, May 7, 1842." The lives of the missionary and his family were mercifully preserved. In the same year, and from the same cause, many chapels, school-houses, and other mission buildings, were destroyed in Antigua, Dominica, Montserrat, Nevis, and St. Eustatius; to repair and build which, says the Report, "many thousands of pounds will be required." By means raised among themselves, and with comparatively very little assistance from the Society, save as loans to be repaid at a future time, the damages were, for the most part, repaired, and many new and enlarged edifices were erected during the ensuing year. Indeed, one of the most gratifying results of the missions in the West Indies is the self-sustaining spirit which has been called into existence, and which, in the more prominent stations, is not satisfied without doing something, in addition, for the more feeble. This has been remarkably exhibited since the ever-memorable 1st of August, 1834, when was carried into effect the act of the imperial parliament for "the abolition of colonial slavery, so long," says the Report for 1835, "the sin, and shame, and curse of our country." The committee congratulate the Society on the accomplishment of this great event; dwell on the peaceful circumstances which marked the transition of nearly eight hundred thousand fellow-beings from a state of slavery to the enjoyment of freedom; and gratefully acknowledge the cheering religious prosperity immediately consequent thereon. As evidence, they allude not only to the increase in the membership in the several stations, and the eager attendance on the public means of grace, insomuch that the places of worship are now found (1835) wholly inadequate, in many places, for the crowds who throng thither, but to the abolition of Sunday markets, the voluntary sanctification of the Lord's day by many, who, as slaves, were compelled to violate it, and to the doors, hitherto closed, now opening in every direction for the messengers of salvation. Eight years after the date of this event, namely, in 1842, the Report says: "ALL the stations in the colonies of St. Christophers, St. Vincents, and Barbadoes, *have become entirely independent of British pecuniary aid.*" The same was said of eight of the central stations in the Island of Jamaica, all of which supported themselves, and some contributed largely to the poorer societies. One case in particular, that of Bath, in Jamaica, has honorable mention. Here there are no white persons but the missionaries. The religious society and congregation consist entirely of blacks, and about a dozen creoles. In addition to meeting all the expenses of their own missionaries, and building a chapel,

which cost upward of £2,500, they gave nearly £200 for the relief of the feebler stations in the district. In the Report for 1844, say the committee,—

"Ten years have scarcely passed away since civil freedom began to dawn upon the negro population in the British colonies; and already our missions in those colonies, which once pressed so heavily upon the general funds of the Society, exhibit such signs of advancement as to warrant the expectation that they will shortly become *self-supporting*."

We notice next, and finally, the labors of the Society on our own continent.

The missions to the British dominions in North America are included in five districts: Canada West, Canada East, Nova Scotia, New-Brunswick, and Newfoundland. The chief objects of their attention have been the emigrants from Great Britain, and their descendants, who speak the English language, and bear the Christian name. The labors of the missionaries appear to have been thus exclusively confined until 1834, when the Society took under its supervision several interesting missions among the native Indians, which had been prosecuted with such success that, at the time of their connection with the British Society, twelve hundred of the Chippeways were professors of the Christian faith. A mission to the Esquimaux, on the coast of Labrador, had indeed been undertaken in 1826; but although the Report for that year speaks of their "docility and susceptibility of feeling on subjects of religion as highly encouraging," yet the next year it was "impeded by difficulties;" and, in 1828, "for the present suspended." In the Report for 1836, it is stated that, at the river St. Clair, a whole tribe of pagan Indians had been converted during the preceding year. The number is not stated; but four years after, the membership at St. Clair is set down at one hundred and thirty-one. In 1840, in consequence of liberal offers of assistance from the Hudson's Bay Company, three missionaries were sent to their territory for the benefit of their "agents and servants," as well as for that of the Indian tribes within their bounds. The committee express their "deep sense of obligation" to the governor and honorable company in general, and "especially to George Simpson, Esq., the governor in chief of their territories." Some success appears to have attended these efforts, and the station at "Rossville" reports a membership of one hundred and twenty-one; that at "Moose Factory," eighty-three; none of whom, we suppose, are Indians, or the fact would have been stated. The

third station in this district is "Lac-la-Pluie and Fort Alexander," and the fourth is called "Edmonton and Rocky Mountain," neither of which report any membership.

The principal Indian missions proper are in the Canada West district, and they are represented generally as being in a flourishing condition. At *Alderville*, in the neighborhood of Rice Lake, is a manual labor school, toward the support of which the sum of £100 annually is given by the Indians themselves from their annuity from the British government. The school contains about thirty pupils, several of whom are reported to have made much proficiency in English grammar and geography. At *Mud Lake* the aborigines have erected, entirely at their own expense, a very neat and convenient house of worship; and at *Grand River*, where the prospect was for awhile quite discouraging, a gracious revival of religion is mentioned in the Report for 1846. At St. Clair, says the Report for the preceding year,

"Our excellent missionary has had to contend against the *triumvirate*, so determined and active in the present day in their opposition to the gospel of Christ, *infidelity*, *Popery*, and *Puseyism!* But, having obtained help from God, he has nobly maintained his ground. The emissaries of Rome have made very little impression; albeit to seduce the Indians from the simplicity of the gospel, they have, among many other artifices, exhibited to them pictures of the Virgin, and the infant Saviour in her arms, in which the former is represented as an Indian female, and the latter as a *papoose!*"

We are unable, from the manner in which the reports are drawn up, to give the precise number of Indians in church fellowship with the Society. It does not, we judge, exceed eight hundred. In the entire Canada West district the number of full and accredited church members, including Indians, is two thousand nine hundred and eighty-one; and in the East district, where the laborers, with the exception of salaried school teachers, have been about as many, and where the expenditures are not half so great, there is a membership of four thousand one hundred and fifteen.* The Nova Scotia district reports four thousand eight hundred and ten; the New-Brunswick, three thousand nine hundred and eighty-three; and the Newfoundland, two thousand four hundred and ninety-nine. The number of missionaries and assistants in the British

* In this district many of the stations lie contiguous to the western part of the state of New-York; "*in consequence of which*," says the Report for 1844, "the population is of a very mixed description; and Christian piety and *loyalty* are injuriously affected by the opinions which are propagated by wandering and erroneous teachers from the neighboring country."

dominions in North America is one hundred and one; of local preachers, two hundred and thirty-nine.

But we have already exceeded our prescribed limits; and, omitting a multitude of reflections and observations which have crowded upon us in taking this rapid survey of the operations of this great institution, we close with the general summary of all the Wesleyan missions as presented in the Report for 1846:—

Central or principal stations, called circuits, occupied by the Society in various parts of the world, . . .	284
Chapels, and other preaching places, at the above-mentioned central or principal stations, as far as ascertained	2,522
Missionaries and assistant missionaries, including ten supernumeraries	397
Other paid agents, as catechists, interpreters, day-school teachers, &c., (this number has been very considerably reduced, as many hundreds of teachers in the Friendly Islands do not *now* receive any pecuniary remuneration for their services).	847
Unpaid agents, as sabbath-school teachers, &c. . .	6,832
Full and accredited church members	103,150
On trial for church membership, as far as ascertained.	4,315
Scholars, deducting for those who attend both the day and sabbath schools	71,625
Printing establishments	8

F.

Art. II.—1. *Observations on Popular Antiquities, chiefly Illustrating the Origin of our Vulgar Customs, Ceremonies, and Superstitions.* By John Brand, M. A., Fellow and Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Arranged, revised, and greatly enlarged for this edition, by Sir Henry Ellis, K. H., F. R. S., Sec. S. A., &c., Principal Librarian of the British Museum. Three volumes. London. 1841.

2. *Demonology and Witchcraft.* By Sir Walter Scott.

3. *Article in Blackwood's Magazine—The Divining Rod.*

The work which heads our list is a most curious production. The matters of which it treats would seem, at the first glance, trivial and uninteresting, and, consequently, beneath the notice of such men as the learned Mr. Brand and his laborious commentator. Nevertheless, the subject, unpromising as it appears to the

casual observer, is pursued with all the learning, acuteness, and patient research of grave investigation; and the facts rescued from oblivion are not without their value in the history of mind. History has too long been written on anti-republican principles. That which is palmed off upon the reader as the history of a nation, is, in most cases, the history of a few individuals only; while the story of the people's joys and sorrows, employments and condition, remains untold, save when incidentally involved in the chronicles of the nobility. Many of our histories are little more than meager, miserable details, of the manner in which one despot after another made love and war, and dressed and feasted, till he was gathered unto his fathers, and another reigned in his stead.

This mode of constructing history is contrary to all our ideas of propriety and justice. If we can have but one, we would rather know on what principle of conscription Xerxes raised his immense army for the invasion of Greece, than to learn how the silly monarch pouted because of a storm on the Hellespont, and caused the sea to be soundly flogged for its disregard of court etiquette. We wish the history of the people; their actual state, their every-day manners and customs, their hopes and fears; what they believed, and what they doubted. Sir Walter Scott, and Messrs. Brand and Ellis, have turned their attention to one branch of this popular exposition; and we must confess that we have read their volumes with no small interest. We cannot condemn the subject as puerile We may indeed deride, as folly and weakness, the whole system of amulets, charms, and superstitions of various kinds, which once held sway over the multitude; but we cannot forget the fact that minds of culture and capacity have been brought under the same dominion. Luther threw his inkstand at a devil who sought to disturb him. Pope Innocent VIII. leveled a bull, and James I. a volume, against the heinous sin of witchcraft. And the great Boyle, in treating of the porosity of the human body, cites *amulets* as a proof of the ingress of external effluvia into the body. He adds, that he is "persuaded that some of these external remedies do answer; for that he himself, having once been subject to bleed at the nose, and reduced to use several remedies to check it, found the moss of a dead man's skull, though only applied till the moss was warm, the most effectual of any."

The work of Scott is doubtless well known to all our readers; and we recur to it only for corroboration. The volumes of Messrs. Brand and Ellis (which have never been republished in this country) are more learned, and more laboriously wrought out, than "Demonology and Witchcraft;" and they also take a much wider

range. They treat of days lucky and unlucky; marriage customs and ceremonies; customs at deaths and funerals; drinking customs; sports and games; popular notions respecting the appearance of the devil; sorcery or witchcraft; obsolete punishments; omens, charms, divination, vulgar errors, &c., &c.

We pass over the most of this vast multitude of various superstitions, and single out two or three, traces of which are found in our own day. The first to which we beg leave to introduce the uninitiated among our readers is RHABDOMANCY; or, the use of the divining rod. The popular belief was, and, to some extent, is yet, that by means of a rod of wood, properly prepared and managed, effects may be produced for which no natural cause can be assigned; that treasures hid in the earth may be detected, lost goods found, future events ascertained, and even spirits evoked, by a skillful operator. This superstition reaches back into remote antiquity. It seems to be alluded to in the prophecy of Ezekiel: "My people ask counsel at the stocks, and their staff declareth unto them." The Chaldeans, and all the nations of antiquity who practiced divination, frequently employed wands for that purpose. In heathen mythology the mystic wand figures very conspicuously. Minerva is represented as wielding one that could make people young or old, as circumstances required; Circe could change men into beasts, and beasts into men; it is hinted that the Caduceus of Mercury did very materially assist his locomotion; and the apocryphal Abaris is represented as flying on an arrow through the air from Scythia, like a modern witch upon her broomstick steed. It has been conjectured by some that the wand owes its celebrity in mythology to the dim traditions of the rod of Moses which have floated off among the nations. Others say that the devil, taking the idea from the rod of the Jewish lawgiver, taught men how to employ the wand, and himself gave it efficacy. This was the opinion held by many of later times, when the rod, though shorn of a portion of its glory, was still, in the popular estimation, invested with marvelous powers. A celebrated philosopher, Malbranche, who was consulted, in 1689, with reference to the matter, declared, very seriously, that none of the alledged effects could be produced without the concurrent action of some intelligent cause; "which cause," says the pious father, "can be no other than the devil." Indeed, it did require some intelligent supernatural agent to perform the wondrous exploits said to be accomplished by it; for it "had the virtue of discovering not only treasures, metals, landmarks, thieves, and murtherers, but also the adulterous of both sexes."

James Aymar, a common peasant of St. Veran, in Dauphine, flourished in Lyons, in 1692, as a practical operator in rhabdomancy. His fame spread far and wide. He ascribed his power to no evil agency, no compact with the devil; but was very pious withal, attending mass and confession daily; and affirming, very sanctimoniously, that were he to marry, he would lose his powers, and become as other men. The magistrates of the city were so infatuated with his mystic arts, that he was employed to find the author of a murder; and a man was actually hung, whom he pretended to detect as the criminal. After astonishing the sages of that goodly town for a time, he was sent for to Paris, where, says father Malbranche, "he made such a multitude of discoveries as obliged many people to confess that we are now better enabled than ever to assert, by indisputable phenomena, that devils can produce a hundred things, provided they are determined thereto by the intervention of some occasional cause, such as the application of a certain stick or wand." Multitudes came, laden with offerings, to ask his assistance. Some, who had been robbed, wished to learn where the robbers were secreted. Members of rival village churches, both claiming to have in possession the identical body of the same saint, came to know the true one. Others brought a parcel of bones, or rags, or other relics, and desired to know whether they had ever belonged to any saint; and one young man, who was betrothed to the daughter of one of his neighbors, came to learn the real character of the damsel.

At the request of the prince of Condé, Aymar attempted to perform his wonders in the palace of that nobleman. Here he failed utterly, and "quite lost his reputation;" and, although a certain M. Vallemont published a treatise apologizing for his failure, his arts were exploded, and his occupation was gone. M. Buissiere, the apothecary of the prince, wrote a book to explain his deceptions; and the man who had been gravely employed to discover the author of a murder committed in Rue St. Denis, was compelled to leave Paris in disgrace as an impostor. The last note of his fame is a doubtful story in *Le Mercuré Historique and Politique*, 1697. This states that the prior of the Carthusians of Villeneuve *chez* Avignon employed Aymar to discover the person who had deposited an infant at the gate of the Capuchin monastery. Aymar started from the gate, and, under the guidance of his wand, followed the trail some distance, to another village, where he pointed out a house where he said the child was born. Moreover, on his way thither, he detected, by means of the wand, the father of the child as he was passing by on horseback. The

judge of the place, of his own accord, desired them to make no further inquiry, and promised that the child should be taken back.

But while this operator was disgraced, the instrument did not wholly share his fate. The pretensions put forth in its behalf were modified, and also somewhat reduced from their former gigantic dimensions. It could no longer detect "murtherers," and the parents of foundlings; but was still in great repute as a discerner of hidden treasures, mines, and subterranean currents of water. It still astonished the learned, and puzzled the wise. Agricola, the learned German metallurgist of the sixteenth century, in attempting to account for its efficacy, cuts the Gordian knot by declaring that the devil is in it. Richelet affirms that after what he has seen he doubts not but that it possesses the wonderful qualities ascribed to it: and Morhoff, with all his science, admits that it "was not clear to him whether the effects are natural, or the result of demoniac agency." A M. Thouvenot, in a memoir published in Paris in 1781, took the former as the true solution, and attempted to trace the relation between the phenomena of the divining rod and those of electricity and magnetism.

The science, or superstition, in its abridged form, is yet extant in America, England, and several countries of continental Europe. Pryce, the author of "Mineralogia Cornubiensis," gives accounts of many experiments which he says were successfully performed by the mystic instrument. A writer in Blackwood's Magazine thus discourses on the proper mode of conducting the experiments:—

"You are to understand that, in mining districts, a superstition prevails among the people that some are gifted with an occult power of detecting the proximity of veins of metal, and of underground springs of water. In Cornwall, they hold that about one in forty possesses this faculty. The mode of exercising it is very simple. They cut a hazel-twig that forks naturally into two equal branches; and, having stripped the leaves off, they cut the stump of the twig to the length of three or four inches, and each branch to the length of a foot, or something less; for the end of a branch is meant to be held in each hand in such a manner that the stump of the twig may project straight forward. The position is this: the elbows are bent, the forearms and hands advanced, the knuckles turned downward, the ends of the branches come out between the thumbs and the roots of the forefingers; the hands are supinated, and the inner side of each is turned toward its fellow, as they are held a few inches apart. The mystic operator, thus armed, walks over the ground that he intends exploring, with the full expectation that when he passes over a vein of metal, or underground spring of water, the hazel fork will move spontaneously in his hands, the point or stump rising or falling as the case may be."

This hazel twig is the divining rod, in whose efficacy in finding water or metal under ground thousands believe most firmly, even amid the unutterable radiance of this gas-lighted century. It must be remarked, however, that in America the wand follows certain laws unknown to Europe.

We are told that in Cornwall, the hazel rod, which is the only one employed, moves whenever the operator passes over a vein of metal *or* an underground spring of water. Here we discover a grand defect in the transatlantic instrument. The responses of the oracle, like those of Delphi, are ambiguous. The speculator in iron mines may fancy that the omens point out a bed of ore, whereas the fact may be that only a subterranean current of water affects the rod; and thus great expense may be incurred in fruitless excavations. But in our own land, the proverbial acuteness and enterprise of the people have improved the art of divining, and carried it far beyond all the old world ever knew. It has been discovered that the witch hazel, and certain other kinds of twigs, indicate the presence of metal; while, in order to detect currents of water, it is necessary to employ the branch of some tree cultivated for its fruit. Let no skeptic smile profanely while we remark that the peach twig meets with general preference among professional water finders. That hazel twigs were used in searching for metals is proved by a remark in the "Living Library, or Historicall Meditations," published in 1621:—"No man can tell why forked sticks of hazill (rather than sticks of other trees growing upon the very same places) are fit to shew the places where the veines of gold and silver are—the stick bending itselfe in the places, at the bottome, where the same veines are." Other authorities state that the hazel, willow, and elm, are all attracted by springs of water. The American distinction is a very important discovery, if its truth can be demonstrated.

There is also a variation, on the two sides of the Atlantic, in the diagnosis of a successful operation. The writer in Blackwood quotes from the book of a certain Count de Tristan, who claims the credit of having investigated the subject at great length, having made a series of experiments, and noted down the results with the most scrupulous accuracy. The philosophic count thus describes the movements of the divining rod:—

"When two or three steps have been made upon the exciting tract of ground, the fork (which is held horizontally, with its central angle downward) begins gently to ascend; it gradually attains a vertical position—sometimes it passes beyond that, and, lowering itself with its point toward the chest of the operator, it becomes again horizontal.

If the motion continue, the rod descending, becomes vertical with the angle downward. Finally, the rod may again ascend, and reassume its first position, having thus completed a revolution. When the action is very lively, the rod immediately commences a second revolution; and so it goes on as long as the operator walks over the exciting surface. It is to be understood that the operator does not grasp the handles of the fork so tightly but that they may turn in his hands. If, indeed, he tries to prevent this, and the fork is only of hazel twig, the rotary force is so strong as to twist it at the handles, and crack the bark, and finally fracture the wood itself."

It is remarked, that although the general style of performance on the part of the rod is accurately described in the above extracts, yet there are some, a small proportion only, in whose hands the wand moves in the opposite direction. This anomaly the writer above quoted attributes, with great acuteness, to the probable fact of their being left handed. It was also discovered that a coating of sealing wax upon the handles of the rod, or a cover of silk, entirely arrested its operation. The same effect was observed when the operator, as he carried the rod, also grasped long branches of the hazel, trailing upon the ground. We commend these facts to those who design to give the subject a thorough investigation.

The American mode of holding the divining rod is the same as that above described, but its motion is entirely dissimilar. In the Gallic experiments, the rod is represented as rising under the mystic influence; in America, it declines. After much inquiry, we can find no traces of this upward tendency. The count also speaks of complete revolutions; but nothing of the kind is known in democratic divination. With us, the strength of the downward tendency is the criterion of the degree of excitement. And old practitioners claim to have arrived at that degree of skill which enables them, by this alone, to decide accurately what depth it will be necessary to excavate in order to reach the object. Indeed, we have been told of a practitioner who professes to be able to tell the different strata of earth and stone which the workmen will encounter; and whose pretensions, extravagant as they may seem, are received by many with implicit faith.

In this country the divining rod has been considerably used, not only to discover ore in the mine, but to detect hoards of buried treasure. Irving alludes to this use of it in some of his writings. The pirate Captain Kid is thought to have buried, in various places, great store of pearls, diamonds, and golden ingots. Some locate his hiding places on Long Island; some on the banks of the Hudson; others, on Staten Island: and the aid of the wand

has many times been invoked to discover the hoarded wealth. It was believed in those days that to seek Kid's money was to embark in a most perilous enterprise. Tradition asserted that when the pirates secreted their plunder, they always shot one of their number, and buried him with the spoil, that his ghost might guard it from depredation. The popular superstition on this point may be learned from the fragment of an old witch-song, which belongs to the traditions of West Jersey:—

"I saw them bury their golden store at the foot of the pirate-tree:
Bold Blackbeard cried, 'Who 'll guard this wealth?' and, O! 't was mercy to see,
How even the wretch, who fears not hell, turns pale at the thought of death!
But one bold knave stood bravely out, and offer'd himself for scath,
'I 'll watch it!' quo' he; 'for these forty years I 've wander'd o'er land and sea,
And I 'm tired of doing the devil's work, so bury me under the tree;
And better I 'll rest, as I guard this wealth, than you in the realms below,
Where the soul cannot burst amid endless groans—where the pirate's soul must go.'
So they shot him dead with a charméd ball; and they laid a broad flat stone
Deep in the earth above the gold, and they stood the corpse thereon.
Now wo betide the daring fool who seeketh that gold to win;
Let mortals beware of the noble wretch who standeth that grave within."

Hist. Coll. of New-Jersey.

Inasmuch as the treasure was guarded by spirits, it was believed that nothing but spells and incantations of great power could wrest the gold from the custody of the fearful sentinels. The magic wand was employed a few years ago, as Mesmerism has since been, to discover the location of the hoard; and then all that remained to be done was to get possession of it. This latter part of the exploit was by far the more difficult and dangerous, as the spirits sometimes proved unmanageable.

We have heard of an instance in which three men performed their midnight incantations over the place where treasure had been buried, but could not succeed in laying the spirits; and there rose upon their vision the grim spectre of a negro with his throat cut, and the blood streaming down his breast in torrents. The catastrophe of some of these speculations was not so deeply tragic.

An old gentleman, yet resident at Port Richmond, on Staten Island, once related to us an adventure in which, in the days of his youth, he was personally engaged; and as it will illustrate the

superstitions and mystic arts we are discussing, we will give the substance of it. Tradition had asserted that vast hoards of treasure of various kinds lay buried upon the shores of Fresh Pond, a little sheet of water which lies about a mile inland from New-Brighton. It was currently reported that certain adventurers had, on one occasion, dug almost down to the gold; but just as they were upon the point of grasping the treasure, the ghostly sentinel rose upon them, and threw them entirely out of the hollow which they had excavated, and drove them away. It was supposed that their failure resulted from the absence of a charm strong enough to lay the spirits. Our friend was invited to accompany a party of men in a nocturnal expedition to the haunted spot. The Jason of this modern attempt to gain the golden fleece was an old withered Guinea negro, who had the reputation of being a great adept in practical demonology, having doubtless been initiated into the mysteries of the devil bush before leaving his native land. This dark dealer in the black art, on this occasion, gave his disciples many instructions for their guidance, one of the most important of which was, that when they arrived upon the enchanted ground they must not utter one syllable, or the charm which he contemplated would be dissolved. They arrived at the spot duly equipped with spades and picks, and also a goodly bottle of whisky, which was designed to keep up their courage in this perilous enterprise. The old African commenced his incantations in solemn silence. He first ascertained the precise place for excavation; then he walked round it three times in a circle, sowing mustard seed; then he drew forth a rusty sword, and marched round in the same path, hewing and cutting the air in all directions; and the spell was complete. No spirits (punning aside) could exist within that charmed circle. The master of ceremonies gave the signal, and they silently commenced the task of exhuming the gold, which no doubt lay buried there. They toiled on without cessation, save that occasionally some one of the number would lay aside his instrument, and, with the flask aforesaid applied to his lips, pass a few moments in pensive contemplation of the stars. And now cometh the catastrophe. One of the diggers, a very thirsty soul, applied the flask to his lips, and raised it to a horizontal position, in vain: he elevated it by degrees till it approached the zenith. His worst fears were realized; and, in the extremity of his consternation, he burst out, "The whisky is all gone!" This unhappy exclamation destroyed the spells wherewith the spirit sentinels had been bound. The horror-stricken Ethiopian commanded them to desist from their labors, as they were at the mercy of the

spirits; and they abandoned the enterprise, and left the ground in dismay.

Though the idea that spirits keep guard over buried coin is now, as far as we know, an exploded superstition, yet a part of the appliances resorted to by the money diggers has not become wholly obsolete. In the mining districts, both in England and America, there are a few believers who hold in respect the ancient art of wand divination. In some minds this fanciful notion, as some would term it, survives in all its strength. The Rev. Mr. B——, an able minister of the gospel, who died in this county in the year 1840, was a decided enthusiast in the art; and he not only believed that it was possible to render a twig an unerring guide to ore in the mine, but he believed just as firmly that he himself could perform the mystic operations with success. We have heard of his practically exemplifying his faith. He and a clerical friend were once rambling over a mountain near Morristown, New-Jersey. Mr. B. cut a twig of the orthodox description, and carried it in position as he walked. Suddenly it was apparently drawn down toward the earth. He called his companion's attention to the fact, remarking that *there* was a bed of ore of some description. After passing around in various directions, with his diviner, he pointed out the course in which, according to the indications, the vein ran; and remarked that at the foot of the declivity they might possibly find the outcroppings of the stratum. They sought these revelations, and discovered something which the operator, who was gifted with a brilliant imagination, declared proof positive of the presence of iron ore. We ought to remark, in justice to the subject which we are so gravely discussing, that the performer did not adopt his theory on this side of the ocean, but brought it with him from his native land; and, consequently, his performances may serve to indicate the present state of the art in England.

The most common kind of divining now practiced is that which is resorted to in order to find suitable locations for wells. Many instances of its application have come to our knowledge; and we have met with not a few true believers. An acquaintance of ours, by way of testing the abilities of a professional water finder, requested him to pass over a certain lot, and ascertain if water could be found near the surface. The diviner, after walking around in divers directions with his instrument, pointed out a particular spot where the twig was drawn down very powerfully; he then traced an irregular line diagonally across the inclosure, stating that in this direction there ran an underground current, and that it passed be-

neath a corner of the house, and thence out under the street. Soon after this another diviner was requested to try his powers in the same field; and he took the same course, pointing out the especially favorable spot, and tracing out the same diagonal line. Not long after a third practitioner, under the mystic guidance, went over substantially the same line. And yet our informant was convinced that there had been no collusion whatever. It may not be amiss to state, for the benefit of amateur practitioners, that one of the diviners employed, instead of the natural fork, two twigs joined together in the form of a Greek cross.

Doubtless this incident has gone home to the reader's organ of marvelousness with great force; but as we do not wish him to be converted to the mystic faith too suddenly, we will furnish another specimen of divination wherewith to prop his falling skepticism.

Two farmers, whose lands lie along a ridge of limestone, where it is almost impossible to find water without excavating much beyond the ordinary depth, resolved to dig wells. A water finder was employed; he performed his operations in due form, and pointed out a location which he declared favorable. The workmen commenced their labors, and, after proceeding through several fathoms of solid rock, meeting with no symptoms of water, desisted, and asked for another trial of the art. Another place was designated by the wand, and an excavation there was attended with similar results. A third trial resulted in a third failure; and they rested from their labors. Here the other farmer, like the moon in the ode, "took up the wondrous tale." The peach stick was again appealed to, and an excavation was made in accordance with the response of the wooden oracle. The workmen proceeded to a depth of more than seventy feet; but no signs of water appearing, the whole project was abandoned.

But let not readers of small faith rejoice. What art is there in which novices and impostors are not found? Do not lawyers and physicians, as well as dealers in magnetism and clairvoyance, bewail the fact that their respective professions and sciences are frequently brought into disrepute by empty pretenders to knowledge? We will now leave the reader to decide for himself upon the merits of rhabdology, trusting that we have given a tolerably fair exposition of the very respectable antiquity, and the present state of the art. We perceive, however, that we shall be placed between the fires of two ranks of ungrateful critics; the one class will reprove us for treating superannuated follies with so much gentleness; the other will denounce us for discussing such serious matters with so little solemnity.

Another branch of mystic art yet extant is the remedial use of *amulets, spells, and mysterious collections of words.*

The use of amulets is of very ancient date. The nations of antiquity, especially the Persians and the Egyptians, placed great faith in their protective powers. They were accustomed to inscribe upon various substances the insignia of their patrons among the gods, and the particular expressions by which they were supposed to be rendered propitious. These were worn upon the person as a defense against harm. Pliny mentions these amulets frequently. The Greeks called them περιαπτα, φιλακτηρια, &c.; the Romans styled them *amulata*, *appensa*, and *pentacula*. Josephus, in his appeals to the historians of other nations, in proof of his statements concerning the flood and the ark, quotes the language of Berosus, the Chaldean, thus:—"It is said there is still some part of this ship in Armenia, at the mountain of the Cordyæans; and that some people carry off pieces of the bitumen, which they take away, and use chiefly as *amulets*, for the averting of mischiefs."

The term itself—"amulet"—is said by Smith to be of Arabic origin, and to signify "that which is suspended;" he also conjectures that Arabian merchants introduced these things into Europe as an article of merchandise. In ancient times, faith in mystic remedies was so general, and so strong, that the art of medicine consisted principally in a knowledge of the mode of constructing and applying them. The ancient amulets that are now deposited in the collections of antiquarians are of various descriptions. Some are rough pieces of precious stones—agate, jasper, and cornelian—others are fashioned into the semblance of a beetle, a quadruped, or a human finger or eye. There is good reason to believe that the modern custom of wearing diamonds and other rare minerals upon the person, took its rise originally more from the love of life than from the love of ornament. Pliny mentions the use of vegetable amulets, and asserts that "any plant gathered from the bank of a brook or river before sunrise, provided that no one sees the person who gathers it, is considered a remedy for tertian ague, when tied to the left arm, the patient not knowing what it is; also, that a person may be immediately cured of the headache by the application of any plant that has grown on the head of a statue, provided it be folded in the shred of a garment, and tied to the part affected with a red string." Q. Serenus Sammonicus, in his poem on the art of healing, lauds a celebrated charm, in which the word *Abracadabra* was written and worn in a particular way, described hereafter. Certain minerals also were tied to trees to

render them fruitful, from which practice we have doubtless derived the modern custom of placing stones among the branches of fruit trees to make them bear well.

In the earlier ages of the church the use of amulets obtained to a considerable extent, and met with a degree of toleration from the authorized teachers of the people. The old charms of heathenism were indeed condemned. Men no longer copied off the few unintelligible words which were engraved upon the image of the great Diana of the Ephesians—and wore the magic scroll upon their persons to cause them to have good success in their enterprises. But the place of the discarded charms was supplied by a profusion of semi-christian devices. Pieces of bread, which had been consecrated in the sacrament of the eucharist, were worn by the living, and buried with the dead, as defenses against evil spirits; and quantities of dust and earth, brought from Palestine for the discomfiture of the devil, were sold at enormous prices. A cross, passages of the Scriptures, relics of the martyrs, images of the saints, and a multitude of things of the same description, were worn by the people as preservatives from witchcraft, disease, and misfortune. The following fragment of doubtful tradition, written out, and worn on the person, was thought an infallible cure and preventive of the ague:—"When Jesus went up to the cross to be crucified, the Jews asked him, saying, 'Art thou afraid? or hast thou the ague?' Jesus answered, and said, 'I am not afraid; neither have I the ague. All those which bear the name of Jesus about them shall not be afraid, nor yet have the ague.' Amen, sweet Jesus; amen, sweet Jehovah; amen." Some amulets did not bear so great a semblance of piety as this. A particular amulet, which had cured diseased eyes innumerable, "when all other helps were helplesse," was stealthily ripped open by some curious mortal, and found to contain the following elegant language:—"Diabolus effodiat tibi oculos, impleat foramini stercoribus." The recent converts from paganism combined heathen and Christian amulets together, and thus, as they imagined, constructed charms of peculiar power. In later times, the pope manufactured and sold amulets, as his priests do to this day wherever the commodity is saleable. The reformers discouraged the use of these contrivances, but the custom gave way very slowly; and instead of being destroyed, underwent various modifications. Burton, in his Anatomy of Melancholy, condemns words and spells as "the divell's policy;" but adds, that a spider carried about the person will cure the ague, and precious

stones will help most diseases. Still, multitudes believed in the efficacy of the written charms. Defoe mentions, in his History of the Plague in London, that various kinds of mystic devices were worn upon the person to prevent contagion. One of those, in great repute, was a small piece of paper or parchment, upon which was inscribed the mysterious, incomprehensible word, *Abacadabara*, which was very powerful against fevers. It was written in the following manner:—

Abacadabara
bacadabar
acadaba
cadab
ada
d

Certain charms, composed of herbs or stones, were supposed to be able to defend the wearer even from being wounded in a battle. So universally was this believed, that in the legal duels of the day an oath was administered to the combatants that "they had ne charm, ne herb of virtue." The Turks, as a nation, are said to be still greatly addicted to charms, spells, magic words, figures, and numbers. Bits of paper, two fingers broad, rolled in silk, and containing a sentence or two from the Koran, are in great repute when they go to war.

But amulets and charms enjoyed the reputation of preventing disease when the people began to doubt their power to turn aside cannon balls. Quills of quicksilver and arsenic were suspended from the breast, or worn next the skin, as a protection against the plague and other contagious diseases. A certain silicious stone, in color a dark green with red spots, which went by the name of blood-stone, was believed to be a preventive of hemorrhage, particularly bleeding at the nose. The more philosophical attributed the efficacy of these things to causes purely natural, though not yet wholly expounded; but the multitudes went on, apparently without very definite ideas of any causes, either natural or supernatural.

Here is the mode in which certain fevers might be cured; the prescription is found in an old manuscript quarto, dated A. D. 1475:—

"Wryt thys wordys on a lorell lef.+*Ysmael*,+*Ysmael*+*adjuro tos per angelum ut soporetur iste homo N.* and ley thys lef under hys hed that he wete not therof, and let hym ete Letuse oft and

drynk Ipé seed smal grounden in a morter and temper yt with Ale."

There is also a charm devised for the comfort of those riding long journeys on horseback: novices in the itinerancy will doubtless hail its publication as a great favor. It is found in the "English Physician," printed in London, A. D. 1674:—"If one ride with two little sticks of elder in his pockets, he shall not fret nor gall, let the horse go never so hard."

But in our own land, and at the present time, these mystic appliances are not unknown. Some of these old remedies have come down to us with even the minutiæ of the ceremonies. In an old book, dated London, 1655, called the "Anatomie of the Elder," we have a recipe for constructing an amulet:—

"If in the month of October, a little before the full moon, you pluck a twig of the elder, and cut the cane that is betwixt two of its knees, or knots, in nine pieces, and these pieces, being bound in a piece of linen, be in a thread so hung about the neck that they touch the spoon of the heart, or the sword-formed cartilage; and that they may stay more firmly in the place, they are to be bound thereon with a linen or silken roller wrapped about the body till the thread break of itself. The thread being broken, and the roller removed, the amulet is not at all to be touched with the bare hands; but it ought to be taken hold on by some instrument, and buried in a place that nobody may touch it."

This was all that was necessary to effect the cure. In the two centuries which have elapsed since that prescribed form was noticed, nations have risen to power, and fallen back into obscurity; revolutions have swept over half the civilized world; science has enlarged her boundaries beyond all that former ages dreamed of; and errors innumerable have perished: but that old superstition seems immortal. We speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen. In the year 1844 we became intimately acquainted with a young man, a member of our own church, who had lost his health from some affection of the chest. Having suffered from the disease a length of time, he finally resolved to travel some sixty miles, and consult a famous German "doctor," residing near Easton, Pa. He was informed by that learned personage that his disease was "caused by his lungs growing fast to his breast bone!" He agreed to test the sanative powers of the German, and paid the ever necessary initial fee. He received a small vial, filled with an aromatic mixture, of which he was directed to take certain drops every day. He also received, to be worn as an amulet, a little packet, which our own skeptical eyes beheld and our own hands

handled. It was about three-fourths of an inch in length, a half in width, and a fourth in thickness. We were anxious to investigate its contents, but being informed, very seriously, that such a profanation was forbidden by the magician, we refrained, or, peradventure, another Pandora's box might have disgorged its contents upon the human race. It was the belief of the patient that divers most potent words were inscribed upon the interior; but of this there was no ocular proof. This packet was to be inclosed in a linen bag, and suspended upon the chest by a linen string, composed of more than one thread; and thus it was to be worn until it dropped off. When this came to pass, it was to be buried, or placed in the fire; but on no account to be touched with the fingers, on pain of a return of the malady; and a failure to comply with each and all of these directions involved the total inefficacy of the remedy—if no other calamity followed. In a word, all the regulations ordained in 1655 were in full force yet. What became of the packet we know not. Our friend did not converse upon the subject with much freedom; and, in candor, we must confess that the fault may have been with us; for instead of conducting our investigations with the cool deliberation of a meditative philosopher, we pursued a course which might very easily have been construed into ridicule. But to the result. In one of the back numbers of the Advocate an obituary notice sets forth the Christian life and peaceful death of our friend, all of which is true.

As this "doctor" is the most noted magic practitioner in these parts, we feel bound to give as full an exposition as possible of his system of therapeutics. As we never were favored with an opportunity of inspecting the old German black-letter tome, from which he is said to derive his unutterable wisdom, we shall be compelled to content ourselves with a bare statement of the facts connected with practical operations, leaving the inquisitive to investigate the principles. We know of a number of cases in which the doctor has been consulted. One was, that of a child afflicted with a disease of the spine, which no human skill can heal; another was that of an adult subject to epilepsy; but no particular effect followed his appliances in either case. And yet this mystic practice is in repute with multitudes. Hundreds resort to this magic operator to recover lost health, or even lost property; and all are received graciously, and comforted with consoling words and large promises. We are told that sometimes a score of applicants for aid of various descriptions will be congregated together, each waiting for his turn to come to consult the oracle; or, per-

haps, if we may believe uncharitable reports, the whole conclave of wise men and women will be waiting for the grand magician to recover from an interview with spirits of some description. The moon has an important influence upon the "doctor's" curative operations; and when that blessed luminary is at the full—the precise time when the ancient witches sallied forth with their brazen sickles, to gather herbs to be used in incantations—the influx of patients is greatest.

The mode of treatment varies with circumstances. A man is said to have applied to the doctor to be cured of a chronic rheumatism. He was received with solemn ceremoniousness by the redoubtable personage whose deeds we chronicle. The formidable tome was produced, over whose pages of German black-letter the doctor silently pored for some time with a sage and mysterious air, while the patient sat by, becoming more excited and nervous every moment. At length the occult researches were completed; the doctor closed the awful volume, shut its massive clasps, and beckoned his patient to follow. He took him into a large room, lighted with a dim uncertain twilight.

> "And over all there hung a cloud of fear,
> A sense of mystery the spirit daunted,
> And said, as plain as whisper in the ear,
> The place is haunted."

When they had entered, the doctor locked the door, and commanded the patient to divest himself of his clothing; and as he began to comply, the doctor took out a long blood-thirsty looking knife and a whetstone, and proceeded to sharpen his instrument in most vigorous style, at the same time looking over sharply toward his patient, and muttering some unintelligible formula of words. The poor man who came to be healed stood quaking with terror, expecting to be carved up *secundum artem*, and feeling as if he could almost escape through the keyhole of the door. Still, there sat the terrible doctor clattering away with his knife and his Dutch, and casting portentous glances at his victim. A perspiration broke out upon the patient in his terror, which would have thrown a steam practitioner into an ecstasy. And thus he stood, and trembled, and perspired; and thus the doctor flourished his murderous weapon, pausing occasionally to feel the edge of his knife, and survey the victim with a grim, ogre-like smile. This fearful performance continued about half an hour, when the doctor abruptly threw down his knife, and bade his patient resume his clothes, and follow him down stairs. This he did with all glad-

ness of heart, and was dismissed with the kind assurance that he should no more be visited by his old tormentor, the rheumatism.

But the learned "doctor" does not confine his operations within the narrow limits which circumscribe the faculty in general. He ministers to the brute creation with as much success as attends his labors in behalf of human beings—thus demonstrating the incomparable superiority of his therapeutics over the vaunted science of the ordinary disciples of Esculapius. We have been informed of a circumstance illustrative of his prowess in putting to flight the ills to which brute flesh is heir. The thing is related thus:—A dog, in a rabid state, bit four or five swine belonging to a farmer who believed in the efficacy of magic arts. He immediately proceeded to the doctor's, and asked his aid. The old ceremonies were enacted, and the farmer received a most potent amulet for each of the afflicted quadrupeds, to be tied about its neck. On the way home, he unhappily lost one of the packets; but as the distance rendered it inconvenient, he did not return for another. Of course one of the animals was left without an amulet, and that one died, so the story goes, and is believed, too; and the others recovered. Our informant, doubtless compassionating the weakness of our faith, gave us most gracious permission to harbor any doubts we chose; and we cheerfully grant the same privilege to others.

As we set out with the determination to give an *exposé* of the doctor's general mode of healing, and his eminent success therein, it would be unpardonable in us should we omit to mention his successful treatment of witchcraft. We know some fancy, that since a few of them were made examples of by the enlightened Puritans, the witches have thought it prudent to keep the peace, and not molest their neighbors. But this is an error; and the witch population is perhaps as numerous now as at any former time. It is true that they are seldom seen whisking through the air, mounted on broomsticks; but they may have laid aside their ancient mode of conveyance since the invention of the magnetic telegraph. One thing, however, is certain, the superstition which reigned in Salem is not wholly extinct even now. To illustrate this permit us to state a case, the history of which came to us in so direct and reliable a form that we have not the shadow of a doubt of any of its particulars, save the alledged supernatural features of the circumstance. About seven years ago a little child, whose parents are still, we believe, residents of the county in which we are now writing, was most singularly affected. Its great symptom was its resolute rejection of its mother from all

maternal offices. No kindness on her part had the smallest effect in winning to her the affection which it lavished upon strangers. The parents were greatly troubled on account of these things; and, after various conjectures, concluded that the child was bewitched. This position was defended by that extremely logical argument, "If it is not witchcraft, *what is it?*" They were convinced; the neighbors were converted to the same opinion. Multitudes came to behold the marvelous spectacle; and it is said that some of the less cautious ventured too near the charmed object, and were also affected in a supernatural manner. This unaccountable state of things continued for two months, and the child's extraordinary aversion for its mother became even stronger. Things being thus *in extremis*, the parents had recourse to the magic powers of our "doctor." He viewed the little one with an air of profound mystery, and pronounced the conjecture correct; the child was bewitched. In order to deliver it from the malignant power of its tormentor, it was necessary to detect the unknown foe. An investigation was had upon this important point. The doctor caused a vessel of water to be brought, over which he held something, our informants knew not what, while he looked intently into the water. After some moments of suspense, he pretended to discover the cause of the mischief, and pronounced it a man, one of the parents' neighbors. They immediately referred to one with whom they had for some time been at variance; and he was decided to be the one. The magician took measures to dispossess the child, and gave it an amulet, we believe, for its future defense. The parents were admonished to have no dealings with the author of the spell on pain of a return of the evil influence. The little one was cured at once, and straightway became as affectionate as could be desired. And so endeth the story. *Credat Judaeus Apella.*

Nor are the powers of our "doctor" limited to the discomfiture of witches and the healing of all manner of disease. His incantations are equally efficacious in discovering strayed animals and stolen goods; and his aid is often invoked by the bereaved. *Ecce exemplum:* A certain dweller in these parts lost a gun, which, as he thought, had been stolen. He applied to the doctor in the emergency; and, after a grand pow-wow, he was directed to return home, and go eastward, and he would find the missing article. He obeyed, perseveringly trudging over hill and dale in the search; but all in vain. He returned to the mystic sage with his complaint of failure, and was very coolly informed that he had not gone eastward far enough.

We might enlarge this collection of "o'er true tales" indefinitely; but doubtless enough has been related to reveal the magnificent pretensions of the magician, and to show that they meet with considerable favor among the multitude. We are not treating of lost arts, nor of defunct superstitions; but of those which are at this time in the full tide of successful operation. It is hardly time for us to bewail the errors of those who hung old women, and held horse-shoes in veneration.

Permit us, by the way, before leaving this branch of our subject, to make a remark upon the strange misapplication which the New-Englanders made of the old Levitical precept, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." They understood this to imply that there were secret emissaries of the devil among them, who must be carefully ferreted out, and detected by the application of divers occult processes and mysterious tests; whereas, the law seems rather to be leveled at those bold impostors who play upon the credulity of the ignorant, and gain money or influence by openly pretending to be in league with invisible spirits, by whose aid they can punish their enemies and reward their friends, and accomplish many things, great and small, which are impossible to ordinary mortals.

Spells, and mysterious collocations of words, have been in use from time immemorial. We read in the prophets of those who "have familiar spirits and wizards, that peep and that mutter." The inarticulate sounds alluded to may have been their pretended converse with demons, or the spells and incantations which superstition considered efficacious in "summoning spirits from the vasty deep." It appears to have been the general opinion that by certain ceremonies, duly performed, the spirits of the dead could be brought back. In the eighth Eclogue of Virgil allusion is made to this fancy:—

> "*His ego saepè lupum fieri et se condere silvis*
> *Moerin, saepè animas imis excire sepulcris.*"

The Jews abounded in these superstitious notions, many of which they are supposed to have learned during their captivity in Babylon. They never acknowledged themselves indebted to the Gentiles for their proficiency in magic, but claimed to have derived their knowledge from Solomon. They probably considered this a more creditable source. The rabbins describe Solomon as a great magician; and Josephus states that he left behind him many spells to terrify and expel evil spirits.

The Catholics, in their false Gospels, and endless legends of the saints, have made use of these marvels to add to the interest of

their stories. A certain St. Margaret, a holy virgin, is said to have had a grand battle with an evil spirit; and, after she had vanquished him, she, as feminine curiosity would dictate, inquired a little into his former history. "My name," replied he, "is Veltis; and I am one of those spirits whom Solomon, by virtue of his spells, confined in a copper caldron at Babylon; but when the Babylonians, in hope of finding treasure, dug up the caldron, and opened it, we all made our escape. Since that time our efforts have been directed to the destruction of righteous persons; and I have been striving to turn thee from the course of life which thou hast embraced."

The ancient Scandinavians and Teutons also imagined that certain forms of words had power over spirits, and could even raise the dead. In the *Vegtam Quida*, or the descent of Odin, the scald thus describes the manner in which Odin performed incantations at the tomb of the prophetess:—

> "He sung a song of incantation for the dead;
> He looked toward the north;
> He placed magic characters;
> He began to utter words of wisdom;
> He asked for oracles,
> Till she unwilling rose."

The Anglo-Saxons abounded in spells, which were used for many purposes; for instance, a particular formulary was ordained to render land fertile, and another to preserve their cattle from harm. But the spells which appear to have been in most repute were those which were supposed to be of remedial efficacy. Allusions to this phase of superstition are found scattered through the classics from the time of Homer. The words of Horace are generally understood as implying the existence of spells among the Romans:—

> "*Fervet avaritia, miseroque cupidine pectus?*
> *Sunt verba et voces, quibus hunc lenire dolorem,*
> *Possis et magnam morbi deponere partem.*"
>
> *Epistolarum*, liber i.

The early English poets frequently allude to the incantations in use among the "weird sisters." Chaucer speaks of them thus:—

> "There saw I,—charmeresses,
> Old witches, sorceresses,
> That usen exorsisations."

Spenser, in his Faery Queen, describes spells as being used to aid in allaying pain and curing wounds:—

> "Which doen, he balmes and herbes thereto applyde,
> And evermore with mightie spels them charmed,
> That in short space he has them qualifyde,
> And him restored to health, that would have algates dyde."

It is astonishing to observe with what tenacity some of these fancies retain not only their existence, but their definitive form. Homer describes the manner in which the sons of Autolycus, by repeating a charm over it, stanched the bleeding of a wound which Ulysses had received in hunting. The same practice prevails to this day. There resides, or did not long since, not far from where we are writing, a man who claims to have knowledge of a spell which will cause blood to cease flowing; and in time past so great has been his reputation, that from far and near he has had applications for aid. And, more wondrous still, his incantations were efficacious, it is said, if performed in his own house, while the wounded one was at the distance of miles. This last circumstance is commended to the attention of those who would resolve it all into animal magnetism. What particular charm this practitioner employed we know not: but the old quarto of 1475 contains the following "charme to staunch blood:"—"Jesus that was in Bethleem born, and baptyzed was in the flumen Jordane, as stente the water at hys comyng, so stente the blood of thys man N., thy servvaunt, thorow the vertu of thy holy name+Jesu+and of thy cosyn swete Sent Jon." The directions of the manner in which the spell is to be employed, are:—"Sey thys charme fyve tymes, with fyve Pater Nosters, in the worschep of the fyve woundys." The mark before and after the name of Christ probably calls for the sign of the cross in the performance of the ceremony. It bears internal evidence throughout of being a charm of Popish origin, as far as the formulary is concerned.

Another branch of magic therapeutics is the cure of burns, by the repetition of a certain form of words over them. In all the multifarious authorities which we have examined, we find no mention of this particular application of spells; but the probability is, that, like the others, it is of very respectable antiquity. The fact alledged to be performed is the removal, by the charm alone, of all pain from a scald or burn, leaving the injured surface in such a state as to heal in an extremely short time. These collocations of words, so powerful for the removal of pain, do not proceed clearly and definitively upon the principle of prayer to a

higher Power. They seem rather to be based upon the vague, indefinable notion, that there is wondrous energy in words alone, and are employed with no clear idea of invoking God, man, or spirit, good or evil. Those whom we have questioned touching the foundation of their faith in these things, never speak of the efficacy of prayer, though they may be professedly pious; but always appeal to "facts,"—those things so noted for sullen obstinacy. They will relate divers cases, in which, "to their certain knowledge," the charm did a "power of good;" and ask, with an emphatic nod of the head, "What do you say to that?" We will relate one of the cases which were told us by some very honest people, in the hope that they might be instrumental in our conversion to the mystic faith.

An old gentleman and his helpmeet contemplated an expedition of a few miles to a neighboring town, to dispose of sundry country productions. They traveled in their own conveyance, to wit, a small wagon, wherein the said produce was packed in a quantity of straw. They trotted on gently in great peace of mind, and probably indulging in an indefinite reverie about nothing in particular. But the laws of nature are irrevocable. The old gentleman had in his mouth a clay pipe filled with goodly Virginia tobacco, and the bowl thereof, by reason of multiplied joltings, assumed various angles of declination, until it was upside down. As the theory of gravitation hinted, the contents fell down into the straw and set it on fire. The twain dreamed on for a time; but they soon found themselves riding enveloped in flames, like Phaeton, when the horses of his father, Phœbus, ran away with him. They sprung from the vehicle, and strove to rescue their goods and chattels. At last the conflagration was stayed; but not until the old gentleman's hands were severely burned, and the wagon had also felt the ravages of the devouring element. They commenced their journey anew, but the old gentleman was unable to hold the reins, and was compelled to resign them to his helpmeet; while he spent the slow moments in groaning over his blisters, and casting pensive glances at the damaged vehicle. While things were in this deplorable state they met a pedestrian, one of the initiated, who kindly performed a moment's pow-wow over his burns, and lo! they were well. He resumed the office of charioteer, and drove without experiencing the slightest pain. And those who related this story believed it all. If any of our readers, in the innocence of their hearts, should be prompted to inquire whether the same incantation prevailed to mend the wagon, we entreat them not to mention it; as we ourselves, by that self-same inquiry,

caused our informants to wax very indignant at our unparalleled unbelief.

An old German, whose patronymic was Bone, and who also rejoiced in the prefix of "doctor," was, in his day, a noted operator in curative magic. He died, at a good old age, about four years since, at his residence near Caldwell, N. J. A clergyman related to us an example of Bone's powers, the account of which had been handed down in domestic tradition. One of our informant's relatives had burned his hand most severely; and the "doctor," who happened to be present, offered to cure it. Assent was given, though more in sport than seriously. The doctor commenced describing a series of circles with his hand, passing over the burn gradually, in the mean time muttering the mystic ceremony in his native language. When he had thus proceeded over half the surface of the burn, the patient so far forgot propriety as to indulge in a profane laugh; whereupon the testy old German dropped the hand and the whole ceremony, bidding his patient go "mit his burn" to a certain place which we shall not mention. But listen to the sequel. It is said that that part of the burn over which he had passed with his manual gyrations and his Dutch became well a long time before the remainder. And then cometh the old logic:—"If that did not cause the difference, what did?"

These mystic performances over burns have been far more common in time past than many imagine. We have ourselves met with not a few veritable performers, and still more who had witnessed the wondrous operation. We have heard some affirm that they had themselves really experienced relief from a pow-wow. One person, who is by no means lacking in intelligence or natural judgment, relates her experience as follows:—When about ten years of age she was scalded so seriously that her life was thought to be in danger. An old German "doctor," the father of the one who figured so extensively with amulets, was sent for with all speed. He came and commenced his mysterious evolutions. He would place his two forefingers together upon the further side of the several burns, and, describing a semicircle with each, bring them together again upon the side nearest him, repeating a charm all the while, and occasionally breathing upon the part injured. The pain ceased, and the patient fell asleep. The doctor remained till the next morning, when he performed a few supplementary pow-wows, pocketed a fee of fifteen dollars, and departed,—leaving all in huge admiration of his wonderful skill; which admiration has not wholly faded from the mind of his quondam patient.

The same person also related another case, of which she

had personal knowledge, and which we wish, for a special reason, to quote in the present connection. Some ten years after the occurrence just mentioned, a younger sister had a singular tumor upon her eyelid. It had been there a twelvemonth, and had grown to the size of a pea. A neighbor, whose office it was "to teach the young idea how to shoot," offered to remove it by a painless operation. They called upon him at his seat of learning, but nothing could be effected there on account of the multitude of spectators. He accordingly led the child into the church, which stood near, and there said the mystic words, standing with his patient near the pulpit, while her elder sister looked in at the door. A nearer approach would have nullified the whole ceremony. He passed his hand over the tumor for a minute or two, repeating his formula in a low tone of voice, and then led her to the door, saying that she must be brought again to him at the next new moon. But before that arrived the tumor had vanished.

The design which we had in quoting this episodical case is this: we fancy that at this precise point, some sage dweller in the city will lift up his eyes from the page to the ceiling in deep meditation upon the extraordinary tenacity with which the benighted country people cling to antiquated superstitions. For the edification of this imaginary gentleman, we beg leave to state the fact, that the performer of the last described feat some time since removed his residence to the goodly city of New-York, and opened an office for the reception of patients, where he is at this moment engaged in an extensive practice, removing tumors, curing strumous children and scrofulous adults, and doing all those marvelous things which none can do but one who is, as the old book says, "the seventh male childe, by just order, never a girle or wench being born between." We may add, moreover, that he has of late become a noted operator in Mesmerism, and has manipulated a multitude of his fellow-citizens, not to mention a host of patients from more distant parts,—whether to their benefit deponent knoweth not.

We are aware of the probability that some of our philosophic readers, in pondering over these marvels, will construct wise theories touching the force of imagination, and sagely call to mind the story of Sir Humphrey Davy's patient and his thermometer, and also the French criminal who died because he was assured he was bleeding to death. Many such things have we heard already. But the charm for fever was to be prepared secretly, and placed under the head of the sick, "that he wete not thereof;" and the ceremony for burns is sometimes performed over

children too young to comprehend the notions of their parents,—the results being nevertheless satisfactory to believers. We ourselves know a person of firm faith, who was called upon to perform over a little child that had been severely scalded; and those present were verily persuaded that it was not in vain, as the sufferer seemed, in their eyes, to be relieved at once. And those who rely upon that grand resort of bothered philosophers, the force of imagination, must also remember that the "charme to staunch blood" is used indifferently for brutes or men, and is as efficacious in the one case as the other. Moreover, there is a formula of words ordained for the cure of the diseases of horses, and another to aid in the churning of butter, taught the people by a "learned churchman in Queen Marie's days, whenas churchmen had more cunning, and could teach the people many a trick that our ministers now-a-days know not."

We doubt not but that our readers are in a perfect phrensy of curiosity to learn the mystic form of words by which, in the case of burns, such wonders are wrought in our own day. And some enterprising New-Englander may contemplate making an immense fortune by practicing on this system among the parboiled passengers of the explosive steamers on the Ohio and Mississippi. This thirst for knowledge is laudable, and it should be gratified. We have pursued our investigations into this branch of the subject with all the ardor and perseverance of which it is worthy; and we are happy to state that our researches have been crowned with the discovery of three different formularies, all, doubtless, of equal potency. One is crabbed Low Dutch; but as we have some scruples about making a parade of learning, we refrain from quoting it: besides, we have forgotten it entirely. We will, therefore, give the English version; and, while we repeat it, we hope all will comport themselves with propriety:—"Fire is fire, and water quenches thirst; father and mother are never out of bread; in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen."

To treat the matter seriously, as we needs must from the character of the language employed, it would seem from the latter half of the formulary, that this is an imperfect imitation of "the prayer of faith," which, in the days of the apostles, "saved the sick." But, in despite of the outward appearance, we are convinced, from all that we can learn, that the form is not viewed as a prayer, but literally as a spell or charm; being used in many cases by those who make no profession of piety, and not seldom by the openly profane. The former part of the spell has no definite application to the case of one suffering from a burn; in fact, it is

perfect nonsense,—but mere sounds, without a shadow of meaning, make as powerful a charm as any. Bacon remarks, with reference to these remedial charms,—"There have ever been used, either barbarous words of no sense, lest they should disturb the imagination, or words of similitude, which may second and feed the imagination; and this was ever as well in heathen charms as in charms of later times."—*Nat. Hist.*

Perhaps some votary of empiricism (employing the term in its best sense) is disposed to apply the test by himself, repeating the magic words. But we would assure him, with all gravity, that they cannot be thus tested. By the operation of an occult law, the form can have no power when it is learned by the present mode of tradition. Its laws are as rigid as those of the succession by virtue of which a certain "bishop of New-York," whilom imparted great grace to all upon whom he laid his apostolic hands. We speak of his official acts, without the slightest allusion to miscellaneous performances. These mystic laws demand that the initiated impart the wondrous spell to those of the other sex only. They are as tenacious of gender as the Greek article. If a man reveals the formulary to one of the same sex, the novice can gain nothing and the initiated loses the power for ever. We were unhappily instructed in the magic terms by one of the gender masculine, and consequently the charm has lost its virtue, and become *fulmen brutum*. We are out of the "succession." Therefore, if any of our readers should venture on experiments and meet with failure, they are entreated not to be skeptical on that account.

In order to a full elucidation of our subject, it is necessary for us to state that those who are endowed with these supernatural gifts, hold them by various tenures, and subject to various conditions. There is now an old lady in Easton, Pa., who uses divers kinds of incantations to remove tumors and cure burns; and she, like certain of the same profession who flourished centuries ago, avers that she can retain her power only by refusing to make any charge for her valuable services. The moment she fixes a price upon the exercise of the charm, its efficacy will be gone. But as it was in the case of her predecessors, however, to receive a present in nowise interferes with the virtue of her pow-wows. And indeed once, in a very communicative hour, something like the moment when the sun went under the cloud, and the juvenile fish in the spelling book laid hold upon the book, she remarked that if her visitors "only knew what hard words she had to say, they would pay her." It is to be hoped that if any of our readers should ever ask her aid, they will not forget this pathetic appeal.

Those who imagine that these follies are too trivial to be noticed, and have always been passed by with contempt by those of ordinary intellect, little know the influence they have swayed over the popular mind in times past, or the strength that has been put forth in seriously battling with them. There have been some in all ages who have rejected the superstitions of the multitude. Lucian ridicules the whole system of Greek mythology, and Cicero wonders how two Roman augurs could look each other in the face without laughing. And when spells and magic remedies were at the height of their fame in England, many, like King James, spoke contemptuously of them as the "kinde of charmes that, *commonly*, daft wives use." Now and then individuals revolted from the tyranny of vulgar custom, like the "great learned clarke," described in a pamphlet published in 1605, who, "in a daungerous sicknesse," obstinately refused to be assisted out of the world in any but the regular way, utterly scouting the "magnifical incantations and sorcerie" offered him, and protesting with his latest breath, that "he had lived all his life by the booke, and would now, God willing, likewise dye by the booke."

Since the invention of printing has furnished a new and powerful weapon, and the Reformation has given men the privilege of thinking, a mighty war has been waged against these superstitions. Scores of volumes and pamphlets have been written, and the subject treated as a serious matter, as it has been in reality. But the victory has not been wholly won. The elements of superstition, which hung the Salem witches, yet live; and though they may now "squat like a toad," it does not require the spear of Ithuriel to cause them to start up in a form which will enable us to scan their proportions. The details of modern superstitious practices could be increased indefinitely. We could give an authentic instance of a thief's returning his booty, in great alarm, when the rumor was circulated that the "doctor" had been consulted touching the matter. We could introduce the curious, personally, to a mother who stained her child's garment with three drops of blood and then burned it, in order to cure the child's convulsions. *Ex uno, disce omnes.* We have imported an immense quantity of superstition from the other side of the Atlantic, and we also have some which may be original inventions; so that our population is, on the whole, tolerably well supplied The American Walter Scott, who shall write up the "Demonology and Witchcraft" of his own land, will find abundant materials for his volume, and add an instructive chapter to the history of mind.

Belvidere, N. J., 1847.

ART. III.—*Hand-book of Young Artists and Amateurs in Oil-painting; being chiefly a condensed Compilation from the celebrated Manual of Bouvier, with Additional Matter selected from the Labors of Merimee, De Montabert, and other distinguished Continental Writers in the Art. In Seven Parts. The whole adapted, by the Method of its Arrangement and the Completeness of its Detail, as well for a Text-book in Academies of both Sexes as for Self-instruction. Appended, a new Explanatory and Critical Vocabulary.* By an American Artist. New-York: Wiley and Putnam, Broadway. 1845.

IF this were an age of genius, the beautifully executed volume before us would afford incalculable facilities for its development. We fear its precepts, gathered with painful labor from the experience of many practical artists, will be fated to profit mediocrity, or to be wasted upon invincible stolidity. It is useless to aspire to elevate insipidity, or to illuminate dullness; and those who entertain the prevalent notion that it is the prerogative of talent to discard formulas, and disdain elementary instruction, will doubtless deem this collection of primary principles superfluous. To us it appears that initial training is as indispensable to genius as to mediocrity. Its beginnings will be far less exposed to be marked with feebleness, or marred by eccentricity; and it will the sooner reach the point where it is destined to burst from the trammels of precedent, to reject the false and the accidental, and to seize and apply the principles of the true and the real, with the grasp of mastery and the readiness of intuition. In imitative art, brilliant and forcible conception is not more highly requisite than fidelity of eye and skillful manipulation; yet skill in manipulation can only be attained by that untiring practice with the implements of art, without which even genius itself would achieve no triumphs. The famous "nulla dies sine linea" discloses the secret of the success of the generous rival of Protogenes; the perfect circle, struck out upon paper with a single sweep of the hand, discovered the masterly practice of Giotto to the profligate Benedict IX. It is self-evident that no instruction, no amount of facility in mechanical execution, can compensate for the elevated conception, the untiring range of fancy and feeling, that constitute the true artist; yet, to show that "nice perception" and "natural adaptation" are not above the necessity for "thoughtful practice," the author of the Hand-book tells us, in the "Address to the Young Artist," with

which he prefaces his instructions, that "even Titian was *hard** at first;" that "Raphael's early style was stiff, and that he has left examples *dry*† and destitute of fine relief."

The laws of periodicity in sublime genius are as little understood as those of meteorological science. The second great age of the Apellean art was certainly at an awful remove from the first, and, judging by the past, the interval to the next appearance of artistical greatness will be to former intervals in the ratio of the period of the Le Verrier planet to that of Uranus; and we have reason to fear that the next age of the epic and dramatic in art will not arrive until every existing representative of the "grand style," together with any accurate knowledge of its principles and modes, shall have shared the fate of the works of the Olympic ages. However willing to confess certain deficiencies, no recent age has been so entirely wanting in self-complacency as to imagine itself utterly destitute of models of true excellence; and several of these have indulged the harmless vanity of fancying themselves the rivals of the great masters. Critics, contemporary and proximate, mingling personal tastes, and not unfrequently personal feelings and national prejudices, with professional sagacity, have meted out praise where it was not due, exposed beauties that others have been unable to see, and detected merits that others have been slow to appreciate. With Pliny, "the name of Apelles is the synonyme of unrivaled and unattainable excellence;" the accomplished Fuseli would despoil the encomium of those qualifying epithets to which it owes its chief expressiveness. Burke regards Reynolds, "in taste, in grace, in facility, in happy invention, and in richness and harmony of coloring, equal to the greatest masters of the renowned ages;" his Scottish biographer thinks the words "a little loftier than is necessary, and somewhat warmer."—*Cunningham's Lives*, vol. i, p. 280. The philosophical author of "Democracy in America" doubts "whether Raphael studied the minutest intricacies of human nature as thoroughly as David and his scholars," who were "as good anatomists as they were good painters." They represented nature faithfully. "Raphael sought for something better than nature:" his translator opines, that "to compare the drawing of David with that of Raphael, is to compare the science of a surgeon with that of a butcher: the former penetrated, by his art, into the hidden beauty and truth of nature; the latter dragged nature to the easel, and

* Hardness—want of tenderness, modesty, and truth in the coloring.—*Dictionary of the Hand-book.*

† Dryness—sharp and frigid preciseness of outline.—*Ib.*

deprived her at once of life, truth, and freedom."—*De Tocqueville*, vol. ii, p. 53.

National vanity inhibits the supposition that all greatness and nobleness in art are still transatlantic; yet the tourist critics of a score of years have scarcely discerned the first glimmerings of artistical excellence in America. De Tocqueville discovers the deficiency, not in any lack of genius, but in the peculiar influence of democratic institutions: "the productions of artists are more numerous, but the merit of each production is diminished; no longer able to soar to what is great, they cultivate what is pretty and elegant, and appearance is attended to more than reality; in aristocracies a few great pictures are produced, in democratic countries a vast number of insignificant ones."—*De Tocqueville*, vol. ii, p. 52. For the ingress of the age of the heroic in art, if it is destined to come to us at all, we must bide our time. To Rome it never came until the throne of the Cæsars had been exchanged for the pontifical chair. Alexander the Great did personal homage to the genius of Apelles; patrician and plebeian, in the eternal city, contemptuously styled the knight of the brush "Sir Pictor." Charles Fifth's condescension to Titian has been outdone by the courtly honors, knightly privileges, and university immunities, lavished by England upon artists, native and foreign; but, in the opinion of many, heroic art never crossed the Straits, if, indeed, it has ever transcended its Alpine boundaries. When and how the poetry of art is to reach the cisatlantic shores, is a problem for the future to solve. The divinities of olden inspiration are not marvelously attentive to American invocation. The muses are withered spinsters, always sufficiently fastidious, somewhat venial in their old age, tinctured, perhaps, with the prevailing acquisitiveness of the times, and doubtless blessed with a feminine aversion to bilge-water, nausea, and confinement in close state-rooms during an Atlantic voyage, if indeed they be not troubled with visions of tomahawks and scalping-knives, the clatter and fumes of the coarser arts, the stagnant level of American character, and the rude jostle of vulgar equality and democratic politics. Future disciples of the epic must allow them the usual freedoms and comforts of honored senility—bohea, maccoboy, and the quiet retirement of the Corycian cave; it cannot be supposed that they longer delight in romping rambles upon the sides of Helicon and Parnassus; must invent, and, of course, *patent*, some mode of communication with their haunts, by air-balloons, telegraphic wires, or Mesmerism, and watch the return of those precious intervals of lucidness when reason or fancy replaces for a moment the garrulous follies

of decrepit idiocy, or neutralizes the acidity of hypochondria and decline.

But, genius or no genius, with inspiration or without it, the world, and every age of it, must and will have works of art, such, at least, as will serve the purpose—even if they perish with the age that produces them—of gratifying self-complacency, and of promoting, in the grand total, the happiness of the race. It cannot be supposed that distance from the meridian of art, the intervention of an ocean, and the formidable difficulties arising from the want of genius and its facilities, will induce us, the inheritors of British tastes, if not the possessors of British wealth, to forego the delights of form, or to eschew the luxuries of chiaroscuro. But few of us will ever be gratified with that which is the daily privilege of the Italian lazzaroni—the sight of the great works of the dictators and sovereigns of the realms of taste. Such of the labors of the pencil as are not immovably fixed, like the masterpieces of Da Vinci and Buonarotti, to the walls they adorn, have lodged in churches, in the apartments of the Vatican, in the palaces of kings and nobles, in the halls and galleries of untitled wealth, in the collections of the curious, and in the cabinets of connoisseurs. So perishable are the materials of which the works of the modern grand masters are constructed, that it is hardly to be expected that any considerable number of their transferable productions will survive the rapidly decaying establishments in which they have descended as heir-looms from generation to generation, much less that those which do survive will find place in the tardy accumulations of the western hemisphere. "The Battle of Marathon" survived nine hundred years; "The Last Supper," upon the walls of the Dominican convent, lasted scarcely three hundred; damp and smoke, the tools of artisans, French bullets, whitewash, and the repainting of those virtuosi upon whom the wrathful Barry rained indignation and curses, have condemned the frescoes of Leonardo to the fate of those of Polygnotus. "The Transfiguration" and "The Last Judgment" will ere long have shared destruction with "The Centaurs" of Zeuxis and "The Iphigenia" of Timanthes; and "The Titian Venus" will have been entombed in oblivion with "The Venus Anadyomene!"

Thus, between the immobility and the destructibility of distinguished productions of the pencil, it becomes a serious question, "What is the Vespucian continent to do for pictures?" "We must import them at whatever expense," says the enthusiast who discerns excellence in naught but the old and the foreign. "We can do without them," cries utilitarianism; "they are a luxury, equally

expensive and useless." "We can very well spare these Romish incentives to idolatry," groans Puritanism. "We must make them ourselves, and encourage home manufactures," adds restrictive economy. The importation of any considerable number of pictures, unless, by some inconceivable revolutions, the western empires should, within a century or two, become the ravagers and despoilers of the eastern, is out of the question; that we shall dispense with them altogether is equally improbable; and the difficulties in the way of the progress of high art among us are numerous. A formidable, nay, an apparently insurmountable, obstacle to its advance meets us at the outset, in the want of divino-heroic subjects. "Religion was the motive of Grecian art;" religion was the motive of art in the days of Leo, and it cannot be denied that the grace and greatness of the wonderful works of the former and latter ages are intimately dependent upon and associated with the beauty and grandeur of the subjects that winged the imaginations and imparted Promethean energy to the pencils of their creators. The supernatural of heathenism, as well as the supernatural of the divine oracles, has produced, in representation, its highest effect; Olympus has done sending celestial grace and heroism to the studio and easel; the sublimities of Christianity have nothing to offer which has not already been successfully treated. Mythology has become fiction to fiction's self; the events of each dispensation have been handled with a life, a freedom, and a power, unattained and unattainable; the advent, the transfiguration, the agony, the crucifixion, the resurrection, the ascension, the judgment, hell and heaven, and myriads of minor subjects in the same sacred chain, have been given to the world in a way to leave artists of greater boldness and power than the self-complacent and daring West to despair of success in fields so often and so thoroughly explored. In these degenerate days, unless they are the undoubted productions of some genius of the olden time, madonnas are as little in request as Venuses, apostles as Apollos, and legends of Popish superstition rank with the hippogriffs and centaurs of the heathen mythos.

Where, then, shall we turn the eye for epic subjects? Poets and painters have ever occupied the same ground. The artists of antiquity modeled the forms and expressed the characters of the same deities and heroes that figure upon the pages of Homer and Lucian, Virgil and Terence; the painters of the fifteenth century dipped their pencils in the sublimities that beam from the pages of Milton and Dante; the artists of the present and future times must seek materials from the same source with the poets whose glory it shall be to revive the fame and greatness of the epic ages.

The philosophy of De Tocqueville in regard to the poetry of democratic ages will furnish a clew to the class of subjects on which the painter may exercise imagination, and build eternal fame. Democratic painters, as well as "democratic poets, will always appear trivial and turgid if they seek to invest gods, demons, or angels, with corporeal forms, and if they attempt to draw them down from heaven to dispute the supremacy of earth." "Man, springing out of nothing," "crossing time, and disappearing for ever in the bosom of God," is an object sufficiently poetical. Apply the following to the poetic in art:—"Among a democratic people, poetry will not be fed with legendary lays or the memorials of old traditions. The poet will not attempt to people the universe with supernatural beings, in whom his readers and his own fancy have ceased to believe; nor will he present virtues and vices in the mask of frigid personification, which are better received under their own features. All these resources fail him; but man remains, and the poet needs no more. The destinies of mankind—man himself, taken aloof from his age and his country, and standing in the presence of nature and of God, with his passions, his doubts, his rare prosperities, and inconceivable wretchedness—will become the chief if not the sole theme of poetry among these nations."—*De Tocqueville*, vol. ii, p. 80.

Deprived thus at a stroke of the legendary, the supernatural, and the allegorical, the past has nothing to commemorate but a few unheroic national events, a few political conferences, a few distinguished battles fought in uniforms of unmitigated blues and yellows, and the still more unpoetical straight lines of modern infantry tactics, glowing with flame and belching cannon, and murky with smoke—a great saving, by the way, to the artist, in the study of grouping and expression—without the privilege of seating upon a solitary curl of the sullen vapor that envelops the combatants a single god to watch the progress of events, or decide the fortunes of the battle! Yet, if man, if America, if the world and its destinies, are to furnish themes for the epic poet, man, America, and the world's destinies, must furnish themes for the epic pencil; and we may live to see, by an American Parrhasius, the American demos starting from the canvass. What this picture or series of pictures of a democracy personified could be, none but an imagination sufficient for the creation could with any confidence predict. We are certain that if the demos of the eclectic artist of olden time was not more agreeable in outline and expression than our conceptions of the existing demos, the dragon of the Apocalypse, or a group of Swift's yahoos, would be sightly in comparison.

Man must be imagined much nearer the goal of human perfectibility than a careful survey of his present state would indicate him to be, or the grace of Apelles or Guido, the grandeur of Angelo, the majesty of Raphael, and the coloring of Titian, could never invest the present and its vulgar common-places, much less the future, of which that present is the forerunner and probable type, with the dignity of reminiscence, far less with the power of the supernatural and the sublimity of the divine.

Utilitarianism is uncompromisingly hostile to the progress of elevated art. Some snarling economist has said, and the sentiment has found an echo in the tendencies of the age, and particularly in that spirit of the mercenary "*utile*" that pervades this republic, that "one pinmaker is worth a dozen Raphaels." We would commend to his perusal the remarks of the writer of the sixth article in the July number of the Foreign Quarterly for 1837, where he dissents from the opinion of the president of the Royal Academy, Sir Martin Shee. "I have no respect," says the knighted successor of Reynolds, West, and Lawrence, "for the opinions of political economists; for the principle of commerce and the principle of art are in direct opposition to each other." The writer declares, and every philosophic mind will assent to his opinion, that "*the interests of taste in art and those of commerce are identical*;" that "the coarsest calculations of money-getting and the most fastidious refinements of taste are intimately connected with each other;" that "the greater part of our manufactures are proved to owe their merit, their attractiveness, and profitable sale, entirely to the greater or less degree of taste which they exhibit in the arts of design. If the national taste, therefore, be neglected, deteriorated, or perverted, the result is a depression of attractiveness and a limitation of demand, and consequently of profit." He claims that the works he reviews exhibit "an intimate union between the most homely trades and the highest walks of art;" he shows that "first-rate sculptors and statuaries have been regularly engaged in producing designs for the most eminent silversmiths and goldsmiths;" that "the celebrated miniature-painter to Napoleon was employed upon the porcelain of Sevres;" that "our own Martin began the career by which he has reached the acme of distinction in his particular line of art, by painting for the coachmakers, by glass painting, and china painting;" and, finally, that "the selfish and exclusive classes who have endeavored to keep back the industrious classes from a knowledge of the principles or refinements of taste, have in reality '*picked their own pockets*,' mutilated the resources of those very classes, and impaired the commercial reve-

nues of the country." Thus intimate are the "*dulce and the utile*," the liberal and the useful in art.

Protestantism has always been sufficiently suspicious of religious paintings. "Ordered,"* says the House of Commons of 23d July, 1645, "that all such pictures and statues there, (York House,) as are without any superstition, shall be forthwith sold for the benefit of Ireland and the north. Ordered, that all such pictures there, as have the representation of the Virgin Mary upon them, shall be forthwith burnt. Ordered, that all such pictures there, as have the representation of the second person in the Trinity upon them, shall be forthwith burnt." The Establishment, of whose rites and usages so large a number strongly savor of their Popish originals, has always, to the great grief of artists, steadily refused its countenance to the reintroduction of the legions of saints and madonnas which the Reformation had swept from the walls of the churches. "No Popish paintings,"† said the bishop of London, when waited upon by the dean of St. Paul's with the generous offers of West and Reynolds, "while I live and have power, shall enter the doors of the metropolitan church." The image and picture worship of that church to which art is indebted for its greatest achievements, might well excite the jealousy and frowns of the advocates of the primitive simplicity of Christianity; yet, before we pass over to the exclusiveness of Judaism, or adopt the art-annihilating sentiments of those sects of whom Sir Joshua Reynolds has caustically remarked, "If they had had the creation of the world, they would have clothed everything in drab," we should do well to acknowledge our real indebtedness to Romish artists for those masterly illustrations of sacred history, that at the paternal fireside first attracted our infant eyes to the pages of holy writ, powerfully representing to that sense whose impressions are deepest, and most lasting, the dramatic character of its principal events, elucidating its truths, and enkindling desires for a complete knowledge of its doctrines and facts. At this day the power of pictorial illustrations as a mode of initial instruction in history is universally acknowledged, and the world and the church would have had as little to reprehend as to regret, had Romanism never converted to more pernicious uses the sublime and beautiful creations of her own unrivaled sons.

The superfluous wealth of this country must be indefinitely increased, before a sufficient amount of patronage can be relied on for the remuneration of those who labor in the higher walks of liberal art. Galt says the munificence of the Medici was equaled

* Cunningham's Lives, vol. i, p. 46. † Idem, p. 241.

by the few New-York merchants, who, long before the war of the Revolution, voluntarily took upon themselves the patronage of the young Philadelphia Quaker, who, first of American artists, determined to forward his studies in classic Italy. The liberally rewarded commissions, occasionally executed to young artists, to accomplish the same end in a more delicate way, by removing the sense of unrequited obligation, proves that the generosity of Smith and Kelley, Hamilton and Allen, has not entirely forsaken the guardians of the commercial and civil interests of the goodly cities of Gotham and Brotherly Love. What individuals are unable to accomplish, associated effort may effect. The value of association for the furtherance of art was early appreciated. In this country of voluntary associations, public galleries, academies, and art-unions, have a peculiar appropriateness. Such associations, as well as the general and state governments, may order works entirely without the bounds of individual liberality and wealth. Young as our republics are, they have been no indifferent patrons in the way of passing to future generations the features, and sometimes the forms, of distinguished citizens, duly sprinkled with cockades and ruffles, epaulettes and swords; the war and the oratory of '76; portraitures of political congresses, and battles, with their illustrious actors, and memorable scenes. New state capitals, and rising cities, with spacious halls and crowning domes, are annually increasing the demand for national and politico-heroic subjects; and increasing treasuries will enable them to become increasingly munificent patrons.

Still, the want of a central capital, and the absence of great architectural structures, must necessarily be serious hinderances to the advance of American art. The demand for subjects of a civil and historical character will be limited to the comparatively few state apartments adapted for their reception; our churches, the most numerous and spacious class of edifices with which the country abounds, will never consent to be made picture galleries even for the exhibition of the sublime events which form the theme of incessant meditation and song, as well as of constant discussion and harangue from their reading desks and pulpits. Yet, in spite of all these, and numerous obstacles that might be named, pictures will continue to be made. If we lack materials and incentives for the dramatic and epic, we have abundance of the historical, the national, the semi-heroic, and indeed of the reminiscent poetical, if the imagination will go in quest of it among the obscure traditions, and the half-illuminated story of those nations that are melting away from the face of the wide-spread lands which fate com-

pels us to occupy in their stead. If there be any satisfaction in making reparation for the ten thousand injuries, as needless as insults to the wretch already on the tumbrel and bound for the guillotine, added by covetousness and hellish rage to the doom of an irrevocable destiny—if there be any relief to the melancholy of the thought that the Americano-European races are occupying the grave-yard and treading under foot the dust of fourteen millions of those races that have turned their dying eyes toward the setting sun, to avoid beholding the magical, but nevertheless sacrilegious, transformation of the sepulchres of their fathers into cities full of living multitudes—it will be found, first, in the humane effort to mitigate the condition of the two millions that yet stand, like a herd of their own buffaloes, with eyes flashing alternate fury and despair, on the very verge of that precipice, down which in a few years the last of the race will have plunged; and, secondly, in chronicling their annals, seizing and preserving their lineaments, —their forms gliding noiselessly as spirits among their own old forests, bounding across the prairie with the fleetness of the wind in pursuit of their own familiar game, scaling their green hills, darting along their blue waters, rivaling the dignity of the Roman forum in their council halls, and outdoing Roman fortitude and valor in their own wild and sanguinary warfare. If any class of pioneers is needed in the van of this mighty and irresistible march of civilization, it is that of artists. The forest, the prairie, the rugged mountain, the wild nook, the lake, the stream, should be seized in all their original nature, and peopled with the groups that stand to-day gazing on those loved haunts that to-morrow will resound with the woodman's ax and the clatter of civilization, and all their original magnificence, like the sad feet now unwillingly leaving the spot, will have passed away for ever. Right heartily do we coincide with the views of a critic upon the pictures exhibited this year at the National Academy, who discourses thus eloquently in the May number of the "Literary World:"—

"We wish it were in our power to impress it upon the minds of our landscape painters, particularly, that they have a high and sacred mission to perform; and wo betide them or their memories if they neglect it. The ax of civilization is busy with our old forests, and artisan ingenuity is fast sweeping away the relics of our national infancy. What were once the wild and picturesque haunts of the red man, and where the wild deer roamed in freedom, are becoming the abodes of commerce and the seats of manufactures. Our inland lakes, once sheltered and secluded in the midst of noble forests, are now laid bare and covered with busy craft;

and even the old primordial hills, once bristling with shaggy pine and hemlock, like old Titans as they were, are being shorn of their locks and left to blister in cold nakedness in the sun. Yankee enterprise has little sympathy with the picturesque, and it behooves our artists to rescue from its grasp the little that is left before it is for ever too late."

The bent of American talent is readily discoverable from the many productions of merit that have already escaped the pencil. The calm, classic dignity, the quiet intellectual grace and military majesty of Washington, have been a favorite study from the days of Trumbull, Stuart, and Peale. The beautiful scenery of the Hudson, of the White Mountains, of our islands and bays, of the picturesque villages springing up along the borders of our lakes and streams, the transparency of our atmosphere, the splendor of western and southern sunsets, the gorgeous beauties of our autumn scenery, the legends of the Highlands, the embarkation and debarkation of the pilgrims, are among the subjects that have employed our artists. The heroic devotion of Catlin, "the medicine," the "big double medicine," in sacrificing for years the enjoyments of civilization to rescue four hundred sketches of Indian character from the oblivion which is fast blotting all traces of that character from existence, is worthy of praise and imitation.

In that branch of art in which British artists have attained distinguished fame, our own painters have long since reached a high point of excellence. To the creation of heads neither Puritanism, democracy, nor political economy, has a word to object; to investing them with the dignity and grace of Jupiters and generals, Venus and the tragic muse, no one, particularly the subject, will oppose an iota of dissent. Paintings make painters, and many a youthful genius has lingered awhile in the galleries of Florence and Venice, and the hoarded plunder of the Louvre, and returned to invest American forms and faces with the graces of the schools, or to create landscapes "steeped in Italian splendor." The American artist, armed with crayons, delineators, and portfolios, is not such a wonder in Italy as in the days when the route from London to Rome was less expeditious than that from New-York at the present day, and when the young Quaker, satirized in his riper years as

> "Europe's worst painter, and poor England's best,"

excited the admiration of the Italians by likening their favorite statue to one of that fading race, with whom he himself narrowly escaped being classified by the blind Albani. If the young aspirant chooses to accumulate the elements of his art from the reflec-

tions of the experience and greatness of former ages, more or less visible in all the works of distinguished contemporaries, he may build for himself both fame and fortune without leaving his native shores. In our own academies he may learn drawing, a branch of the imitative arts in which many practiced painters are deplorably deficient, yet which Fuseli rated, as Demosthenes did action in oratory, the first, second, and third qualification of an artist. He may learn coloring; for, nearly ninety years ago, to the first self-educated artist that in green youth and inexperience crossed over to the Italian shores, it was said, "Young man, you have no occasion to come to Rome to learn to paint." Drawing and painting are one thing; the infusion of life and sentiment, grace and heroism, and the proper balance of motion and repose, is quite another. If the native capability for these exists, the instruction obtainable at home is sufficient to bring it out; if it be wanting, not all the works and instructions of all the foreign masters, living or dead, could save mediocrity from slavish mannerism. To see, to compare, to contrast, to elevate the soul with the terrible outline of the architect of the dome of St. Peter's, to melt it with the softer graces of the divine Sanzio, and perhaps to imbue it with the rough nature of the Dutch Rembrandt and the Flemish Rubens, might all be valuable stimulants to real genius, but would be totally unamericanizing to copying servility.

Before us lies a work, the thorough study of which should precede the voyage to Rome. From the point where the drawing-master leaves the student, it takes him, and initiates him into all the mysteries of the practice in oil. If it be borne in mind that four years out of the ten required at the hands of the pupil by the ancient masters, were devoted exclusively to linear drawing,—to form and outline,—the modern student will not approach this branch of his art until he is thoroughly practiced in the use of the crayon, and has his mind thoroughly imbued with the elemental principle of the Grecian schools, "that acuteness and fidelity of eye form precision; precision, proportion; proportion, beauty: that it is the 'little more or less,' imperceptible to vulgar eyes, which constitutes grace, and establishes the superiority of one artist over another; that color, grace, and taste, are ornaments, not substitutes, of form, expression, and character; and, when they usurp that title, degenerate into splendid faults."* When this department of his education has been thoroughly attended to, let him procure the "Hand-book of Oil-painting." For the aid of genius, or for academic and self-instruction, for the makers of portraits and land-

* Fuseli.

scapes, cabinet pieces, and all those transient amateur efforts that bring pleasure without renown, that add to fireside comforts more than to national glory, this work affords facilities offered by no other. The esotery of ancient science and art has, in almost all departments of learning and mechanics, been replaced by free instruction; it is passing strange that this empiricism of the schools should cling with so much tenacity to this particular branch of the fine arts, that artists of the present hour should selfishly hoard all the little secrets, and mysteries, and tricks of color, by which they produce effects peculiar to the productions of their individual pencils. It is a remark worthy of their attention, which our compiler has chosen from his author as a part of the motto of one of his prefatory pages:—

"In all the arts, if persons who have given themselves to research had communicated to their fellows the particular modes of operation which succeeded with them, the arts would have been the gainers; these auxiliary means do not confer talent, but they facilitate the labor of the artist."—*Bouvier.*

Sir Joshua Reynolds "considered his knowledge as a part of his fortune, and concealed it as a spell, to reveal which would undo him. All his own preparations of color were most carefully concealed, and perpetually locked secure in his drawers,—never to be seen or known by any but himself."* The selfishness of the president was not less destructive to the interests of art than the madness of Blake, whose "method of coloring was a secret which he kept to himself, or confided only to his wife, believing that it was revealed in a vision, and that he was bound in honor to conceal it from the world."† The labors of Bouvier, rendered into English and intelligibility by our *American artist*, will do much toward doing away with this quackery and putting every student into possession of a thorough knowledge of the elements of his art. With this book in his hand the student will not be compelled to waste precious time in fruitless and uncertain experiments upon pigments, with the chemical qualities and chromatic effects, and, perhaps, even names, of which he is unacquainted; he will not be necessitated stealthily to watch the manipulations, or endeavor to analyze the preparations, of a jealous instructor, or to catch hints from oracular advice; nor will he be stunned with the, to him, unmeaning direction so often repeated by the first president of the Royal Academy, "*Study, study* the great works of the great masters for ever." The most timid novice will proceed with confidence and

* Cunningham's Lives, vol. v, p. 56. † Idem, vol. ii, p. 155.

ease to acquire a knowledge of the nature and practical use of every element of the manual department of his new vocation. Within the limits of its design, "that of detailing *practical instruction to the young and inexperienced*," we hesitate not to allow that which the *American artist* claims for his compilation, "the value of being the most complete instruction book in oil-painting ever published." —*Preface.*

"All other treatises seem to take it for granted that the reader is more or less exercised in the art;—the Manual of Bouvier supposes nothing of the kind: from the mixing of his tints down to the spreading of his varnish, and even the removing of the latter when it needs renewing, every subject that it handles is treated with the most minute detail."—*Preface.*

The professed adaptation of this treatise to "academies of both sexes," points to the fact that oil-painting is rapidly becoming a favorite branch of instruction in the ornamental department of seminaries of high grade. Simple pencilings, crayon sketching, water-landscapes, flowers, and India-inks, no longer bound the ambition of the boarding-school drawing-room. Delicate olfactories exchange burgamot and otto of roses for the odious fumes of turpentine and oil; delicate hands wield the tiresome muller, weary under the pallet and rest-stick, and flourish the brush as servilely as the paid copyist of drapery and backgrounds. Square yards of landscape duly striped with blues and greens in imitation of the gaudy lithographs of the print-shops, moonlights resplendent with the hues of chalk and charcoal, perspectives as distorted as those with which Hogarth caricatured the artists of his day, descend from groaning easels to grace a quarterly exhibition with the lustre of drenching glazings and copal; and, thenceforth, to empannel richly gilded frames and adorn the walls of farm-house and village parlors, close shuttered and desolate during twelve months in the year. Of all this fifth-rate daubing and uninspired copyism, our estimate is certainly lower than that of the examining committee of a noted seminary, who, in an official report recently published in one of our periodicals, in noticing a school exhibition of oil-paintings, congratulate themselves and the public that "tame and childlike water colors are giving place to the higher and bolder displays of the art in oil." How greatly it detracts from the superiority so felicitously ascribed to oil, when we recollect that the great painters of antiquity produced all their splendid effects without the aid of oil; that the exhumed paintings of Herculaneum represent artists employed with water, and not with oil; that the master-pieces of Leonardo di Vinci, Buonarotti, and Raphael, are in fresco, and

not in oil; that Michael Angelo was "never known to employ oil in painting," and that "he called oil-painting the art of females and idlers;" that the mad Blake declaims against the "villainy of those who first brought oil-painting into general opinion and practice;" and, finally, that the course of instruction at West Point, where the elements of art receive, under Professor Weir, far higher attention than in any of our ordinary academies, limits the pupil to drawing, India-inks, and water-colors! So far as the circumstance of making oil-painting a branch of instruction in the schools is concerned, we have no hesitation in joining in the congratulations of the committee. If the course aimed no higher than the education of youth in cabinet landscape, it would in so far tend to increase a love for the fine arts, and to elevate the taste of community by diffusing even a twilight knowledge of their elementary principles. The Hand-book supplies to this department a cheap and comprehensive text-book, commended to general use not less by the extent and variety of the information it affords to beginners in painting, and by its close attention to method,—an indispensable requisite for an instruction book,—than by the highly literary and American character with which its abstract principles have been invested by its ingenious author.

The education of *connoisseurship*, the capacity to judge and criticise as well as to enjoy,—a point of high importance to the interests of elevated art in any country,—is an end proposed by the author of the Hand-book.

"Besides amateurs, there is another kind that never assume the pencil, many of whom claim and are allowed the designation even of *connoisseurs*, without that knowledge of the art which I do insist upon it is essential not only to form a judge of its beauties, but to make one really their ardent and consistent, certainly their enlightened, lover. It cannot, I think, be doubted that a true relish of any of the arts can only be possessed after some acquaintance with the modes by which their results are attained."—*Preface.*

Since the days of West, receiving his pigments and initial lessons in their use from the Cherokee Indians, and manufacturing his own pencils from the hairs of a favorite family cat, how many of our distinguished artists have been almost as scantily furnished and as rudely instructed! To the youth in our commercial emporiums, public galleries, artists' rooms, and even the show-cases and windows of the framemakers, afford abundant stimulants; while the numbers of instructors and depositories for every kind of material furnish him every facility for improving his hand and furnishing his mind, if his tastes take the direction of a love for the

practical in art and the desire of its acquisition as a profession for life. But in our wide-spread country, in villages and parts of the land remote from the seats of art, how often has some circumstance aroused the latent talent for imitation, for the cultivation of which no means were at hand; and even when materials were procured, the easel erected, the unsoiled canvass suspended upon its pegs, the pallet covered with glowing patches of virgin colors, how often has genius, pencil in hand, been frightened at its own temerity, and looked dismay at the snowy blank before it,—like the novice in linear geometry, who, after standing awhile, chalk in hand, before an empty blackboard, retired to his place, naively saying to his professor, he had good *ideas* on the subject, but knew not how to begin the *picture!*

Part First of the volume contains twenty-four chapters upon the "Materials and Implements of Painting," and closes with "showing by an actual bill of sale, at what cost the beginner may essay his talent for oil-painting;"—an item that reminds us of the fact that the unearthly and the spiritual are so indissolubly wedded with the gross and material, that even genius has never been able to break away from the toils of trade and speculation, and that the completed productions of the pencil are as infallibly subjected to cold calculations in paltry pounds and pence, as are the materials furnished for their creation at the hands of the carpenter and colorman.

Part Second treats of the arrangement of the painter's study, the management of its lights, direct and reflected, precautions against dust, the advantages and disadvantages of glazing and its materials, and of impasting, or thick painting. From this we give the reader one extract—to present all we desired to do would be to transcribe a large portion of the book.

"In landscapes, in the lights of the fore-ground and of parts that are not meant to be remote, and to retire, a free impasting, done with spirit and a ready touch, tells with the happiest effect. Good paintings of this description are not unfrequent, even in our annual exhibitions; and to examine one with attention, will avail the student much more than a length of instruction. He will see how those little inequalities of color on the trunks of trees, the foremost leaves that catch the light, the foam of uptossed waters, the rugged, and broken, and moss-grown rocks, the large plants that seem to be nearest to his hand, give a natural and vivid contrast with the thinner and uniform touches of the receding and obscurer parts, and the transparent glaze of the shadows. Then, again, in other pictures, the lights of shining bodies, such as armor and furniture,—all these things are touched sharply, boldly, with a single touch, and seemingly without study. With a single touch—for laboring at the stroke, modeling into shape, and retouching care-

fully those lights that should be sharp, is more than waste of time; the spirit is gone, the force, the *truth*,—not to say that the light is dimmed by the very act of manipulation."—P. 144.

Parts Third, Fourth, and Fifth, occupying one hundred pages of the body of the work, are devoted to portrait-painting and its accessories. This, as has been before intimated, and as allowed by general consent, is *the* department of American, as it ever has been of British, art. If the royal mantle of Angelo has ever dropped upon the British Isles, from the days of Sir Godfrey Kneller to the days of Sir Martin Archer Shee, it has fallen upon the shoulders of the manufacturers of portraits; a department to which the great father of modern art never condescended but in a single instance, and in that it is said of him that "he painted the ruling passion rather than the man." If American genius has shown cleverness in any line of the art, it is in the fac-similes of living humanity that cover so large a portion of the walls of the National Academy at its annual exhibitions, and that, in the language of Johnson as quoted by the biographer of Reynolds, fulfill so important an office "in diffusing friendship, in renewing tenderness, in quickening the affections of the absent, and continuing the presence of the dead."*

For practiced artists, the author reminds us again that he does not write; and then proceeds to unfold the processes indicated by Bouvier, with such fidelity and minuteness that a studious boy of ordinary genius might soon master these primary lessons, so entirely analytical are the methods of coloring laid down for beginners by this experienced artist. The pupil does nothing in the dark; takes no step of which he does not immediately see the propriety, and which does not instantly create the necessity for the one which follows. He is taught "the composition and methodical arrangement of his first pallet," the necessary quantity of each of the elemental colors which he is to employ, and to mix and grade them so as to produce all the various shades required, from the most luminous flesh-tints to the darkest hues of plain background.

There are thirteen rows for the flesh-tints, with three tints in each row. Who, *uninitiated* in coloring, would suppose the number of gradations in tint in the human countenance to be nearly "forty;" which, by skillful blending, may be varied to the verge of infinity? The fourteenth row contains shades for the *hair*, the fifteenth for *linen*, the sixteenth for "backgrounds of apartments, or others that are not skies."

When the pallet of the beginner is duly stocked with colors, there are a dozen chapters to tell him how to dispose of them; he

* Cunningham, vol. i, p. 237.

is taught how to transfer his design to canvas, the process of the first painting or dead coloring, the method of blending or melting his tints together, how to add his finishing touches, how many days or sittings, if he is painting after nature, must be devoted to his work, how to color his backgrounds and other accessories necessary to the completion of his undertaking.

Part Fourth brings the student, in this close process of analysis, to the second or finishing pallet. In the construction of the first, *nine* parent colors were employed. Preliminary to this, *sixteen*, with the needed compound proportions of each, are enumerated; out of which the novice is to construct twenty rows for his carnations with their reflexes and shadows, and two rows for his backgrounds, linens, and drapery.

Part Fifth has eight chapters upon the material and management of draperies. Part Sixth treats of landscape-painting,—a part of the work which we feel no hesitation in commending to the considerate attention of such boarding-schools as have incorporated this comparatively easy department of oil-painting into their course of instruction. We think its thorough study would remove from the walls of the semi-annual exhibition-room some of those "monstrous pieces, where the skies of Italy glow upon the dark herbage and humid soil of England, and Grecian ruins molder by the side of Gothic castles, while the shepherd of Arcadia waters brick-red cows in the stream that owes its visible origin to the snows of the Helvetian Alps," &c.—P. 264.

On temporary *varnishes*, with which Part Seventh opens, the author discourses thus:—

"Supposing now that our novice has finished his picture, whether landscape, group, or single head, he will be impatient to varnish it. He breathes upon it—a vapor gathers boldly on the colored surface, and obscures it a few seconds ere it disappears: he touches it with his fingers—they leave no mark—his picture is dry. It is, but it is not thoroughly so; not *hard-dry*, so to express it. To varnish it immediately would prevent the further evaporation of the oil, which, thus imprisoned, would more or less imbrown his colors; perhaps, too, these colors, straitened by their yet harder over-couch of resin, and thus impeded in their natural expansion, while still imperfectly dry, will burst their restraint, and the picture will open in cracks. But what then? The lapse of months may be needed to complete the drying; and, in the mean time, for the purpose of exhibition, or to be enabled to judge of the effect of his performance, the artist wishes to remove that irregularity of appearance which is caused by the dullness of some parts and the glistening of others, and prevents a just view of the whole. In this case he makes a varnish of the white of eggs, which is done in the following manner," &c.—P. 281.

Passing by "the mode of varnishing with mastic varnish," the methods of removing mastic varnish when necessary, and the modes of repairing injured paintings, we come to the author's conclusion, which, it is perhaps needless to add, has our hearty approval.

"While so much has been prescribed for the preservation and restoration of paintings, it would be quite as useful if something could be done to promote their destruction; for, out of the vast crowd of pictures, old and new, that here as well as in Europe are giving mostly a false direction to public taste, or preventing its expansion, ninety out of every hundred might disappear to the manifest advantage of the art; while of the ten remaining, five are all the better, or would be so, for any obscuration, that in rendering their characteristics less obvious should help also to veil their defects."—P. 296.

To one who simply desires to maintain, for literary or other purposes, a running acquaintance with the terms and phrases of art, the Analytical Index and Explanatory and Critical Dictionary, which fill out the remaining hundred pages of a work comprising, as has been already shown, such an amount of valuable matter, would be well worth the price of the entire volume. As a reference book on this branch of art, it would be a valuable accessory to any library, public or private.

ART. IV.—*The Life of Christ, in its Historical Connection and Historical Development.* By Dr. A. NEANDER. *Translated from the fourth German Edition*, by JOHN M'CLINTOCK and CHARLES E. BLUMENTHAL, Professors in Dickinson College, 8vo., pp. 450. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1848.*

IT is an essential element of the wisdom of God, in the government of his kingdom on earth, that all heresies and schisms, all errors and diseases, must in the end promote the cause of divine truth and the welfare of the church. This law has been anew illustrated in the history of that notorious book, the "Life of Jesus," by Dr. *D. F. Strauss*, which appeared first in 1835, and, in its fourth edition, in 1840. That work, designed by its author to subvert at once the history of our Saviour and the foundation of our hopes, has called forth some of the most able defenses of the gospel history that have ever appeared; and thus, instead of weakening

* The writer of this article begs the readers of the Review to bear in mind that English is not his native tongue, and to excuse the imperfections of his style on that account. The object of the article is to give a condensed account of one of the most important controversies in modern German theology.

its basis, has established it more firmly than ever. Among these defenses is *Neander's* "LIFE OF CHRIST;" the translation of which has furnished the occasion for this article. It is true that Neander would probably have written a similar work as the necessary complement to his "Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles," and as the foundation of his great work on ecclesiastical history; but it would neither have appeared so soon, nor assumed its present shape, had not Strauss's book first been written.

To write a biography of the God-man is doubtless one of the most arduous and responsible tasks which the theologian can be called to undertake. Indeed, many regard the task as too sacred and lofty for any human pen. Even the genial HERDER wondered how any one could hazard the attempt after the inimitable record by JOHN, "who lay in the Master's bosom." But without the life of Him, who is "the way, the truth, and the life," not only exegesis and church history, but also didactic and moral theology, must remain incomplete. Without it, divinity would lack its corner-stone; the stream of church history its fountain-head; and morality its life-blood and its highest pattern. The entire New Testament is a commentary upon the life of Christ; nay, such also is the history of the church, and the holy life of every true believer. But its proper and principal sources are the four Gospels; for they contain all the material essential to a systematic biography, although they are not given to us as complete *lives* of the Saviour, but only as recording such of his acts, miracles, and discourses, as their special aims and the wants of their readers required an account of. As, therefore, the Gospels are the sources of this department of Biblical literature, it has always been closely connected with the criticism of the Gospels—with all inquiries into their nature, authenticity, and integrity.

Four views have been taken of this important subject, all, of course, affecting the entire system of theology and of practical religion. Three of these belong to the sphere of infidelity, and may be said, even in a *scientific* point of view, to involve greater difficulties than that which we place first in order below—which we deem to be the only true and tenable view, and which has, of late, come out in new triumph from the deep struggles of modern German theology.

1. The first is the *Orthodox* or *Supranaturalistic* view of Christ's life. This view, which is as old as Christianity itself, is held by the evangelical Protestant churches in common with the Roman Catholic Church. Its bearing may be summed up as follows:—

The four Gospels are divinely inspired books, and relate genuine history, without error or contradiction. Christ is God and man in one person; was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary. The miracles ascribed to him by the evangelists were truly performed by him, and were the natural manifestation of the power of God dwelling in him. All his words are spirit and life—the revealing of a new spiritual creation. He died on the cross for the sins of men; rose again on the third day; and ascended to the right hand of the Father, where he rules, "head over all things to the church, which is his body, the fullness of him that filleth all in all."

2. The second view is the *Deistic* or *Naturalistic*, according to which the evangelical history was the product of an invention imposed upon the world by its authors; and Christ an ordinary man, who, from selfish and interested designs, has been raised by his followers to the imaginary dignity of a divine being. This position was first taken by the heathen opponents of Christianity, such as *Celsus*, *Porphyrius*, and the emperor *Julianus Apostata*. It was afterward adopted by many of the English Deists, e. g., *Morgan*, *Chubb*, and particularly *Woolston*, in his "Six Discourses on the Miracles of our Saviour." The French infidels of the last century, *Voltaire*, the *Encyclopædists*, and the author of the *Systeme de la Nature*, followed, yea, even exceeded, the English Deists in hatred of Christianity; and brought on, as a natural consequence, the French Revolution, with its horrible scenes, and with its ridiculous attempt to depose God himself, and seat human reason upon the throne of the world. But the most remarkable and scientific exposition of this view is to be found in the anonymous Fragments which *Lessing* discovered in the library of Wolfenbüttel, and which he began to publish in 1774, not "because he agreed with them, but because he wished to rouse the spirit of inquiry." This called forth the witty remark of *Semler*, that Lessing's procedure was "like setting a city on fire in order to try the engines." It is now well known that the real author of these Fragments was *Hermann Samuel Reimarus*.* According to the Fragments, the laws and doctrines of the Old Testament were too barbarous and dangerous to have come from God; the miracles of Scripture were so contradictory, absurd, and incredible, that they could be nothing else but deceptions practiced to secure the reverence and obedience of the superstitious multitude; the design of Jesus was a political one; his relation to John the Baptist rested on a pre-

* *Gurlitt* has put this beyond doubt in the "Leipziger Literaturzeitung," 1827, No. 55.

vious mutual compact to recommend each other to the people; and his plan was finally frustrated by his unforeseen death, which his disciples tried to evade by making the world believe he had arisen, and by cunningly modifying his doctrine accordingly.

It would be, of course, labor spent in vain to set about anything like a serious refutation of such wicked crudities at this day. To build the most sacred experience of millions of Christians, nay, the whole history of eighteen hundred years, upon a wretched imposition, or even upon a skillful trick, of selfish hypocrites, is not only an insult done to Christ and his apostles, but to the human race and common sense. No writer of any self-respect would dare now to fall in with such a view. One glance even at the lofty sublimity of the moral character of Christ and his apostles, as it strikes even the casual reader in every line of the New Testament, is enough to class such a theory among the grossest absurdities which ever proceeded from a perverted human brain.

3. Not so contemptible, but yet not much better if carried out to its ultimate results, is the *Rationalistic* or *Euhemeristic** mode of explaining the life and miracles of Christ. This view was held by several German theologians about the close of the last and the beginning of the present century, and reached its classical perfection in the "Commentaries on the Gospels" and "Life of Jesus," by Dr. Paulus, a man whose extensive learning and mental acumen might, under the influence of the Spirit of God, have done great service to the cause of truth and piety.

By Rationalism is commonly meant that form of theology which receives only so much of the Christian religion as can be understood by our natural reason, (*ratio,*) or, more properly speaking, by our *common sense*. Interpreters of this school hold reason to be, of course, as pure and sound now as when it proceeded originally from the hands of the Creator; and they make it the rule and judge of all truth, even of the word of God. Whatever goes beyond its horizon, is either rejected as the superstition of bygone ages, or explained away as poetical figure, and brought down to the level of every day thoughts and events. Rationalism has an inborn hatred of mystery, and tries to make everything clear and palpable. *Göthe* has characterized it in his usual masterly way:—

* From *Euhemerus*, the heathen forerunner of the German Rationalist *Paulus*. He explained the gods of the Greek mythology as sages, heroes, kings, and tyrants, whose deeds gained them divine honors.—Cf. *Diod. Sicul.* Bibl. Fragm., l. vi; *Cicero*, de Nat. Deor. i, 42.

"Daran erkenn 'ich den gelehrten Herrn
Was ihr nicht tastet, steht euch meilenfern,
Was ihr nicht fasst, das fehlt euch ganz und gar,
Was ihr nicht rechnet, glaubt ihr, sei nicht wahr,
Was ihr nicht wägt, hat für euch kein gewicht,
Was ihr nicht münzt, das, meint ihr, gelte nicht."*

The German Rationalists, like our Unitarians, have a very high opinion of the moral beauties of our holy religion; but they reject the doctrinal basis on which it rests. They look upon Christ as the greatest sage and the highest model of character; but they will not admit his divinity in the sense of the church. He is, after all, a mere man, different from others only in degree, *primus inter pares*. Everything, therefore, in the evangelical history which transcends the power of man, and the capacity of common sense, must be either denied or explained naturally. Dr. Paulus sets out with the remark, that the Biblical critic must carefully distinguish between the *fact* itself and the *judgment* of those who performed or who related it; and that his duty is to select the former in its original purity, free from all the disturbing influences and opinions of the time of its occurrence. The miracles of Christ will thus be found to lose their supernatural appearance, and to be either deeds of philanthropy, of medical skill, or of accident and good luck.

To be more clear we shall adduce some specimens of this so-called natural interpretation, which, however, turns out to be most unnatural and absurd. The glory of the Lord, which, in the night of Christ's birth, shone about the shepherds of Bethlehem, was an *ignis fatuus*. The miracle attending Christ's baptism is reduced to thunder and lightning, and a sudden dispersion of the clouds. The tempter in the wilderness was a cunning Pharisee, sent out by the Jewish authorities to try whether Jesus could perform miracles, and whether he might not be *used* against the Roman yoke. The changing of water into wine was a wedding joke, and the delusion of the company must be charged upon the twilight. The feeding of five thousand men can easily be explained by supposing them to have brought their own provisions with them. The daughter of Jairus, the youth of Nain, and Lazarus, were not really

* Herein I recognize the high-learned man!
What *you* have never handled—no man can;
What *you* can't grasp, is sheer nonentity;
What *you* cannot account for, cannot *be;*
What *your* scales have not proved, can have no weight;
What *you* 've not stamped, can never circulate.

dead, and needed only medical assistance. Christ's walking on the sea rests on a false translation; περιπατεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, means only "to walk around the sea on the high bank," which, of course, is nothing extraordinary. The Saviour's resurrection was an awaking from a trance or swoon; and Dr. Paulus attributes a great deal to the spices and the coolness of the grave in resuscitating the slumbering powers of life, and does not forget to quote Josephus, (*Vita* 75,) who makes mention of a man who was brought to life again after having been taken down from the cross. The ascension is explained in this way, namely, that Christ, hidden from his disciples by a cloud accidentally intervening between them, disappeared among the trees, and soon died in some unknown place in consequence of his wounds.

It seems to be almost incredible that men should waste so much learning and acumen of mind in support of such hypotheses, which are not only revolting to our moral and religious feelings, but even to common sense itself, the highest authority of Rationalists. This system, however, as it reached its culmination, dogmatically in *Wegscheider*, exegetically in *Paulus*, is also dying out with them; and it is one of the greatest triumphs of modern German philosophy and theology to have scientifically conquered this form of infidelity. To be sure, the *Rationalismus communis sive vulgaris*, as it is sometimes called in distinction from speculative Rationalism, has a great many adherents yet among older ministers and laymen of superficial education. It has assumed, even within the last few years, a new practical importance in the party of the "*Friends of Light*," with the preacher *Uhlich* at their head, and among the followers of the pseudo-reformer *Ronge*, one of the shallowest men that ever succeeded in making a noise in the world. But it is noticeable, that not one theologian of any distinction as a scholar belongs to them. Among the German universities that of Giessen is the only one where Rationalism has still the preponderance. In Halle, where it had its chief seat before *Tholuck's* arrival, the writer of this recollects very well, that, during his stay there in 1839, Professor *Wegscheider* had only from two to six hearers; while twenty years before, he had from three to four hundred.

The professorship of Paulis, in Heidelberg, was toward the last reduced to a mere title. The general superintendent, *Röhr*, who used to exercise an unbounded authority in the grand duchy of Saxony, has been completely ridiculed in his well-known controversy with *Hase*, professor in Jena. Dr. *Bretschneider*, of Gotha, has only weight yet by his scholarship, which does good service

in his valuable edition of the Corpus Reformatorum now in progress. Of his dogmatic theology *Marheineke* remarked, so long as twenty years ago: "The general superintendent, Bretschneider, has called my dogmatik at once pietistic, mystical, and transcendental. It is but justice to mention in apology for him, first, that he belongs to a long exploded theological tendency; secondly, that he does not know the meaning of the terms he here uses; and, thirdly, that he professedly judges only according to his own subjectivity, which means as much as nothing." The philosophy of common-sense Rationalism is so shallow that it could not possibly satisfy such profound thinkers as *Schleiermacher*, *Schelling*, and *Hegel;* and they have completely overthrown it. Its general view of life is so prosaical, that the poets of the romantic school, the two *Schlegels*, *Tieck*, and *Novalis*, made it the subject of keen sarcasm. Its interpretation of the Bible, in its vain attempt to reconcile its theory with the sacred text, does such violence to all laws of grammar and sound hermeneutics, that it received its death-blow from the gigantic progress of the later German philology. Even men who sympathize dogmatically, either in whole or in part, with the tenets of Rationalism, such as *Fritzsche*, *Meyer*, *Rückert*, *de Wette*, and *Winer*, reject its interpretations on mere philological grounds; and have to acknowledge that the church, and particularly the reformers of the sixteenth century, have rightly understood the Bible. It is an undeniable merit of *Strauss*, that he has triumphantly exposed the grammatical sins, the philosophical absurdities and inconsistencies, of the *natural* interpretation of the miracles. His "Leben Jesu" is a complete refutation of the "Leben Jesu" by Dr. *Paulus*. Thus one infidel has killed another, justifying the hope that the same fate will fall upon *Strauss*. Indeed, this desirable result has already been partly brought about by the infamous productions of *Weisse* and of *Bruno Bauer*.

It is perfectly obvious, on the stand-point of modern exegesis, that the system which we have been describing is utterly at war with the plain, natural meaning of the sacred writers, and that it charges them with the imbecility of mistaking every-day occurrences for miracles. But who in the world can earnestly believe that those fishermen, who have exerted more influence over the world than all the philosophers, poets, conquerors, and kings, put together, were destitute of their proper senses and ordinary faculties? Rationalism only removes one miracle in order to put a much greater one in its place.

But it must not be concluded that because this kind of Rationalism has been overcome scientifically by modern German theology,

and may be placed thus far among antiquated heresies, that it is also destroyed practically, much less that with it infidelity in general has been silenced. On the contrary, unbelief will constantly assume new forms, and continue to exist as long as the church is militant, compelling it to enter more and more deeply into the nature of our most holy faith. From those very scientific quarters in which the common-sense Rationalism had been slain and buried there arose a more fearful enemy of Christianity who threatened to dissolve the whole history of the Saviour into visions and dreams of the imagination. This leads us to the consideration of the most powerful attack which has ever been made against the Gospels from the department of learning and science, and which has, as already mentioned, helped to call forth the work of *Neander*.

4. The fourth and last point of view in which the life of Christ has been treated is the *Mythic*, which sinks our religion to the level of heathen mythologies, thus destroying its objective reality, and making it the product of speculative fancy. It has been said* that the *allegorical* mode of interpretation is the mother of the mythic. We find it among the Jews in Alexandria, who had largely imbibed the ideas of Greek, particularly Platonic, philosophy, and tried to reconcile it with the Old Testament, which could only be done by going beyond the literal sense. Philo, the cotemporary of Christ, is well known to have reduced this allegorical interpretation to a system. The celebrated *Origen* adopted it, and applied it also to the New Testament. According to his trichotomic anthropology, he distinguished three meanings in the Bible—the literal or historical, the moral or psychic, and the mystical or pneumatic; the first corresponding to the body, the second to the soul, the third to the spirit.† But Origen's allegorizing tendency did not lead him to deny the sacred history; and no example can be adduced from his numerous writings on the New Testament in proof that he sacrificed any of Christ's miracles. He only considered the historical sense as insufficient in itself. So also in the Christian church, down to our day, the allegorical interpretation has been largely made use of for practical purposes without the slightest intention of giving up a particle of Biblical history. Still it must be confessed that the tendency to allegorize is in itself unsound, and will easily lead minds of a decided leaning to spiritualism and idealism to a decided disregard of external facts and forms. Besides, it opens the door to all kinds of arbitrary interpretation. It shows a much greater reverence for the Bible, to take out only

* Vide *Strauss*, Leben Jesu, vol. i, p. 6, fourth edition.

† Hom. v, in Levit., § 5; De Princip. iv, 11.

what is in it, than to put in one's own notions and fancies. The allegorical interpretation in most cases turns out to be *imposition* instead of *exposition*.

The mythic interpretation took its rise toward the end of the last century, and was intimately connected with the critical investigations of that period into heathen antiquity, particularly of the origin and nature of the mythological religions. *Heyne*, the celebrated philologist, laid down the principle that all the history, philosophy, and religion of antiquity, proceeded from myths.* The genial *Wolf* tried to make the very existence of Homer doubtful, and ascribed his immortal poems to the poetical spirit of the Greek nation. The great historian *Niebuhr* dissolved the old Roman history, as related by Livy, into myths and unreliable traditions. No wonder that in such a critical and revolutionary age the principle of Heyne and Schelling was applied also to the religion of the Bible. It was done by certain neological critics, who had, from the start, some misgiving at the natural interpretation of their fellow-rationalists. *Gabler*, *Vater*, *de Wette*, *Eichhorn*, and *Lorenz Bauer*, interpreted first some parts of the Old Testament history mythically; *Ammon*, *Gabler*, *Eichhorn*, *Kaiser*, *Bertholdt*, *de Wette*, *Hase*, and *Usteri*, extended the process to the New Testament, but yet only to a partial extent. Ammon and Hase, for instance, confined the mythic view to the beginning and end of Christ's life; Eichhorn and de Wette to those parts of the first three Gospels which are not confirmed by the Gospel of St. John.

To Dr. *David Friedrich Strauss* undoubtedly belongs the *honor* (!) of having carried this stand-point consistently through the whole evangelical history. He left his predecessors far in the rear in ability as well as in boldness; and his "Leben Jesu" will always remain the classical work of this school. It may be said to be the concentration of all former efforts made by human reason and human learning against the basis of Christianity; and a successful refutation of it would be the greatest triumph of theology. The writer of this sketch, who, soon after the appearance of the work, studied in the university where it was written, and where the personal recollections of the youthful author, and of his stirring lectures to the students of Tübingen, were yet quite fresh, recollects very well what an immense sensation this production made throughout Germany. Hardly a day passed that it was not made the subject of the most earnest and exciting discussion. Some

* "A mythis omnis priscorum hominum cum historia tum philosophia procedit."—*Ad Apollod. Athen. Bibl. notae*, p. 3, *seq.*

thought that the hour of the downfall of the Christian church and religion had struck, while others expected good results from the struggle. "This is the crisis of the disease," they said; "thousands will shrink from the fearful abyss, and return to the good old faith; the church will overcome this enemy as all others, and then stand more firmly than ever." Some even expressed the hope that the author himself, if he sincerely inquired after truth, could not remain in this extreme position, and would, ere long, recall his errors. At first none seemed to venture on the arena to oppose him, but soon a whole host of answers from both orthodox and semi-orthodox theologians appeared, and calmed down the fears of the agitated friends of religion.

Strauss was born in 1806 at Ludwigsburg, in the kingdom of Würtemberg. As a student at Tübingen, he was always industrious, retired, seemingly modest, correct, and, at one time, thought even to be pious. In talents and scholarship he stood first in his class. He finished his education at Berlin, from which city he returned, somewhat changed, to Tübingen. He cultivated his mind particularly in the school of Schleiermacher's criticism and Hegel's metaphysical pantheism. His learning is not so extensive as that of *Tholuck*, *Neander*, *Baur*, and others, but very well digested, accurate, nice, and adroitly managed. His acumen is admirable. No discrepancy in the Gospels, how slight soever, escapes his observation. He acts toward the records as a lawyer, who hears their accounts, and seeks to involve them in contradiction, in order to destroy the weight of their testimony. He writes with more elegance, clearness, vivacity, point, and wit, than most of the German theologians. At the same time his work is characterized by an air of calmness and indifference in regard to the result. He pulls down the most venerable structures of antiquity without a sigh or regret. It seems not to cause him the least pain that his conclusions, if they are correct, must deprive millions of their only comfort in life, and their only hope in death. There he stands upon the ruins of the greatest and most sacred life which ever appeared among men, like a marble statue, with the all-sufficient air of a Stoic philosopher. It is true, in the last chapter he affects to build up again what he has destroyed, by referring to an abstract idea what the church finds in the person of Jesus Christ. A miserable substitute indeed! "Humanity as a whole," we are told, "is the God-man, the Saviour of the world, the child of the visible mother, *nature*, and of the invisible father, *spirit*. Humanity is the incarnate God; she performs miracles by subduing nature in her wonderful inventions, such as steamboats and railroads.

We are saved by faith in this Christ, that is, by coming to the painful consciousness of our individuality, and finding ourselves, at the same time, embraced in the general race, which constantly rises from the grave"—the only immortality known in pantheistic philosophy.* In a speculative church like this all worship would have to be the worship of genius, (or hero-worship, as Carlyle calls it;) all prayers must be addressed to the spirit of humanity, that is, must be self-adoration. Can such a system save an immortal soul? Thus far, at least, it has not.

Strauss is a Rationalist in the general sense of the term, so far forth as he rejects everything which he cannot comprehend with his natural reason; but his philosophy is of a very different kind from that of Rationalism proper: it is not deistic, but pantheistic; it does not separate God from the world in an abstract way, but confounds the two by deifying the idea of humanity; it is not popular, but speculative and transcendental; not Ebionitish, but Gnostic. His infidelity is more refined and profound than that of Bahrdt, Paulus, Röhr, or Wegscheider, but on this very account more dangerous where it once has taken hold. While the older Rationalists retain the tenets of natural religion, particularly the three ideas of *Kant*, namely, God, liberty, and immortality, Strauss would fain deprive us of a personal God, of a personal Christ, and of individual immortality. While Paulus holds fast to the historical character of Christ's life, only excluding all supernatural and miraculous agency, Strauss dissolves nearly the whole of it into mythological fables, produced, not from any impure motives, to be sure, as the Wolfenbüttel Fragmentist would make us believe, but unconsciously, by the creative power of a pious enthusiasm.

Strauss requires from the biographer of Jesus that his heart and mind be perfectly free from religious and dogmatic suppositions and prejudices; and claims, in the preface to his first edition, (vol. i, p. v,) this freedom (*Voraussetzungslosigkeit*) as the fruit of his own philosophical studies. This, however, is a conceit. It is absolutely impossible for a theologian to get rid of all suppositions, else he would have to give up himself, and commence with nothing. But of the creature the maxim is perfectly true, *ex nihilo nihil fit*. it is the privilege of the Creator only to make something out of nothing. We must require, rather, that the biographer of Jesus proceed from *right* suppositions, from sincere love of truth, and deep reverence for Him whom the most superficial observation shows to be the greatest benefactor of mankind, and the only comfort and hope

* Leben Jesu, vol. ii, p. 710.

of millions. *Strauss* was full of false prejudices from the beginning, in spite of his assertion to the contrary. He had established in his mind, before writing his work, the principle, that miracles are impossible; that the Hegelian philosophy, as *he* understood it, was the only true philosophy; that the orthodox and rationalistic view of the evangelical history was obsolete; and also many other suppositions, which guide and determine him more or less in all his arguments and conclusions.

Our critic does not reach such a height of folly and absolute skepticism as to deny altogether the historical existence of Jesus Christ; but he reduces it to a mere skeleton. According to him, Christ was a religious genius, who first awoke to the consciousness of the essential unity (or, rather, identity) of God and men. But this is all: in no feature was he *specifically* different from other individual men. The superhuman glory with which the evangelists surround him is nothing but the reflection of their own mistaken ideas. His views may be thus set forth:—

By *mythus* we are to understand the representation of a religious idea in the form of a fact which the author honestly believes to have really happened. It is intimately related to the creations of poetry; but it differs from them, at the same time, in this, that the poet, in most cases, is conscious of the unhistorical character of his productions, while the mythus rests always on a self-deception in this respect. The mythus, moreover, has not a simply individual character, but proceeds from the *general* spirit of a religious society or of a nation.* Older writers have made a distinction between *historical* and *philosophical* myths. But the first, (historical *myths*,) which rest on some fact, are better called *legends*, (*Sagen*, for which we cannot find a term precisely corresponding in English.) Now the first Christian community was pregnant with the Messianic ideas of the Old Testament, which assumed new vigor and life from the person of Jesus. Moses had announced a prophet like him. Deut. xviii, 15; Acts iii, 22; vii, 37. The Messiah was to proceed from the family of David, and from the town of Bethlehem. Isa. ix, 7; xi, 1; Micah v, 1; Luke i, 32; Matt. ii, 5; xxii, 42; John vii, 42; Acts ii, 30. He was to be, according to prophecy, a prophet, priest, and king, performing all kinds of miracles; opening the eyes of the blind, unstopping the ears of the deaf, making the lame man to leap as a hart, and the tongue of the dumb to sing. Isa. xxxv, 5, seq.; xxxii, 3, 4; Matt. xi, 5;

* Comp. *Baur's* Review of *Ottfried Müller's* "Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie," in *Jahn's* Jahrbüchern f. Phil. u. Paedag., 1828, vol. i, p. 7; *Strauss*, Leben Jesu, vol. i, §§ 14, 15.

Luke vii, 21, seq. He was to suffer and to die for the sins of his people, Isa. liii; at the same time, however, he should not see corruption, but rise triumphantly from the grave. Psa. xvi, 10; Acts ii, 31; x, 35. The enthusiasm for Jesus excited in the disciples made them believe that all these prophecies were fulfilled in him, and their own ideas assumed, unconsciously, the nature of external facts. They were not able to hold fast the idea of a divine human Saviour in its abstract universality; and thus the Christian church generally since that time has always identified it with the individual Jesus of Nazareth, until some philosophers and critics in the nineteenth century discovered the incongruence of the absolute and the individual, and succeeded in saving the idea of a God-man by sundering it from the inadequate historical and individual form with which the imagination of antiquity had clothed it.

This is the general substance of the work in question. The manner in which Strauss carries out his principle is rather monotonous. He takes up the different accounts of the Gospels on each part of Christ's life, involves them in contradiction with each other, to prepare the way for the denial of their historical character, and then goes on to show that the orthodox exposition, as represented in our days mainly by *Olshausen*, cannot be maintained; and from this he passes over to the rationalistic interpretation of *Paulus* and others to prove that it is equally untenable from philosophical as well as exegetical reasons. Having thus, as he imagines, destroyed the former interpretations, he thinks himself driven to the mythic view as the only one consistent with the principles of sound criticism.

Without pretending, of course, to bestow a thorough review on the work, which would require us to write a book, we mention some of the arguments which shake the foundation of this dangerous system. The importance of the subject is such that our readers, we hope, will willingly consent to examine it a little further.

The two chief grounds on which Strauss rests his attempt to invalidate the extraordinary events in Christ's life, are the apparent *contradictions in the accounts of the Gospels*, and the alledged *impossibility of miracles*. The first is of a *critical*, the second of a *philosophical*, nature.

Every careful reader of a Synopsis Evangeliorum must see at once that the four Gospels differ frequently, not only in chronological arrangement, but also in the accounts themselves. The difference is most striking in the relation of the Gospel of St. John to the so-called Synoptics. But it will be found, at the same time, that these differ-

ences do not affect any essential point either in history or in doctrine. All the leading portions of Christ's life stand out clear and impregnable; yea, the discrepancies go only to *confirm* the general *truth* of the gospel history; affording the strongest possible proof that there was no collusion among the evangelists. Each drew from his own observations and sources with perfect honesty and conscientiousness. Moreover, the differences are not *contradictions*, but *complements* of each other. A building or a landscape may be represented from different sides, so as to furnish occasion for many pictures; why not an immortal man also? It was absolutely *impossible* for one evangelist to give a complete picture of the Saviour, in whom the fullness of the Godhead dwelleth bodily. Even Socrates, who was a mere man, could not be fully represented by one disciple. How different is Plato's description of his character and system from Xenophon's! And yet the one only gives, as it were, the body, the other the soul, of the same person. There is no doubt that if Strauss had applied the same acumen in harmonizing the four Gospels that he has done in dividing them, he would have been much more successful, because the truth would have been on his side.

But even if we grant that the so-called harmonistic efforts cannot remove all the real differences, does it follow that the life of the Saviour is a mythus? No more preposterous conclusion could be drawn than this. If such a conclusion can rest on such a premise, the *whole history of the world* falls to the ground. That is one of the best portions in *Tholuck's* book against Strauss, in which he proves, with considerable learning, that the same, nay, much greater, discrepancies exist in the accounts given by the greatest historians of facts in profane history which no sane man has ever dreamed of doubting.* We shall only hint at one example. The Life of *Alexander the Great* was written partly by eye-witnesses of his own actions, by his warriors and friends, such as *Ptolemæus*, *Aristobulus*, *Nearchus*, *Marsyas*, *Eumenes*, *Baeto*, &c., of whose writings *Arrian*, *Plutarch*, and *Strabo*, have preserved faithful extracts. A comparison of these writings affords a whole string of discrepancies. One leaves out what the other relates as the most prominent facts in the life of his hero. They do not even agree in regard to the date of Alexander's death. *Eumenes* and *Diodotus*, who wrote down the events daily as they occurred, say that he died the 11th of June; but *Aristobulus* and *Ptolemæus*, who were present at his death-bed, mention the 13th.

* Dr. *A. Tholuck*, die Glaubwürdigkeit der evangelischen Geschichte, second edition, p. 443, seq.

According to *Aristobulus*, Alexander had reigned twelve years and eight months; according to *Diodorus Siculus* and *Castor*, twelve years and seven months; according to the first book of the Makkab., *Josephus* and *Eratosthenes*, just twelve years; according to *Cornelius Nepos* and *Livy*, thirteen years; and *Justinus* makes it thirty-five years and one month!

To come down to later times, it is well known that the biographers of Luther disagree about many events in the life of the great reformer: for instance, the place and circumstances of his birth; the time of the death of a certain friend, which decided his conversion; the date of many of his most valuable productions, &c. A learned and witty theologian, the late Dr. *Wurm*, of Würtemberg, has written (in opposition to Strauss) a "Life of Luther," in which he dissolves the reformer's entire history into mere fables. This kind of *reductio ad absurdum* is of no little force. There is more agreement, on the whole, among the four biographers of Jesus than in the accounts on any other great man in the history of the world. The differences, therefore, which still may remain in the Gospels do not furnish the least foundation for such a skepticism as we have here under consideration.

It is perfectly plain from the whole "Leben Jesu," that the ruling argument is not a historical or critical, but a *philosophical* one, namely, the supposed impossibility of miracles. This always gives the ultimate decision. Strauss says, "A change of water into wine contradicts the laws of nature; *therefore*, the second chapter of St. John must relate a fable. *I* cannot comprehend how the dead can rise from the grave; *therefore*, the resurrection of Lazarus and of Jesus is an impossibility." Thus he makes his mental capacities, in ridiculous and wicked presumption, the measure of all truth. But this argument proves too much, and, consequently, nothing, according to a well-known law in logic; for neither Dr. Strauss, nor any philosopher, has succeeded yet in understanding the fact of the first creation, or the generation of a single individual, or the nature of the union between soul and body.

> "There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
> Than are dreamt of in your philosophy."

To confess the imperfection of our present knowledge, and to bow before the infinitude of truth, is wisdom; to reject the reality of things because we do not understand them, is folly itself, and reminds one of the blind man, who denies the existence of the sun and of colors because *he* cannot see them. The skepticism of Strauss has its ultimate root in his *pantheism*, that is, in the denial

of a personal living God. His God is a sheer abstraction, the idea of humanity, which comes to self-consciousness and active reality only in individual men. It is the object of philosophy and of speculative theology to show the utter untenableness of such a conception of the divine Being. Wherever God is understood to be the almighty, omnipresent, self-conscious, ever-living, and independent ground of all existence, we must ascribe to him likewise the power of suspending, or rather of subordinating, the laws of nature, the work of his own hand, to the higher objects of his spiritual kingdom. And if we once believe the solemn declaration of Jesus Christ, that he and the Father are one, we *must* expect from him miraculous works. It would be a miracle, indeed, if the Saviour of mankind had not done things surpassing the standard of merely human actions. With him, miracles are rather *natural*, a matter of course; the necessary manifestations of a higher world in this lower sphere of existence in order to raise the latter to the life of God itself.

Mythological fables originate in times, and among nations, in which the conception of the one true God is wanting, and fantastic imagination rules over clear reason. But the age of Christ was comparatively a critical one, and was distinguished by the highest culture which antiquity attained. The productive period of Grecian and Roman mythology had long passed away; and the educated heathen philosophers and poets, far from adding new material to the fanciful religion of their ancestors, were rather disposed to treat the whole of it either with skepticism or with downright scorn and sarcasm.

Moreover, the creation of myths requires, that the real or imaginary person to which they refer be removed from the writer or inventor by a considerable distance of time. It is impossible to imagine that the whole gospel history should have been thus invented within the short period of thirty years after Christ's life on earth. He was known personally by hundreds and thousands. His miracles, his words, his death, were not obscure occurrences, but public before the world. The apostles and disciples, in spite of their oriental origin, had *at least* as good sense as we have. St. Paul, moreover, was a scholar of keen mind, and such a depth of thought as to leave even the greatest sages of Greece far in the rear. He most certainly could not be so easily imposed upon, much less as he was originally an enemy to Christianity and a persecutor of the church of the Most High.

The whole theory of Strauss, therefore, is *destitute of foundation*, and falls to the ground, if it can be proved that the Gospels

were written by the men whose names they bear. He feels this very sensibly, and tries, therefore, in the introduction to his work, to unsettle this old belief of all Christendom, and more particularly to shake the authenticity of the Gospel of John. But this is the very weakest portion of his book. He passes over this most important question, which ought to be settled first, before he has any right to proceed, with remarkable levity and superficiality. The genuineness of the Gospels is better supported by the oldest traditions than that of any book of antiquity. It is true we have no satisfactory testimony in favor of the Gospel of St. John from the first century, at least not satisfactory to a skeptical mind. But *Irenæus*, who flourished after the middle of the second century, declares distinctly, that John, the disciple of the Lord, who "leaned upon his bosom," wrote, after the other evangelists, his Gospel during his stay at Ephesus.* This testimony is the more important, as Irenæus had spent his youth in Asia Minor, and lived there in intimate intercourse with the venerable martyr *Polycarp*, the disciple and personal friend of St. John himself. "I recollect," says Irenæus, in one of his letters,† "those scenes of my youth much better than things which have happened but recently; for what we learn in our youth grows up with the soul, and becomes so much interwoven with it, that I am still able even to point out the places where the blessed Polycarp used to sit in delivering his discourses, that I still remember his going out and coming in, the peculiarities of his mode of life, the form of his person, the orations which he delivered to the people, *and how he spoke of his intercourse with John*, and the others, who had seen the Lord; how he related their speeches, and what he heard from them about the Lord, his miracles and doctrine—all of which Polycarp communicated as received from those who were eye-witnesses of the word of life, and in agreement with the Scriptures. To all these things I listened at that time carefully, according to the grace of God given unto me; I marked them not on paper, but on my heart; and repeat them constantly, according to the same grace." But still more, *Polycarp* and *Papias*, the apostolic fathers, and cotemporaries of John, knew and quoted his first epistle,‡

* Adv. Haer., iii, 1, Ἔπειτα Ἰωάννης ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ Κυρίου, ὁ καὶ ἐπὶ στῆθος αὐτοῦ ἀναπεσὼν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέδωκε τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας διατρίβων.

† Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. v, 20.

‡ Eusebius, Hist. Eccl., iii, 39, Κέχρηται δ' ὁ αὐτὸς (ὁ Παπίας) μαρτυρίαις ἀπὸ τῆς προτέρας Ἰωάννου ἐπιστολῆς. Polycarpi Epist. ad Philipp. c. 7: Πᾶς γὰρ, ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντίχριστός ἐστι, (cf. 1 John iv, 3.)

which every critic must acknowledge to have proceeded from the same pen as the Gospel, so much so, that both productions must stand or fall together. Yea, even in the concluding verse of the Gospel itself we have, in all probability, a testimony of the disciples of John and elders at Ephesus, John xxi, 24: "This is the disciple which testifieth of these things, and *wrote* these things: and *we** *know* that his testimony is true."

All these testimonies of the oldest church tradition are most powerfully supported by the *internal* evidences of the fourth Gospel itself in favor of its genuineness. The writer must have been an eye-witness of the events which he relates, according to his own declarations. John i, 14; xix, 35; 1 John i, 1-3. He speaks of himself in a somewhat mysterious way, calling himself "the disciple whom Jesus loved," (John xix, 26; xx, 2,) or the "other disciple," (John xx, 3, 4, 8,) or the disciple who was "leaning on Jesus' bosom." John xiii, 23, 25. It is evident, however, from these passages, that the writer must have been one of the three favorite apostles of the Lord. It cannot be St. James; for he died as early as A. D. 44, before any book of the New Testament was written. It cannot be Peter; for the disciple who was leaning on Jesus' bosom is expressly distinguished from him. Therefore it must have been St. John; yea, it is very likely that the appellation of the disciple "whom Jesus loved," is nothing but an explanation of his own name, which, according to the Hebrew, signifies "Jehovah (that is, Christ, in the Old Testament, John xii, 6) has been merciful."

If Strauss would be consistent, he could not possibly stop with his theory, but must proceed to the monstrous conclusion, that the writer of the fourth Gospel, and in fact all the authors of the New Testament, were willful impostors, and thus fall back upon the position of the basest of English Deists, French infidels, and of the Wolfenbüttel Fragmentist. Although his Leben Jesu is written with more scientific force than all former attacks against Christianity, it labors under most difficulties, and can be most readily reduced *ad absurdum*. Take, for instance, his view on Christ's resurrection. According to him, it rests on mere visions of the apostles. But what sensible person can earnestly persuade himself to believe that not only eleven, but, according to St. Paul's report, (1 Cor. xv,) fifty persons had the same vision at one and

* From this we conclude that there was more than one who wrote this verse, as the evangelist, in speaking of himself, always uses the third person singular.

the same time in clear daylight? And then, again, to make the whole history of the church, this most powerful and overwhelming of all realities, rest on a false dream—what a preposterous imagination! This really is substituting a much greater miracle in the place of those which the plain Christian humbly receives, and from which he derives all his comfort in life and hope in death.

Thus we are forced back, even by the process of a critical investigation, to that view of Christ's life which is as old as Christianity itself, and which will live as long as He who is the life and the resurrection itself, while all systems of infidelity are doomed to oblivion and perdition. We may fairly say, even of Strauss, that he belongs already to a bygone age. He will never revive again, except it be among transcendental Unitarians and Universalists in the *new* world. In Germany his palmy days are for ever gone. His book has called forth a great number of most valuable productions, by which our good old faith in the historical Christ has been more firmly established than ever.

To this anti-Strauss literature belongs Dr. *Neander's* "Leben Jesu Christi," a book which has not only a passing, polemical, but also a permanent, positive value. The opposition to Strauss, to be complete, required a work which should cover the whole ground, and should put a new building in the place of that deplorable ruin of a spirit rejoicing in destruction. We are very glad that this book has made its appearance in the English language. Professors *M'Clintock* and *Blumenthal* have a claim to the lasting gratitude of American theologians for executing this task, which was by no means easy, owing partly to the subject itself, partly to the peculiarities of Neander's style. But they were well qualified for it. Professor Blumenthal is a German by birth and education; Professor M'Clintock by inoculation, at least as far as the language is concerned; and we cannot but believe that their united labors have produced about as good a translation as anybody in this country could have prepared.

We have detained our readers already too long to enlarge upon the production of one of the greatest theologians of the age. Besides, it needs no recommendation from our pen; *our* praises would be rather presumptuous. The reputation of the venerable man who occupies a prominent place not only among the regenerators of evangelical theology and piety of modern Germany, but also among the divines of all ages, and who has justly been styled the father of church history, has long been established in Europe and America. His extensive and thorough learning, his tender conscientiousness, his unfeigned humility, and his truly catholic

spirit, are acknowledged on all hands, and will be found fully manifest in this production. We would, therefore, only make a few remarks with the intention to prevent, if possible, his work before us from misconstruction.

Neander's Leben Jesu takes substantially what we have called the *orthodox* view on the life of the Saviour, acknowledging him to be the God-man, and the only ground of salvation, and receiving the New Testament as divinely inspired truth. But it is probable that some who are not intimately acquainted with German theology will doubt the soundness of some of his positions. We confess that we ourselves, with all our veneration for this truly great and good man, cannot approve of all he says, and wish many portions and expressions of his work were rather more strongly marked, particularly on account of his English and American readers. But two considerations must always be kept in view, tending greatly to modify the unsatisfactory impression which some readers might at first receive. In the first place, Neander's style is characteristically loose and indefinite; and this is, to a great extent, connected with some of his virtues, his liberality and conscientiousness, but also with a certain carelessness as it regards form. Thus we must account for many expressions on the divine nature of Christ, which, at first sight, and severed from their connection, might seem to approach even Arian or semi-Arian views. It would be the greatest injustice, however, to charge him with any such heresy. His Church History (vol. ii, part 2) sufficiently shows the contrary. In the second place, it must not be forgotten that the German theology had to pass through gigantic struggles, of which we in this country can hardly form any clear idea. Rationalism, in the wide sense of the term, may indeed be considered the most powerful antagonist of the church which ever has made its appearance in history. It is the more so, as it wears in Germany the respectable dress of great learning, moral earnestness, and sometimes even of a certain piety, as, for instance, in the case of *de Wette*. Should we wonder to find that those men, who, by divine Providence, have been called upon to overcome this fearful enemy, have brought away some wounds from the battle-field? Even thus Clemens and Origen, in opposing Gnosticism, were tinctured with some of its features; and even Augustine could not deny altogether the school of Platonism, through which he had passed into the church. But we must go further, and say, that Rationalism is not *absolutely* false; it has some right to exist. There are some things in the old orthodoxy —or perhaps we should say in the received mode of philosophizing

upon Christian doctrine—which must undergo severe criticism. It is, after all, a human system which requires constant reformation. The mouth of reason cannot be stopped entirely. It ought humbly to submit, to be sure, to the divine reason, as revealed in the Bible and in the faith of the church. But it is the object of Christianity to enter not only into man's heart, but also into his mind and thought. Theology and Christian philosophy is a constant process, by which revelation and reason are to be brought nearer and nearer together, until ultimately, to speak in the language of St. Paul, we may see as we are seen, and know even as we are known. Neander would not embrace an orthodoxy of mere comfort and convenience, but he would carefully weigh the arguments on both sides, and rather leave a matter undecided than to pronounce a hasty judgment merely to suit the taste of blind traditionists.

Germany has the great mission to settle scientifically, for the benefit of the whole church, the great question involved in the very nature of Protestantism, between Rationalism and Supranaturalism, private judgment and authority, reason and revelation; and thus to restore the old faith, but in a new form, which shall mark a real progress toward the ultimate reconciliation, and free, intelligent agreement, of the human mind with divine truth. This mission, it must be confessed, is not fulfilled yet. German theology, and, we may say, all Protestantism, is at the present time in a transition state. But if we really believe in that God who rules the hearts, and also the thoughts of men, and by his adorable wisdom turns the whole stream of history to his glory, we cannot possibly despair; we must rather, full of hope, look for a new reformation, which shall complete the glorious work of the sixteenth century.

P. S.

Mercersburg, Pa., Jan. 22, 1848.

Art. V.—*History of the Conquest of Peru, with a Preliminary View of the Civilization of the Incas.* By William H. Prescott. 8vo., 2 vols. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

In our last number we attempted an analysis of Mr. Prescott's powers and processes as an historian, and hazarded some general remarks on Ferdinand and Isabella, and the Conquest of Mexico. We were compelled to postpone the consideration of his last work

until the present time, and we now resume the subject with a particular reference to the History of the Conquest of Peru.

This work has probably been the most extensively popular of Mr. Prescott's histories, though the subject would not seem to admit so many elements of interest as the others. In Ferdinand and Isabella he had a period of time crowded with important events and striking characters, a period which witnessed the organization of a powerful nation out of seemingly discordant elements, and which opened to the historian the whole field of European politics during one of the most important epochs of modern civilization. In the Conquest of Mexico he had an epic story, capable of the strictest artistic treatment, with that strangeness in incidents and scenery which fastens most readily on the attention. If he has made the present work more interesting than the others, it must be owing to greater felicity in its treatment. This felicity does not arise from a departure from his historical method, or from the adoption of a new form of composition, but is the result of a more complete development of his method and his style. In the Conquest of Peru, his characteristic merits are displayed in their best aspect, exhibiting the effects of time and experience in giving more intensity to his conceptions, and more certainty to his language. Accordingly, we have not here to chronicle a decay of power, but its freer and more vigorous expression.

Mr. Prescott's leading excellence is that healthy objectiveness of mind which enables him to represent persons and events in their just relations. Of all his histories we think that the present, while it illustrates this characteristic merit, approaches nearest to the truth of things, and presents them with the most clearness and vividness. The scenery, characters, and incidents, with which his history deals, are all conceived with singular intensity, and appear on his page instinct with their peculiar life. The book, on this very account, has been charged in some quarters with exaggeration, with giving more importance to the subject than its relative position in history will warrant. This objection we consider as implying its greatest praise. We admit that the Conquest of Peru does not take that place in the history of the world, as commonly written, which it assumes in Mr. Prescott's narrative; but we think that history, as commonly written, conveys but a feeble notion of persons and events. Undoubtedly the wars between Charles V. and Francis I. were more important than the skirmishes of the Spaniards with the Peruvians: but we by no means acknowledge that this is indicated in Robertson; and we think it

a strange blunder of criticism to demand that the historian shall place his work in relation to other histories, instead of making it a mirror of his subject, and, because the usual description of the battle of Pavia conveys no idea of an engagement, require that the account of the capture of Atahualpa shall convey no idea of a massacre. The truth is, Mr. Prescott has done, in this matter, all that criticism can sensibly desire, in observing the natural relations of the characters and events with which he deals, and in varying the intensity of his representation with the varying importance of the different parts of his History. If he had capriciously given prominence to some things which would naturally fall in the background, or exaggerated others out of their proper connections, his work would have been inconsistent with the truth, and justly amenable to criticism; but, instead of this, he has reproduced, with vivid accuracy, the whole course of the conquest, solicitous only to convey clear impressions of actual things, and to print them on the mind in their true character and vital relations. If in doing this he has shown more force of conception and felicity of narration than the class of dignified historians; if he has avoided all verbal forms and barren generalities in the surrender of his mind to the objects which impressed it; if, in short, he has been more desirous to exhibit his subject than to make a show of himself, we protest against his being judged by rules which he does not pretend to follow, and having his excellence tested by principles drawn from the defects of other historians.

Indeed, the great merit of the work consists in its representing a portion of universal history as a living, appreciable reality. The comparative narrowness of the subject, and fewness of the characters, enabled him to perform this with the greater completeness. There was less room for generalization, and more for individualization; more space for pictures, and less for propositions. Accordingly, everything is realized; everything stands out in its distinct shape and dimensions, and moves on with the general movement of the narration. We become acquainted not only with the leaders, but with their individual followers; discerning their motives, the complex action of their passions, the strange jumble of ferocity, valor, superstition, and diabolism, which went to make up their characters. It must be confessed, we are placed in the company of a herd of graceless rascals, who, with all their valorous vice and heroic baseness, richly deserve the gallows; but we are still not among demons or monstrosities, but among bad men. It is human nature, we perceive, though human nature in a form so perverted as to make us almost ashamed of it. An insight so vivid

into the character of the soldiers of Pizarro and Almagro, and of the conventional morality of the age, gives us a knowledge of the period which we can easily apply to persons of more historical importance and events of greater magnitude. In Peru we have, as it were, a microcosm, wherein we can see Catholic Europe as it was at the commencement of the sixteenth century; the little world is a fair diminutive of the great world, and more comprehensible from its compression. Its study enables us to understand somewhat the nature of that moral confusion which springs from a violation of eternal laws; from the skirmishes of Pizarro we can infer the character of those awful wars which we read of in history with so even a pulse; and from the cruelty and rapacity of the Spaniards we see how thin is the partition which separates the regular soldier from the proficient in rapine, massacre, and lust. We believe if history were written throughout with this truth to things, that in increasing our knowledge it would improve our moral judgments. The reason that the gigantic vices of the powerful do not commonly draw down upon their heads a corresponding load of infamy, is owing to the feebleness with which those vices are commonly conceived. We are sensible of the energies such men display, and glow in the recital of their exploits; but we overlook the guilt and baseness of the means they often employ. In order that an historian should rightly affect us in this matter, it is not necessary that he should set certain commonplaces at stated distances in his narrative, declaring how naughty it is for men to cut each other's throats and blow out each other's brains; but it is important that, in representing a battle, he should make us vitally feel the sufferings it occasions, and the demoniacal passions it unleashes. This cannot be done by expressing the dead and wounded in a row of figures. We have read accounts of Austerlitz and Leipsic, which inspired us with less sympathy than the account given by Mr. Prescott of some contest where hardly a hundred were killed. In the Conquest of Peru we gain some notion of the fathomless baseness of brazen selfishness and rapacity, and no great energies developed by the conquerors can possibly lift it into respect. If the contemplation urges us to fix a darker and more indelible brand of reprobation on the impudent enormities of all public criminals, of all robbers and murderers on a great scale, there will be some check given to that absurd apotheosis of colossal depravity, that idolatry of great men who have warred against the interests of the race, which now fills the temple of fame with Titans from the shambles, and inspires emulation instead of horror among the energetic spirits of every age.

It seems to us that Mr. Prescott thus produces morality of effect by truth of representation. This is as much better than moralizing, as the perfume which escapes from a rose is better than rose water. If the historian has the heart and brain to grasp the truth, he may safely leave the rest to the reader's moral instincts. But this power of truthful representation is not a common quality. It implies the possession of a healthy mind, with large powers harmoniously balanced; it demands capacity as well as conscience, freedom from prejudice as well as freedom from fraud. It is not ever the prize of good intentions. It balks even the honest and intelligent, when force of conception is not accompanied with a corresponding felicity of style. In the case of Mr. Prescott that combination of powers, analytical, reflective, and representative, which constitutes his truthfulness, is expressed altogether in the unobtrusive form of narration and description. The distinguishing peculiarity of the present work is, that all the processes of the historian's mind are suppressed, and the results alone given. By this method he has added to the interest of the history, but deprived himself of all that reputation which half-bred minds confer upon the show of judgment and argumentation. His narrative reads as simply and clearly as if it had cost no labor of thought and investigation. Many of its delighted readers will be but little impressed with the force of the mind whence it proceeded, and pronounce it almost as easy to write as to peruse. It may not, therefore, be out of place to attempt here an analysis of the narrative process, and indicate the various powers it calls into action. Such a course may have some effect in checking the presumptuous underestimate which undeveloped geniuses ever put upon finished works, which have been so artistically organized as to seem artless.

If we form an idea of the materials from which Mr. Prescott's History was constructed, and place them in opposition to the work itself, we cannot fail to see a great space between the two, through which the historian's mind must have passed in successive steps. In cotemporary histories, biographies, chronicles, state papers, &c., principally in a MS. form, he was compelled to search for his facts. In the examination of these, contradictory statements were to be reconciled—falsehood, error, prejudice, credulity, and all the many forms of misrepresentation, were to be detected—and order and connection were to be educed from the midst of confusion. The industry, the research, the analysis of character, the long trains of minute reasoning, the sagacity which instinctively rejects the smoothest and most plausible lie,—in short, all those intellectual powers which are exercised in a judicial scrutiny of

evidence, and which, when exhibited to the reader, convey so high an opinion of an historian's mental capacity, Mr. Prescott is content to banish from his page. After subjecting his authorities to this alembic process, and sifting out the truth they contained, the facts thus mastered were to be vividly realized in their original life and placed in their right relations, so that the principles they embodied or illustrated could be distinctly apprehended by the reader without being expressed to him in propositions. Here, also, was a long and delicate process, which Mr. Prescott suppresses, in which the historian, at once surveying the whole field of events, and understanding their individual import, sees both the intentions of the actors and the operations of general laws, brings effects into distinct and vital connection with causes, and from the loose links of occurrences rivets the chain of events. After his facts had thus been connected so as to form an organic whole, after the history had taken its shape in his own mind, he had still the additional task of embodying it in a form of expression which would convey it to other minds exactly as it animated his own.

We do not suppose there can be any controversy as to his success in this last and most important process. It would be difficult to name a History which excels that of the Conquest of Peru in the art of making the forms and colors of things shine through the expression. The style is a running stream, which mirrors objects so fully and distinctly that we are hardly conscious of the medium through which they are seen. Such a diction impresses us only by what it conveys. On reading the book for the first time we could easily recollect its events, and retained clear conceptions of its characters; but we should have been puzzled to answer a question regarding the structure of its style. We hardly noticed a paragraph in which words took the place of things, or in which anything was said merely for the sake of saying it well. Yet we found, on an after examination, sentences bending beneath the weight of matter, instances of terse, keen, tingling expression, of verbal felicities, of animated and picturesque description, and an absence of that baldness and poverty of language which usually characterizes what is called a simple style. The diction is neither stilted nor mean; it neither courts nor discards ornament; but moves on with a beautiful and dignified ease, yielding gracefully to the demands of different objects as they rise, and with all its genuine simplicity and fine abandonment to the things it describes, is still always the style of an historian, not of a story teller. To preserve thus a certain inherent dignity of manner, without a sacrifice of sweetness, melody, raciness, and "polished want of polish"

—to maintain constantly a distinction between the historian and the chronicler, the narrator and the gossip—to glide so fearlessly along the dizzy edges of familiar narration without ever slipping into bathos or flippancy—is a triumph which few have succeeded in achieving, and which Mr. Prescott himself has only fully reached in the Conquest of Peru. In considering his remarkable felicity in narration, it is not singular that he has reduced to this shape a great deal of matter which might have been expressed in a different and more ambitious form.

In this incomplete analysis, we think we have indicated that good narration is not a single power, but a combination of many powers; that it not only implies sensibility, imagination, and command of language, but also often includes the results of the most toilsome drudgery of investigation, and the most stringent exercise of understanding. In passing from the form to the subject of the present work, the first feeling of the reader is that of regret that so much power should be lavished on such a theme; and surely if Prescott's narrative had stopped with the mere conquest of Peru, we should think the matter unworthy of his pen. We hardly can bring to mind another instance of such an audacious violation of all principle, moral and political, as the invasion and theft of Peru by the Spaniards. The enterprise was dignified by none of those high thoughts and great passions, which often lend a kind of moral interest to actions which justice and humanity must still condemn. It was essentially a buccaneering expedition, whose naked object was plunder and murder, without any pretence of bigotry or superstition to modify its depravity; and it was conducted by a herd of vagabonds and profligates, who broke into a country as a band of burglars would break into a dwelling. The black flag of the pirate waves over the whole immortal gang whose courageous avarice subverted the empire of the Incas. Their fame is the fame of infamy. They would occupy no place in the memories of men if their rascality had not sounded depths of wickedness beyond the common experience of men. But, considered as a piratical expedition, their enterprise was successful. They glutted their cruelty and rapacity to the full, committing more murders, producing more misery, and obtaining more money, than any other band of robbers that ever organized for plunder. They proved themselves master workmen in the ignoble art of ruining nations, and were eminently successful in sowing the seeds of ineradicable hatred against the whole Spanish race in the hearts of the people they oppressed. They were the enemies not merely of the Peruvians, but of human society itself, violators of order, of justice, of

humanity, of every principle which binds communities together. If the historian had left the subject with the triumph of these valorous outcasts and reprobates, he might have had much to interest and instruct the reader, in exhibiting the meeting of two dissimilar races; in detailing wild and stirring deeds of adventure performed amid scenery the most striking and sublime; and in representing the worst passions of the human heart in unbridled exercise, restrained neither by humanity as a sentiment, nor by humanity as a policy, as they swept in a storm of fire and blood over the doomed empire of Peru. But such a limitation of the subject, rich though it would be in description and characterization, would leave a painful sense of moral confusion on the mind, and would lack historical and artistical completeness. Mr. Prescott has therefore done well in devoting but half of his work to the conquest, and in proceeding on to narrate the bloody feuds of the conquerors, and the final settlement of the country under Gasca. This extension of the subject, by which we see the fearful retribution which followed guilt, and the natural operation of those eternal laws which it had violated, though it occasions a greater diversity of persons and events, really furnishes the requisite unity of the work. In this respect we do not know but the subject, as treated by Mr. Prescott, has more true historical unity than the Conquest of Mexico; for, though it has less unity of story, it has a wider variety of incidents and characters included under a stricter unity of law.

The History of the Conquest of Peru is introduced by a long and luminous dissertation on Peruvian civilization, which contains all the facts which are known regarding the institutions and mode of existence of the people. This presents a clear view of the national life of the Peruvians, comprehending their religion, government, science, letters, mechanical arts, and industrial energy. There is much in this dissertation to startle our imaginations and unsettle our theories. We are accustomed to consider governments as taking their character from the character of their people,—as being growths, not manufactures. Even in most despotisms the tyrant seems but the nation individualized. In this respect there is little difference between Austria and the United States, Turkey and France. In Peru, however, we have the spectacle of the most humane and perfect of despotisms, having its source in the government, and working down into the masses, molding their character into new forms, and effecting a radical change in their nature. We perceive savages reduced to obedient and unquestioning subjects, under a theocracy which had as complete possession of their souls as of their persons. But the strangest mystery of all is, that the

Inca despots appear to have regulated their acts by fundamental principles, and to have shown none of those insane caprices which are characteristic of absolute sovereigns. Adored as gods, and implicitly obeyed as governors, they seem to have made the physical well-being of their people and the development of the resources of their empire the objects of their government, instead of gratifying their self-will at the expense of both. Property and money, beggary and idleness, were alike unknown in Peru. The state looked out that every person labored, and that every person was comfortable. It treated its subjects as a kind master treats his domestic animals. Their wills and understandings were not recognized as having an existence, in regard to matters of government; but they were not oppressed. The Incas seem to have been the wisest despots the world has seen, in forbearing to exercise capricious power, and in making the happiness of their people the policy of their administration. Into this land, thus governed, the Spaniards brought war, poverty, misery, pestilence, famine, and Catholicism. Their object from the beginning was to wring from the wretched inhabitants all they possessed, and to doom them to a slavery which differed from a massacre only in its prolonged suffering. They had not even the wisdom of the pagan masters they supplanted; and, in the folly of their tyranny, dried up the very sources of wealth. Their policy was one of blunders as well as crimes. They might have considered the natives as oxen and horses, but their stupidity consisted in exterminating them by over labor. It is curious that in all the arts of government, which it is equally the interest of despots and democrats to practice, and in which the greatest power is reconciled with the greatest beneficence, the Incas were immeasurably superior to the Spaniards. It might be said that the conquest was the victory of a superior over an inferior race, and that the natural consequences were tyranny and rapacity. But we have not this poor excuse for Spanish Christianity and Spanish civilization; for in the case of Peru the conquerors ruined a country which had been subdued previously by the Incas, and in which the superior race had used their power to civilize the savages they conquered, and to improve their condition. In every light in which we can view the subject, we must be compelled to award the Incas wisdom and beneficence superior to the Spaniards, and to acknowledge they approached nearer to the idea of Christian civilization.

Foremost among the forcible characters with which Mr. Prescott's History deals are Pizarro and Gasca, the representative of rapine and the representative of law. Pizarro is one of those marked cha-

racters, branded with the hot iron of universal reprobation, about whom there can be little difference of opinion. He seems to have been sent into the world, or, at least, to have been sent into Peru, in order to render depravity despicable; and it is but justice to say that he appeared to feel the dignity of his great mission, and doggedly bent his energies to its performance. He had in large measure all those qualities which awaken admiration for the world's butchers,—a clear head, a hard heart, force of will, constancy of purpose, daring, dauntless courage, complete surrender of his mind to one object,—but they were all developed in connection with such unutterable baseness, fraud, hypocrisy, and cruelty, that he seems the very genius of infamy impersonated. The mind instinctively spurns and hoots at him as a cold, calculating, vulgar villain, without any generous enthusiasm, without any lofty purposes, performing the most enormous crimes from no mixed motives, and in his combination of great capacity with cruelty, treachery, and meanness, never appearing in a more noble shape than as a sort of monstrous compound, made up of Alva, Arnold, and Scapin. There is no danger that such a character will be attractive to the imagination, or that his ignoble depravity will win for him, out of the jail and the pirate ship, any other sentiment than contempt or abhorrence. He had not even that honor which is said to obtain among thieves, and as a trickster and liar occupies a peculiar eminence of infamy among his comrades as well as adversaries. He felt within himself a superiority to all scruples of shame or conscience, and knew that he could outwit the worst and wickedest of his gang at their own weapons. Some portion of his courage and daring may have sprung from the inward conviction that he could be placed in no exigency from which he could not extricate himself by crime. He obtained an empire by being capable of an act of treachery beyond the conceptions of any of its inhabitants; and then attempted to cheat his accomplice out of his portion of the spoils by a refinement of perfidy of which that old ruffian had never dreamed. He was ever sounding new depths of baseness, and originating unheard-of schemes of rapine; and his companions and followers must have continually felt with deep humility how insignificant were their most strenuous efforts downward, compared with the giant leaps of the trickster Hercules at their head. During the whole narrative of his exploits and adventures we anxiously look for some event in which his great energies will appear connected with some moderation in wickedness; but we are continually disappointed. When he marches with less than two hundred men right into the heart of an empire, we expect some new

development of the science of war or diplomacy, some brilliant achievement of arms or policy. But it all ends in the old story of massacre and pillage, supported by the old plea of necessity and prudence. We continually feel that all he does would be infinitely clever in a buccaneer, a highwayman, or an incendiary, but it awakens none of the associations connected with a conqueror. Essentially a vulgar villain, he has incurred not merely the condemnation of the good for his depravities, but is visited with the secret hate of energetic wickedness everywhere, for so rudely tearing aside the decent drapery of sin, and depriving vice of all its dignity. He has made murder and robbery on a great scale an everlasting jeer to levity, and an everlasting stigma to benevolence.

With all this it is doubtful if, in the quality of courage, a braver man than Pizarro ever lived. He did not know fear. Famine, fatigue, pestilence, had no convincing arguments for him. He feared neither nature, man, nor God, but pushed doggedly on in his course of practical atheism, breasting the elements, slaying his fellow-men, unconcerned about the future. His courage, therefore, great as it was, has its disgraceful side; through this, his highest quality, the insensibility and lowness of his character glare like an imp from the pit. Could we occasionally refer his crimes to weakness, impulse, or bigotry; could we sometimes see his force of will struggling with the phantoms of conscience, or the dread monitions of religion,—if from that mass of bad passions festering at his heart any signs of a soul had ever flashed; if, in short, he had sometimes, for variety sake, performed a noble, or refrained from a wicked, action; we might modify a little the contemptuous horror with which we view his courageous baseness. But, as it is, he stands out there in history, naked and shivering under the pitiless pelting of a storm of execration, not as a warrior and conqueror, but as a trickster, traitor, liar, thief, incendiary, murderer;—an embodiment of the Newgate Calendar, sneaking under the titles of marquess and conquistador. There is, however, one incident connected with his death which evidences some sensibility. It cannot be said of him that he died and made no sign. After defending himself, with his accustomed valor, against his assassins, he was overpowered by numbers, and received several terrible wounds. "Jesu!" he exclaimed in that dying moment; and "tracing a cross with his finger on the bloody floor, he bent down his head to kiss it, when a stroke, more friendly than the rest, put an end to his existence." There is something sublime in this flashing forth of the religious sentiment in the moment of death, from a nature which seemed destitute even of religious bigotry and superstition;

and something horrible in the contemplation of the only religious act of a long life of turbulence and sin being baulked by the very hand which slew his body. That dark spirit passed to its last account with its hoarded lusts thick upon it.

In strong contrast with Pizarro and the other Spaniards, and the only honest man in Mr. Prescott's volumes, is Pedro de la Gasca; and the most attractive portion of the work is devoted to him. He was a peaceful ecclesiastic sent out by the Spanish government to recover Peru, after the previous viceroy, Blasco Nuñez, had been deposed and slain, in an insurrection against the royal authority, headed by Gonzalo Pizarro. The country was entirely in the latter's hands, and the people were with him. Gasca entered the country without any military force; proclaimed pardon for all past offenses; announced the revocation of the ordinances which had provoked the rebellion; by inimitable coolness, sagacity, and energy, succeeded in winning over some of the most important of Gonzalo's captains; and, in a comparatively short time, entirely ruined the insurgents and reinstated the royal authority in every part of Peru. The whole work, both in its conception and direction, was exclusively his own. The only thing that Spain gave him was absolute authority, and he conquered Peru by the simple force and wisdom of his single mind. Such a conquest was a grander exercise of genius than ever Cortéz or Pizarro displayed, and we think that, next to Columbus, Gasca takes the first rank among the great Spaniards connected with the discovery and colonization of America. His genius would be contested by some, because he was one of those rare men who possess great powers in such perfect harmony with great virtues, that the might of their nature is only seen in the effects they produce. To the vulgar eye their unobtrusive excellence often passes for commonplace. All repose unbounded reliance in their integrity and intelligence, and they generally succeed in everything they undertake, but their sagacious virtue is rarely honored with the name of genius. They are called men of moderation, of common sense,—men who originate nothing but can apply everything; and in general estimation they bear about the same relation to narrower and intenser natures which light bears to lightning. Though the first be the greater of the two, it does not excite so much admiration. Now it seems to us that force and insight are the characteristics, and influence the measure, of genius; and where we see great results produced by a sagacious proportioning of means to ends, we infer the genius of their author. Gasca's course, indeed, strikes us more by its intelligence than its moral elevation. A man of the most stainless

integrity, he was still to crush a rebellion, and restore a country to its allegiance to the Spanish crown, by means which would be operative among a collection of depraved soldiers and petty tyrants. Superior himself to vanity, ambition, avarice, fear, and treachery, he saw perfectly into the characters of those with whom he was to deal, understood the nature of the complaints which had led to the rebellion, and understood also the feeling of lingering loyalty which still dwelt in the fears or the sentiments of the rebels. He first gave them no excuse for continuing averse to the crown, by abolishing the ordinances which had caused their resistance; and then proffered those inducements to the followers of Gonzalo which he knew would be operative in the minds of knaves. If anything were wanting to complete our contempt of the Spaniards in Peru, we have it in the detestable treachery of the men who deserted and betrayed Gonzalo, after having been sworn to his interests and enriched by his bounty. The great motive, after all, for flocking to the royal standard was the plunder of the rebels after they had been defeated. Gasca knew more than all the captains and intriguers in Peru put together; and by virtue of this knowledge he gained the mastery of all. The only man who could have prevented by his intelligence the destruction of the rebels, was Gonzalo's Mephistophelian lieutenant, Carbajal; and his advice, which was submission, Gonzalo would not follow. It is curious to contemplate Gasca among the profligate soldiers of Peru, if it were only to observe the instinctive homage which vice pays to virtue. His qualities, like diamonds, derived their value from their rarity. There were enough courageous stabbers and reckless intriguers in the country, there was no lack of gold, and silver, and merchandise, but truth and honesty were scarce and inestimable. The usual laws which regulate supply and demand began to operate. Among a set of liars, and perjurers, and traitors, and murderers, a true, faithful, loyal, and just man, was at once a phenomenon and a priceless treasure. At the same time, he comprehended all Peru in his capacious mind, and he ruled it because he knew all its inhabitants better than they knew themselves. Virtuous himself, all the resources and tricks of vice were more visible to his eye, than if he had mastered them by experience. No plotter, who had passed all his life in intrigue, was so sure in his judgment of rascality, so certain in the means he took to circumvent it. He was one of those wise men who read things in their principles, and he therefore never made mistakes. He saw, as in prophetic vision, the remotest results of all his acts; and accordingly when he had commenced a course of policy he never wavered, never expe-

nenced a doubt of his success, because he knew what must happen from the nature of things. This insight into the principles of events, this settled faith based on the clearest intelligence, is the crowning glory of the genius of action. Gasca, in Peru, evinced a capacity for government which the complex affairs of an empire would not have exhausted.

In order to do full justice to Mr. Prescott's work we should present to our readers some extracts illustrating its excellences of narration and description, but this our limits will not permit. The mind of the author yields itself with a beautiful readiness to the inspiration of his subject, and he leads the reader along with him through every scene of beauty and grandeur in which the stirring adventures he narrates are placed. We would refer the reader to the description of the passage of the Andes, as an evidence of the accuracy with which pictures of scenery may be impressed on the historian's imagination, and, through him, upon the reader's, without the original objects ever having been present to the eye of either. See vol. i, pp. 381–385.

The description of the massacre at Caxamalca is also exceedingly vivid and true, and is probably one of the most splendid passages in Mr. Prescott's works. See vol. i, pp. 414–423.

After this bloody, treacherous, and cowardly massacre, Pizarro addressed his troops before they retired for the night. When he had ascertained that not a man was wounded, "he bade them offer up thanksgivings to Providence for so great a miracle—without its care they could never have prevailed so easily over the host of their enemies; and he trusted their lives had been reserved for still greater things." No invective, though steeped in fire and gall, is calculated to excite so much detestation as this simple statement of the murderer's blasphemous hypocrisy. It is one of those monstrosities of canting guilt, "on which a fiend might make an epigram."

It is curious to observe, in the tangled web of intrigue, treachery, and murder, which meets us in the history of the conquest, how the moral laws which were violated by the conquerors avenged themselves. Murder generated murder, and misery brought forth misery. First, Atahualpa was murdered by a legal farce got up by Almagro and Pizarro; then Almagro was murdered in the same way by Pizarro; Pizarro in his turn was assassinated by the followers of Almagro's son, Diego; and the latter fell in battle with the Spanish authorities under Vaca de Castro. Hernando Pizarro passed the largest portion of his life in a Spanish prison; Juan, the best of the brothers, was killed by the Peruvians; and Gon-

zalo, a man of some generosity and openness of mind, and of a chivalrous temper, after having arrived by rebellion to the supreme command in Peru, was betrayed by his followers and executed as a traitor. In these various feuds, most of the original gang of pirates who conquered the country either fell in battle or were executed on the scaffold; their stolen property passed into the possession of others; and even the few who did not die a violent death were under the control of two masters—gambling and licentiousness—which gave them poverty and disease for wages. As their crimes brought no good to themselves, so, also, they laid Peru under a curse from which she has not yet recovered. The seeds of a new empire can never be sown by the outcasts of an old one; and those who look upon a country with the eyes of a pickpocket, will soon ruin everything in it which nature will allow human folly and wickedness to destroy. The history of the conquest of Peru, as presented in the vivid pages of Mr. Prescott, is capable of conveying many lessons on the retribution which follows conquest and rapine, which late events in our own history show that we have incompletely learned. It would seem that every man of common intelligence and common patriotism would rather see the power of his country palsied, than made the instrument of crime. Such a misuse of strength never has and never can be successful. The poisoned chalice will inevitably be returned to our own lips, for the world is ruled by divine, not demoniacal, agencies. Look at the subject in what light we may, from the view of religion or the view of common sense, we must still admit that we cannot balk or elude those eternal laws of the universe, which deny lasting power to the energies of robbery and the schemes of rapine. The laws of God, in their slow, silent, and terrible operation, will still move tranquilly on, turning all our glory to shame, all our strength to weakness; though we, in the mad exultation of our guilt, turn night into day with our bonfires, and rend the skies with our huzzas.

Art. VI.—*Sacred Harmony; a Collection of Music adapted to the Greatest Variety of Metres now in Use: and, for Special Occasions, a Choice Collection of Sentences, Anthems, Motets, and Chants. Harmonized, and arranged with an Accompaniment for the Organ or Piano Forte,* by Samuel Jackson. With an Improved System of Elementary Instruction. New-York: Lane & Tippett. 1848.

There is no subject within the circle of human science which opens a wider and richer field for discussion and investigation, than that of *music*. All other sciences are the creatures of the intellect—are the result of study, analytical examination, and reflection. Astronomy, geology, mineralogy, architecture, chemistry, &c., are of this description. The human intellect created them, and history takes note of their origin. All these sciences have distinct and exclusive reference to the outward world,—the visible heavens and earth, their *material* relations and phenomena. They never, and can never, transcend the circle of the finite and limited. But *music* belongs not to this category. Before any of the above sciences existed, *it was!* and no history can discover to us its origin. It is clearly not the creature of human study,—the *effect* of scientific investigation, however much these may have aided us in comprehending it. Like the religious sentiment itself, it is allied to the unfathomable *mystery* within us,—to the infinite which is above and around us. In this respect it even takes the precedence of poetry, which has also around it the sacred investiture of mystery: for poetry has never been but a lofty and beautiful, though somewhat *vague*, form of *thought*, a melodious expression of ideas. Read the fragmentary poems of Hesiod, or the hymns of Orpheus, which are among the oldest extant, and we shall find that these venerable poetic pieces are merely *sung philosophy*,—earnest attempts to unravel the marvels of the universe, or explain the science of the world. But music was anterior to all this. It filled the soul of man as a divine sentiment, and lighted up the heart of the rudest savage with a wondrous joy, before science illuminated his intellect, or poetry embellished his thoughts. The following dialogic piece of Boileau, which we have hastily translated into English prose, is a clear expression of our thought.

POETRY.

"Yes, by the fountain's brink, you can with me breathe forth a love-burdened sigh, make Thyrsis moan, and gentle Climenes. But when *I* make gods and heroes speak, your presumptuous harmonies and empty cadence give me but little aid,—leave then thy ambitious care.

MUSIC.

"But *I* possess the art of embellishing the rarest wonders of thy creation; and long ago, to hear my strains, the rocks, and hills, and woods, found ears!

POETRY.

"Ah! sister, this is too much, we must separate.

MUSIC.

"Let it be so. I shall still know how to please and solace man, and my strains, less trameled, will be more sweetly powerful.

POETRY.

"What strange, mysterious power, binds me to this spot, though glad would I remove? What soft, melodious murmurs, float through all these places, and deposit everywhere an infinite sweetness?

MUSIC.

"Ah! sister, it is God's harmony, descending from the heavens!"

Music is, indeed, a divine force or energy sent forth from the eternal throne. It is the most important of sciences, because it is older than any other, and because of the mysterious character of its influence and power. It seizes on our entire soul—it penetrates to the depths of our being, and causes our hearts to swell with emotions of joy or grief, we cannot tell why or how. It speaks not to the head; to the intellect it utters no words—no intelligible ideas or notions of things, like the lecture of the *savan*, or the speech of the orator, and yet it moves us more powerfully and deeply. We speak here a fact of universal experience. All men are conscious of the power of *music*, yet no man can define it. We enter our temples of worship, and listen to the lesson and the sermon. We are enlightened, improved, and comforted. But when the solemn organ-tones roll up clear and loud, and fill the sanctuary of the Most High with divine harmony, then it is that we recognize the presence of the unseen Power, and feel that this is indeed "the house of God and the gate of heaven." As we listen to the joyful anthem, we lose more and more our identity—plunge deeper and deeper into a delicious reverie, until we are completely carried away, floating on a sea of harmony from this outward world, forgetting all its selfishness and sin, its cares and distinctions, its dissensions and its woes. Higher and still higher are we borne, onward and still onward carried, till at length we seem to be marching among the golden stars, or walking the streets of the city of our God!

As *music* touches thus the deepest mystery of our being, and as it is so closely allied to the religious sentiment, it is not strange that it should have been employed in all ages of the world as an

aid to worship. Ages before the Christian era, the music of worship, or sacred music, was studied as an art. It formed an important feature in the ceremonies of all the ancient religions. The temples of Egypt, of Greece and Rome, in the south, and those of Thor and Odin, and the sacred groves of the Druids, in the north, resounded with the solemn song and hymn of praise. And every reader of the sacred writings knows that the Hebrew worship was almost entirely musical and ceremonial until after the first captivity, when the synagogue was established, and the reading of the prophets and the sermon were introduced.

Music formed a part of the Christian worship from the first; yet it is probable that many of the melodies then used were of Grecian or Roman origin, but accompanied with Christian hymns. In the primitive church the singing was sometimes in *solo*, sometimes antiphonal, or in alternate *choruses*, as among the Jews in David's time, and sometimes it was congregational. Pope Gregory the Great, (A. D. 590,) was a great patron of sacred music. The *Gregorian Chant* derives its name from him, and this species of composition was the foundation of all our Christian church music. It has ever been popular in England, where it was early introduced, and also in Germany.

The construction of music in four parts was developed through the use of musical instruments, of which the organ took the first rank in the churches. Figured harmony (*cantus figuratus*) here originated, which, in the fifteenth century, was generally adopted as the method of varying, extending, and embellishing, the several parts assigned to the accompanying voices of a melody; while the chief voices upon which the fundamental melody depended, sung nearly in monotone, (hence it was *cantus firmus canto firmo*, plain chant.) The invention of measured music caused the choral to be performed in more regular time and method, and gave greater facilities to harmonization. Choirs of skillful singers became necessary, and the art made rapid advances thenceforth.

In the Roman and Anglican Churches music has ever held the chief place in the religious exercises, and hence they have always been the unwearied patrons of the science. At first sacred music was simple *melody*, but as the intellectual began to predominate over the sensual, and men began to act more from reflection than impulse, the need of *harmony* began to be felt, and the art became more severely scientific.

There probably never was a time when music, and especially sacred music, was cultivated with more ardor in this country, than at present. Also abroad, Germany, Italy, and England, have, within

the few last years, produced works which are every way worthy the divine art they aim to elucidate. Among the fruits of this laudable zeal with us,—besides a large number of works which are already in general use among our choirs, and which merit for the most part considerable praise,—we have now the pleasure of hailing the advent of a new competitor for public favor;—a new book of Sacred Harmony, which we think peculiarly merits the attention of the musical world. From a careful examination of its contents, we discover abundant proofs that the editor, Mr. Jackson, has brought to this work a fervent and enthusiastic love of the art, experienced judgment, and extensive scientific attainments. We give this work a double welcome, as being the thing particularly needed in our choirs at the present time. We hope to be able to sustain and clearly elucidate this point as we progress.

No subject in this country has occasioned a comparatively greater expenditure of words, ink, time, patience, money,—in truth, of everything but sound sense,—and to so little purpose, as this of "church music." And the sole and simple reason of all this is, the whole subject, with some solitary exceptions, has fallen into unskilled hands. Persons with some love of the art, it is true, but without science, or any considerable insight into the nature of the subject, have undertaken to "promote the cause" in its several departments. And *undertakers*, only, have they proved to it, alas! in too many instances.

We have just said that music touches the shores of the unseen, and deals with the dread verities of eternity. We now say that it is a medium through which we receive much that is noble or exalted. Through it come pure and spiritual impressions, lofty sentiments and thoughts, and a reverence and love of all that is beautiful and lovely. But while its nature is thus profoundly mysterious, like everything else which presents itself to intelligent beings, it must be subject to scientific order, and can only be developed in suitable efficiency and perfection through the operation of fixed laws and definite rules. Persons, therefore, who are unacquainted with these operations, can be of no service in imparting musical knowledge, or in furthering musical effect, however acute may be their latent apprehension of these things. Much has been written and said about "the character of church music," and yet to this day we have no fixed and acknowledged standard among us, to which we may aspire. Few advances have been made toward the realization of that ideal excellence to which all the laws of harmony tend, and the absence of which is painfully and almost universally felt, where such excellence should most abound—

under the shadow of the altars of the most high God! How comes it to pass that music, the heaven-born gift of the infinite Being to his church, has been suffered to play the harlot in the highways and among the hedges of the profane world; to be decked with all costliness by their hands for their uses; but to return in rags and ignominy to minister in the presence and service of Him who gave it? She has been driven from the sacred retreats of her home, and lingers, half-divested of her divineness, in our theatres, or revels in wantonness in the opera. We have observed that the reason of this, is the giving of the concerns of our church music into *unscientific* hands. This has arisen through parsimonious considerations growing out of a narrow view of the importance of the subject. In David's time the "chief musician" was found in the church, under royal patronage; and we hope to see the day when the church throughout this land shall be seen offering unto God the first and best fruits of all our increase in this divine art.

Much of the music of the church in this country is burdened with serious imperfections, arising from two causes. First, the nature or *construction* of the music performed; and, second, the manner of its execution, or performance.

As the latter is intimately associated with the former, we shall not dwell upon it, but confine our attention, as is more consistent with our present object, to what we regard as the chief and *radical* cause.

Any one will see that it is absolutely essential that musical compositions designed for the holy offices of the church, should have a distinct and peculiar character. The musical performances of the opera, or stage, or the airs associated with licentious songs, would be as much out of place in the tabernacles of the Eternal, as the blasphemous orgies of hell in the courts of heaven. It is clear that sacred music should be as far removed from any style which produces, so to speak, *secular* emotions, as earth is from heaven; or, as the solemnity and awe of a worshiping congregation are removed from the selfish eagerness of the market-place; or, as the holy, calm, and pure joy of the Christian, is removed from the delirious pleasures and excitements of the carousal. It must have a peculiar and fitting character, suited only to purposes of devotion. It should be capable to embody and express clearly, in its mysterious tones, the whole experience of the Christian; nay, the whole experience of the human soul. The wail of the remorseful, the supplication of the contrite and penitent, and the exceeding peace and lofty repose of the triumphant Christian, should be heard in its solemn cadences. But the passions, which in secular music

are permitted to run wild in fierce riot, should, in the music of the sanctuary, appear chastened as by reverential awe, and inspired as with holy hope.

Ballad tunes, which may have been introduced into portions of the church through necessity,—there being a want of genuine and appropriate compositions adapted to the metre,—must be rejected as entirely unsuitable, through their general style and associations, to the great and solemn uses of worship. In private, before the home altars, it may be expedient to reclaim and use these, but not in the congregation. Psalmody whose harmony is elaborated with a profusion of *dissonances* and *diminished intervals*, is utterly unfitted for congregational purposes. It is impracticable for use; and besides, the effect thus produced, in most cases, is inconsistent with that simple grandeur and majesty of style which are befitting the exercises of public worship. On the other hand, those meagre and paltry productions,—the offspring of amateur professors,—whose prominent quality is a kind of *juvenile* simplicity, and which (with shame be it said) are much in vogue among many of our congregations at the present day, should be discarded as utterly inadequate to the dignity and purposes of the office they aspire to. The performance of such "stuff," for *music* 'twere libelous to call it, is an evil, the magnitude of which can only be truly measured by the degree of susceptibility of any congregation to good or evil impressions, or by the capacity of the soul for suffering. Their utter impotency in themselves of exciting any emotion, save, perhaps, that of disgust, is sufficient evidence that they are not the suitable medium through which the praises of a worshiping assembly should be addressed to the Majesty of heaven. So far from lending aid to the noble sentiments of the poetry, and bearing upward the soul of the worshiper as by a "chariot of fire and horses of fire," they rather serve as but the coffin which receives and entombs those utterances as they fall lifeless from his lips.

Many times have our religious sensibilities been shocked, and our heart pained, by the performance of profane and inappropriate melodies in the house of God. We have more than once heard in the place of prayer the very same airs which resound through the halls of revelry and the chambers of licentiousness. And will it be supposed that the young Christian, just rescued from the worship and love of the world and pleasure, can be improved and advanced on his way to heaven by these light and sensual melodies?—melodies which necessarily remind him of the excitements of the theatre or other scenes of dissipation!

It is the performance of these various and inappropriate styles of composition which has unsettled and debased the taste of our congregations, and destroyed that *unity* of effect so desirable in all sacred services.

The evil of which we here complain, will not be considered an unimportant or imaginary one by any who appreciate a lofty musical standard, and are conscious of the intimate relation that exists between music and our religious sentiments. Take music from our churches, banish it from our altars, divorce it from our religious ceremonies,—it would be like robbing the soul of its wings,—like sweeping the sun from the heavens,—we should feel the absence of it in the profoundest depths of our hearts. As an aid to devotion, appropriate music is invaluable. It is also an aid to faith, and revivifies our drowsy sensibilities. In some mysterious manner it reveals to us, dimly and vaguely it may be, a vision of the glory from which we have fallen, and of that perfection to which, assisted by divine grace, we may attain.

We always judge of the merits of musical, as of other compositions, by their power to elevate the soul, and to stir up deep and strong emotions. In this aspect, and in view of all we have previously said in this paper, the *work* under consideration gives many evidences of excellence and superiority. The editor has ever kept his eye on acknowledged standards, and appears never to have lost sight of this purpose through the entire and vast variety of compositions which he presents to us in this work. He abjures those innovations and vulgar eccentricities which shallow science and distorted taste have rendered somewhat fashionable, to the manifest injury of devotion and the decline of a pure standard. The hymn tunes in this work are generally rendered in *equal time*,—showing a delicate appreciation of an important element of ecclesiastical effect, so often marred by the *run-and-jump* rhythm of those triple and compound movements with which too many of the tune-books of our choirs are so abundantly supplied. Common sense and the best authorities concur in the decision that *equal time* is the measure best adapted for psalmody designed for the use of the congregation. To make our idea more generally intelligible, we will take, for instance, the tune of Old Hundred, which, by its popularity and extensive use in the church through many successive ages, is proved to be singularly well adapted to the sacred purposes of public worship. The reader, if he will take the trouble to analyze the peculiarities of this tune, will find that its exceeding charm, and its adaptedness to almost every psalm and hymn, lies in the simple and unembarrassed majesty of its

style;—which, heard even out of the church, and in those places where men are the most immersed in the business and pleasures of the world, is capable of filling the heart with an overpowering solemnity, and of awakening the dread sentiment of responsibility to high Heaven. It has no eccentricities, no startling points, yet it penetrates the deepest recesses of the heart, and envelops the soul in an atmosphere of celestial melody! Now let the reader sing this venerable tune in triple time,—making every other note twice as long as the preceding one,—and he will apprehend our meaning, and perceive the serious mischief which such an apportionment of time would introduce into this composition, entirely destroying the effect above described.

The varied quality, compass, and pitch of the human voice, evidently indicate that God designs that he should be worshiped with *harmony*, and not with melody alone, in the great congregation. And, also, that one individual shall exercise as many notes of his peculiar scale or compass of voice, as another, in the glad chorus. The meager harmonization and blundering counterpoint of many tunes which are employed in the worship of the congregation, exclude the possibility of this design ever being realized, so long as they are the adopted medium of praise. They compel, too often, the voices which accompany the principal melody to pipe on in a wearisome and impotent monotone, or else they carry them without their appropriate sphere and compass, and thus at once defraud both singer and people of their efficient and legitimate service. The science of the editor of the "Sacred Harmony" has provided against these evils by the judicious and effective distribution of his harmony, and the rich and varied *motion* he has given to the several parts.

Music, as we have before hinted, has in this department of the science been gradually approximating perfection. The age in which we live is enlightened and critical, and we everywhere see efforts making to approach a lofty and intellectual style. In the history of church music, as in everything else which regards the nature of *progress*, it has happened that, first, the heart, the affections, and sentiment, came and bowed at the foot of the cross and before the altars of Christ, and then the intellect followed and sat with docility and submission in the holy place. So at first, simple melody, expressing sentiment and feeling, resounded in our churches, and in its passionate tones the sentiments of hope, and love, and faith, found a voice. But to-day, in our exercises of worship the utterance of feeling is not enough. The intellect, thought, demands a voice, and wishes to be heard in the solemn chant—

demands in the form of music to do honor to our holy faith, to increase the ardor of devotion, and to contribute something to the life of the soul. Our author has evidently had this in view in the preparation of the work before us; and we are convinced that, in this respect also, this work—both in its melodies and its harmonies, in its voice of sentiment and feeling, and in its musical utterance of thought, of ideas—will be found to be all that is desired.

In all sacred pieces, the music intended as a medium of approach to the "high and holy One," or as an expression of the calm, intelligent, and tranquil joy of the Christian, the composer should remember that "God will have mercy and not sacrifice." Oppressed with the weight of infinitude and eternity, and penetrated with a sense of those fearful responsibilities which reach away through the unending future, he will seek a subdued and thoughtful style—such a style, in a word, as he would think proper in such a frame of mind and feeling to address to the ear of the Almighty.

The best models of *counterpoint* have evidently been adhered to in this work. The parts are suitably distributed, and the singer is never tortured by having a note assigned him which he cannot reach, and which is not within the province of his part. In this respect the work is deserving no little praise, and is decidedly superior to most of the tune-books now in use. The work is supplied with an organ accompaniment, in which the parts are written in their proper place. This is one of its crowning excellences, and one which will be readily appreciated by organists—especially those who are unacquainted with *figured* harmony. By inducing a proper manner of taking the harmony, it will greatly contribute to a pure and efficient style of organ playing, wherever the work under review is introduced. When it is considered how much the organ is capable of contributing to the majesty and power of sacred music, this remark will not be thought unimportant.

No instrument was ever invented, or, indeed, can be devised, more appropriate to the solemn offices of the sanctuary, than the organ. The compass of its voice seems to be almost infinite. With wondrous fullness it expresses every emotion, feeling, sentiment, and passion, of the human heart. In its mysterious tones the profoundest affections of the soul find a voice; but when it is touched by profane and unskilled hands, no irreverent word from the lips of the preacher could be more painfully and readily realized in its inconsistency and effect upon the hearers,

than are the short-comings of this noble instrument in its high and holy mission. But let it be played by a well-disciplined performer —by one who knows how to control its mighty and infinitely varied voice, and each pious worshiper will ever welcome its heavenly tones with inexpressible joy. So adapted is the organ to the sacred and sublime purposes to which it has ever been consecrated. How well has Herder, the gifted German poet, described the wonderful capacity of this instrument to the purposes of religion, in the following words :—

"From lightest shepherd's reed the strain ascends
To tymbal's thunder, and the awakening trump
Of judgment! Graves are opening! Hark! the dead
Are stirring!

"How the tones hang hovering now
On all creation's mighty outspread wings,
Expectant, and the breezes murmur! Hark!
Jehovah comes! He comes! His thunder speaks!

"In the soft-breathing, animated tones
Of human words, speaks the All-merciful!
At length the trembling heart responds to him;
Till now, all voices and all souls at once
Ascend to heaven; upon the clouds repose,—
One hallelujah! Bow, bow down in prayer!"

We doubt whether there are any Christians who are really conscious of the amount of their indebtedness to music; but its influence for this reason is no less effective nor less powerful. As the breath of summer infuses warmth and animation through our frame, although we think not of it,—as the perfumed air of spring impregnates our garments with the sweet fragrance gathered from innumerable flowers, while we are unconscious of it, so the music of the house of God imparts to us the elements of immortal life, and breathes into our souls a peace that the world cannot give nor take away.

In the employment of music as the agent of her power, and a means of regeneration and spiritual growth, the church has acted advisedly. Nay, we think she has acted by divine direction. No sinner is entirely lost, no heart is entirely obdurate, if there yet remain a susceptibility to the charms of music. With a redeeming grace it penetrates the stricken heart, and soothes and comforts the suffering spirit, by reviving the sentiment of piety, and creating a deeper sense of the imminent and universal presence of the Almighty. Touching, as it does, the deepest mystery in man and the

universe, calling up out of the hidden depths of eternity, it seems to be a distant and feeble echo of that everlasting hymn, that mighty chorus, which ever and ever swells around the eternal throne. There is no science which possesses such power to stir up deep and strong emotion as this. And if there be a man who is unconscious of the elevating influence of sacred music; who feels no emotion, no enthusiasm; whose heart does not swell and throb with mysterious joy as he listens to the solemn chant and the sacred song; he is an object of the profoundest pity. All that is divine within him is dead. His soul is withered. Extinguish the beams of the sun, quench the light of the loving stars, and those rayless orbs, plunged into the fathomless bosom of endless night, would be fitting types of such dark and desolate souls! It has been somewhere said, "He is not wholly lost who still loves music;—the desire of moral, may grow out of natural, harmony. Nor is one utterly unhappy who remains susceptible to its power, —yielding it leave to do what it is well able to do,—to correct suffering with a superior satisfaction and peace, and misfortune with the sense of a perfection that passeth not away."

Art. VII.—*The Philosophy of Christian Perfection: embracing a Psychological Statement of some of the Principles of Christianity on which the Doctrine rests: together with a Practical Examination of the Peculiar Views of several Recent Writers on this Subject.* Philadelphia: Sorin & Ball. 1848.

We regard this work as an appeal to philosophy to supply the defects of revelation. In his Introduction the author says,—

"Most of those who have written out their experience have used the technical language of their several sects, so that this experience often appears discrepant, and sometimes contradictory; and even when they have employed the language of Scripture, if we refer to the comments of sectarian writers, we find ourselves equally unable to ascertain the meaning of the terms they have chosen to use. So important a part of the experience of the Christian ought, doubtless, to find an adequate expression in the well-defined terms of psychological science."

Again, referring to Dr. Peck and President Mahan, he says,—

"When the one tells us that perfection 'implies simply loving God with all the heart;' and the other, 'that he looks to the very God of peace to sanctify him wholly, and preserve his whole spirit, and soul,

and body, blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ,' though they place before the mind an attainment possessing high moral attractions, there is an indefiniteness in the view," &c.—P. 10.

And again,–

"In the treatise upon which we now enter, we propose to interrogate our psychology, that we may see whether science, as the handmaid of revelation, can be made to aid in giving us any clearer views of the moral constitution of man, or any more definite ideas of the moral perfections made attainable by him, . . . to render intelligible, to all who are acquainted with the modern terms of metaphysical science, the great system of Bible truth. . . . The disuse, therefore, of all technical language, even though it may be the language of Scripture, so far as it has been employed in different senses, will not be deemed affectation."—Pp. 8, 9, 11.

The opinion of this writer, therefore, clearly is, that while the Bible teaches the truth in relation to Christian perfection, its mode of teaching is defective, or, at least, that we shall find a more explicit and philosophical mode of "expression in the well-defined terms of psychological science." The question raised by this position is a question of fact, which should be carefully considered. In Germany it would scarcely excite attention; for there Rationalism is allowed the right to improve at discretion, and even supersede, the teachings of revelation. But in America any attempts at such license will be received with suspicion; and our author undoubtedly felt that he was assuming a position which would subject him to the severest criticism. We differ from him entirely upon this question of fact, and for the following reasons:—

1. The Bible is the language of infinite Wisdom. Both as it regards the doctrines taught, and the mode of teaching, we here have "the mind of the Spirit." Who would wish, even in the most indirect manner, to intimate that such judgment could be erroneous? that "the words which the Holy Ghost teacheth" would be less definite and less perfectly adapted to communicate the truth than the phraseology of mere uninspired men? From such a responsibility it would seem any man should desire to be saved; and yet what can be plainer than this implication in the very starting point of our author? Indeed, the existence of the book originated from it; for had he believed that the Scriptures held the plainest, truest, and most appropriate language of which this subject admits, he would not have sought improvement in the style of philosophy, much less would he have formally discarded the technical language of Scripture, and consulted "psychology" to ascertain the nature, extent, and obligations of Christian perfec-

tion. But to our minds, if there were no other reasons for believing the teachings of the Scriptures more reliable than those of psychology, the fact of their divine origin would be sufficient. How could the omniscient God have failed to know what were the wants of the minds to be instructed, and the best mode of accomplishing the object? Can we admit for a moment that, for the honor and success of his doctrines, he made himself dependent upon the improvements and fidelity of future metaphysicians? The thing is impossible.

2. The "terms of metaphysical science" are not "well-defined," in the high sense claimed by this author. Upon the contrary, we affirm that no department of science presents more difficulties to the success of conventional agreement than this. In support of this we have only to appeal to the general sense of men, to the history of philosophy, and to the nature of mental phenomena.

In no branch of study have men in general so little confidence. They have not the power of analysis which a correct appreciation of its true progress requires. They are not able to distinguish truth from hypothesis, and hence the general tendency to condemn the whole. They believe and assert that no safe reliance can be placed upon the terms which metaphysicians use, and there certainly can be no way of accounting for this general feeling of indefiniteness without allowing that there are some grounds for it. We cannot avoid remarking here how very improbable it is that a doctrine, in which the whole world is so deeply interested, should be allowed by infinite Wisdom to rest upon a science for its development, which is scarcely two hundred years old, and which is so illy adapted to convince the understanding and command the faith of the multitude.

But do the most sagacious critics succeed in establishing the nomenclature of mental science so as to make it a safe basis of theological investigations? Who does not know that almost every age since its origin has had its school of philosophy differing so widely and essentially from every other as to unsettle the very foundations of the science? To which of these will our author send us for the "well-defined terms" so perfectly adapted to teach the true doctrine of Christian perfection, and unite all theologians who have thus far been destitute of a terminology sufficiently unequivocal to settle the controversy? To the English, the Scotch, the French, or the German school? America has no philosophy. And this is not because she has adopted as satisfactory any of the foreign systems, but because she is thoroughly dissatisfied with

the whole of them, and has not yet age and independence enough to construct a system for herself. Individuals of more or less merit have entered upon a sort of eclecticism which has transported different parts of diverse systems, and thus they have laudably endeavored to give direction to the philosophic spirit in this growing country; but it is easy to see that they have taken on a cast of sensualism, common sense, skepticism, or mysticism, just as they have leaned more or less to the different schools of Europe. Again, we inquire what author or class of authors shall give law to theology upon this or any other point in dispute? Does not this writer very well know that the moment he should declare his election, he would compromise himself with the numbers who incline to other and conflicting theories? Truth there unquestionably is in metaphysical philosophy—profound, splendid truth. Much of it has been developed by the numerous, elaborate investigations which have been going on for some two centuries. But who, before our author, has ever intimated that it has been reduced to sufficient system and certainty to give it the rank of law and umpire in theological controversy?

This indefiniteness is in the nature of the subject. Mind cannot be studied like matter, by means of perception. It cannot be thrown into the crucible and chemically analyzed; it cannot be illustrated by apparatus, and made intelligible to the most ordinary capacity. Its different states are so spiritual and fugitive that the most profound attention and sagacity can with difficulty detect its hidden laws, and approximate the true knowledge of their complicated relations. It is not, therefore, a matter of surprise that so little progress has been made, and so little agreement produced, but rather a reason for gratitude that so much has been accomplished. The more difficult the acquisitions the more valuable they are, and the greater the reason for long-continued and far-reaching investigation. Effort must succeed effort *ad infinitum;* but let us never be enticed to believe that our favorite science has at any period of its progress become so settled and universal as to govern the investigation of practical doctrine, upon which the salvation of our souls depends.

3. History is against the view which this writer takes of the rank of science in this relation. The primitive church was safe so long as she preserved her strict reliance upon "*the word*" for her doctrines and her instructions. Departure from this standard, and attempts to improve revelation by philosophy and tradition, produced Romanism. The Reformation was an appeal from "philosophy" to the Bible, and it succeeded. The Wesleyan

movement was *from* the teachings of men, and *to* revelation. In Germany, an appeal to "philosophy" has interrupted evangelism, and left the church bleeding at every pore. Nothing but a return to *the record* can save her from destruction. Methodism has been thus far eminently *a religion of one book*. This is a first effort to introduce into her literature the philosophical spirit as a test of truth in controversy; and we must say we devoutly hope it will be the last. We deprecate the day when our Christian sentiments shall be accountable at the bar of any man's philosophy. Why will men persist in this inverted order? Why will they not bring all their philosophy to the test of revelation, instead of attempting to guide revealed truth by the uncertain rules and forms of philosophy? Has not the church in every age prospered in its great work of purifying and saving men just in proportion as she has adhered to the Bible in her teachings? And has not a resort to mere human philosophy always crippled her energies, and reduced her to the rank of a worldly establishment? Well, indeed, will it be for us if we profit by the experience of the past, and guard with sufficient care every avenue to the heart of our system against the obtrusive Rationalism of the times.

4. We shall be able to show that this reliance of our author has failed him, and that his effort to develop psychologically the true doctrine of Christian perfection has misled him just so far as he has depended upon it. And, moreover, that it is more in appearance than in fact that his book is entitled to be called "The Philosophy of Christian Perfection." If we succeed in this, it will go far toward settling the question of fact; for if psychology does not lead the writer to the truth in this matter, it can hardly be claimed as a defining science, superior to all others, in the controversy.

By a careful perusal of the book it will appear that the writer has first formed a speculative opinion in regard to the nature of Christian perfection, and that his whole discussion is strictly conformed to this opinion. It will be found thus clearly expressed:—

"The moral elevation provided for him (man) by the atonement of Jesus Christ is nothing less than *an entire restoration to his original state of perfection*. . . . Renewed, it is to be observed, in *the same image* in which Adam was created, embracing even the knowledge essential to a moral perfection."—P. 51.

How he reached this opinion we may not be able to ascertain. We presume his starting point was not revelation, but psychology. He may have commenced with the unchangeable identity and indestructibility of mind, and hence inferred that man is now essentially the same being that he was designed to be at the first, and

that he always was; that he only needed morally regulating to restore him to his pristine state; and, hence, that we have at the present day, living and walking among us, men as perfect as Adam was when he came from the hand of his Creator, and as many such as there are sanctified Christians.

It would certainly seem, at first view, that our author thus erects a very high standard of Christian perfection, so much so as to dishearten most, if not all, who may attempt to judge of themselves by it. For it is presumed that if the best man upon earth were to ask himself the question, Had God produced me immediately by creative power, would I have been exactly what I now am? he would answer, No. He would be humbled in the dust by the certain conviction that physically, intellectually, and morally, he is but the mere wreck of what human body and mind once were, and that every moment of his gracious acceptance must be for other reasons than any now existing in himself.

But this undue elevation of the standard of perfection is only apparent with our author. Indeed, it will be found, upon examination, that he has lowered instead of raising the standard. He had sagacity enough to see that this fancied perfection existed nowhere upon earth: that admitting the ordinary estimate of Adamic perfection, either his theory was false, or the gospel was a failure. Neither of these alternatives would answer his purpose, and hence nothing remained but to lower the standard to the fact. This Adamic perfection must be made out to be nothing more than what was common to sanctified men, and must be rendered consistent with their undeniable weaknesses, errors, and mistakes. Our readers shall now see how the writer proceeds to accomplish the task which he had thus imposed upon himself:—

"What we may call the essential perfection of our first parents in paradise could not, however, have been in any important sense a *physical* perfection. We cannot for a moment suppose that there is any merely material, physical sense, in which they could be said to be created in the 'likeness' and 'image' of God. It would, however, be aside from our purpose to attempt to ascertain with precision the limits of their physical powers. Limits these powers must have had, even in Adam, who was produced in a state of maturity, directly by the power of his Creator, unless their possessor had been invested with omnipotence. We are not aware that anybody supposes this, and hence, instead of attaching to Adam any undefined or illimitable degree of physical excellence, we cannot but conclude that all his physical powers were limited, and, at least in this sense, imperfect."—P. 23.

"Nor was the essential perfection of our first parents a *mental* perfection. Adam was created directly by God; and, of course, received mental endowments exactly equal to the office he was to fill, and the

duties he was to perform. He was to give names to all the objects of nature; and was to be an example to all who should rise up around him, of the judicious exercise of the 'dominion which God intended to give him 'over all the earth,' and 'over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.' That he should be furnished with mental capacities beyond what was intended for his sons, is, therefore, no more wonderful than that God has, from time to time, in the history of the world, endowed particular men with extraordinary powers for the accomplishment of his great purposes. We have no evidence that Eve, who was his equal in all the essential elements of perfection, had any very extraordinary mental endowments. The *deception* by which she was led to sin would rather indicate a want of great intellectual acuteness, and that even on a question of morals."—Pp. 24, 25.

"But if, as we have concluded, the 'likeness' and 'image of God,' in which our first parents were created, was irrespective of intellectual power, consisting only in 'righteousness and true holiness,' and embracing only the 'knowledge' requisite to the correct perception of moral truth,—then all is plain."

"Those, therefore, who elevate their conceptions of a perfect human nature so high as to divest it of human appetites and of human affections, and to free it from the liability of error in judging and acting, do it without any warrant from Scripture, or support from sound reason."—Pp. 25, 26.

"Even they, [our first parents,] as we have seen, must have been imperfect in many important respects."—P. 123.

"We can conceive of no other perfection than such a moral perfection as we have here defined, suited to a being of limited powers. And again, this view, to our mind, furnishes the only true basis for growth in human perfection. Adam's younger son would have been as essentially perfect as his father; and yet, with every development of mental power, and with every acquisition of knowledge, he might, as did the infant Jesus, have grown in 'favor with God' as well as 'with man.' These seem to be the replies which psychological science gives to our interrogatories touching this matter."—Pp. 26, 27.

We must here express our surprise that a man of philosophical discrimination should claim the above as a psychological argument. Let the reader carefully examine these extracts and then turn to the book, if he has it, and see if he can find a place in which certain well-defined and settled metaphysical truths are stated, and then these conclusions logically deduced from them; or where we are shown the reasons of these results in any mental power or phenomenon whatever! The fact is, there is no such thing in the text, and this is not the last time our readers are destined to meet with this surprise.

But the point of special interest is the true bearing of these arguments upon the leading object of the writer, namely, the practicability of Adamic perfection. Has he succeeded in the attempt

to bring down this primeval standard to the highest attainable excellence under the gospel dispensation? He denies to Adam "physical perfection,"—and upon what grounds? Why, merely because his physical powers were limited in extent: because he was not omnipotent. And for the same reason he denies him "mental perfection." But he claims for him "moral perfection," merely upon the strength of the negative argument. As much as to say he had some kind of perfection, but it was not "physical" nor "mental," therefore it must have been "moral." But ought he not, as a philosopher, to be aware that in denying him mental, he had denied him moral, perfection also? What is to be the seat of this moral perfection, if not mind? He must refer to the perfection of *powers* alone, for he will not allow that moral imperfection is anything but the derangement of the powers of mind. And would he not admit that these moral powers were imperfect in the same sense with the "physical" and "mental," that is, limited in extent? He certainly must do so, and hence he has furnished the means of destruction to his own fabric.

It will be admitted strange, that this gentleman did not correct his errors at this point, by availing himself of the palpable distinction between perfection in character and perfection in extent. But for the influence of his speculative opinion, and the evident impossibility of proving our imperfections upon Adam in any other way, he certainly must have done so. We claim perfection in kind for Adam, physical and mental; and in mental we include moral perfection. The proof is in the nature of God and in revelation. A being of unlimited power, wisdom, and goodness, made a human body and breathed into it a living soul. Were there any defects in the workmanship of such an Architect? Surely not. In every particular it must have been perfect. Not only was the body in every organ and tissue complete, but every function was true to the design of the great Intelligence that formed it. The mind, in its power to know, and think, and feel, and will, met its precise design. It had the capability of moral distinctions, of moral impulsions, and moral retributions, without a defect. God had exerted his holy power to produce such capabilities, and he must have succeeded. No corruptions weakened or defiled this pure moral nature, no fell disease preyed upon his body. "Good," all good, "very good." Now, can this author question this? And can he claim any such perfection for any man now living? Let it be marked that perfection in extent is not the question. This is not predicable of any finite being. However earnestly it may have been argued in this "Philosophy," it is not, and cannot be, *a question.*

But another attempt to accommodate this speculative opinion is found in his discussion of the subject of "temptation." His views upon this point are thus defined:—

"Where, then, shall we find the element in question? [Demand for resistance.] It is, doubtless, to be found (in such a temptation as we are considering) *in the conscious tendency of the appetite to seek its gratification in the forbidden object.*"

"The appetite being but a modification of *desire*, the same element may be found in any temptation to evil; and its general designation would be *a conscious tendency of some of the desires to seek gratification in a forbidden object.*"—P. 19.

Here is the doctrine plainly avowed that the desire to yield to a solicitation to evil is essential to temptation. It is hence claimed that such desire may exist in the mind of an entirely sanctified Christian, and indicate no sin or need of atonement, if the will decide against it. This is the standard for a holy man under the Christian scheme; and, of course, as our author has undertaken to assert the identity of perfection before and after the fall, he must show that our first parents were capable of a "desire to seek gratification in a forbidden object" while they retained their original purity, and that the fall occurred only when this desire obtained the consent of the will. The writer shall speak for himself:—

"Suppose that Eve, as she walks through the garden, has her attention attracted by the forbidden tree; and, perceiving 'that it was pleasant to the eyes,' pauses to admire the beauty of its foliage and of the rich fruit which hangs from its boughs, till she is diverted by the melody proceeding from some neighboring bower, or by the approach of her companion in bliss, or some heavenly visitant. Here the forbidden tree has been contemplated with *emotions* of beauty, and yet they have furnished no occasion for resistance. There was nothing as yet to resist; since, undoubtedly, it was among the most beautiful trees of the garden, and was one of the works of God which she had not been prohibited from looking upon, but only from tasting. Suppose, again, that her attention is attracted by the beauties of this tree, as she is admiring all the works of its Creator, and she tarries beneath its shade till hunger begins to steal upon her; when her mind turns to the clusters of which she has often eaten, and she seeks her sole companion, and with him sits down to the rich provision afforded by the other trees of the garden. 'The woman saw that the tree was good for food.' We may even suppose then, in this case, that the forbidden fruit is the immediate occasion of thus exciting the *appetite;* and yet there is furnished no occasion for resistance, since the appetite here seeks its gratification only in allowable objects. The most that from the nature of the case could be even here suggested, would be the idea of *possible* danger; in which case her pure nature might have shrunk from the further contemplation of the tempting object, or have put itself

into an attitude of repellency or defense. And even this supposed idea of possible danger must have had its origin solely in the original admonition, and not in her experience, unless she had already received some other evidence than we have as yet supposed of the seducing influence of the forbidden tree.

"But suppose, again, that she has had such experience of its seducing power; and, as the consequence of this, that the beauty of the forbidden tree has become abhorrent to her moral sensibilities, so that she looks upon its attractions only with loathing. Here, again, there is no occasion for resistance; all she has to do is to yield to the feelings of repulsion which she instinctively has.

"In tracing this chain we must, then, somewhere have omitted a link. We have as yet found no demand for resistance; consequently, no temptation—at least, no *such* temptation as could naturally lead to actual transgression. We have not even seen any natural origin of such a sense of danger, as could produce the abhorrence and loathing we have in this last case supposed."—Pp. 17–19.

We have seen how this link is supplied. It is "the conscious tendency to seek its gratification in the forbidden object." Now, with all deference to the talents of this author, we must say that this whole "theory of temptation" is one of the most perfect specimens of learned nonsense we have ever seen. What are the facts to be accounted for? Why, simply, how a holy being entirely disposed to do right should be *tempted* to do wrong; and how such a being can become a sinner. How should a boy tempt another to become a truant? Ask him, certainly, and perhaps urge him; but if he does not wish to go, he is not tempted! If he does not resist *himself*, he has nothing to resist. His decided and persevering resistance to his tempter was no resistance at all, because he did not wish to disobey his father! The devil tempts a man in the sense of solicitation to evil. The man feels no inclination to comply. His pure spirit shrinks with horror from the very idea of sin, and he refuses faithfully and perseveringly; but this, says our author, is no "temptation," because the man had no "conscious desire to seek his gratification in forbidden objects." There was nothing to resist because he had not himself to resist! What an unaccountable error then in the divine command, "Resist the devil and he will flee from you." It should have been, "Resist yourself when the devil approaches, for if you are tempted you will certainly have a conscious desire to yield, and this desire is the only thing that can call for resistance!" If it is the legitimate effect of metaphysical speculations in theology thus to mystify a perfectly plain subject, we are sure no one would wish to submit to their guidance. We will only add, that if this theory is true at all, it is universally true. If a desire of gratification in the forbidden object is essen-

ual to any temptation, it is essential to all; and will our author acknowledge that every time he has been tempted by the devil he has felt a sensible inclination to yield? And when he has felt this desire, has he had no condemnation for it? no need, on this account, of pardon and purification through the blood of Christ? If so, we are verily sure that his experience differs materially from that of other good men. But we believe no such thing of him. We have no doubt but, times without number, he has been conscious of temptations to forbidden objects, when the first and instinctive impulses of his soul were utter aversion to the suggested sin. And if, upon careful observation, he discovers an inclination to compliance, we have no doubt he flies to the blood that cleanseth from sin; for so it often happens that practically good men are better than their theories.

But let us attend to the second question. How can a being perfectly holy become a sinner? Admitting, at the outset, that this question is not necessarily a theological question; that a revelation of the fact, without the philosophy of the fact, is sufficient for the purposes of faith; we think it right to suggest a different answer from that furnished by the book we are reviewing.

We start with the proposition, that an impure desire, or, what we deem the same thing, "a conscious tendency to seek gratification in a forbidden object," is impossible to a perfectly pure mind. Observe, we do not say that such a mind may not receive a wrong bias from without—that evil thoughts and wrong tendencies may not be produced in it by the power of Satanic influence. This is not the question. But when evil suggestions are made wholly by foreign agency, do they find any response, any corresponding feeling, passion, or desire, in a spirit thus entirely holy? To answer, Yes, is to be guilty of the logical absurdity of claiming in the conclusion something not in the premises—of asserting elements in the stream not in the fountain. The mind's phenomena—its thoughts, feelings, and volitions—are nothing but the mind in a certain state. In no one of them can you have anything but the mind—the mind exactly as it is. If, therefore, you have a perfectly pure mind, you certainly must in every case have pure mental states. This argument must, so far as we can see, be decisive against the theory of our author. His assertion that such an inward desire, so corresponding with an outward seduction to evil, is perfectly pure, does not relieve *his view*, though it strengthens *ours*, for by this a new issue is raised. Is a desire to do a thing recognized as wrong, sinful, or impure, an impure desire? is entirely a separate question from the origin of sin; and to state

it, is to secure an affirmative answer from every unbiased mind. But it is enough for the purposes of our argument to have established our original proposition, that *an impure desire is impossible to a perfectly pure mind.* Our philosophic author ought to see that however far he follows the motions, feelings, or desires of this sinless mind, so long as he claims innocence or purity for them, he has done nothing toward accounting for the fall. The gulf is just as wide between purity and impurity as ever, and hence his theory has not the slightest tendency to settle the questions which it raises. A philosophic mind can certainly see no nearer approximation to sin in one state of holiness than in another.

We are now prepared to inquire directly into the origin of evil in the case of Eve. And we cannot allow that she had any desire to seek gratification in the forbidden object because it was forbidden. In other words, from the premises established, she could have had no desire to sin. She desired to eat of it for other reasons, which desire had nothing of the nature of rebellion in it. Read the sacred narrative:—"Now the serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made. And he said unto the woman, Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden? And the woman said unto the serpent, We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden: but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die. And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die: for God doth know, that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened; and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil. And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat; and gave also unto her husband with her, and he did eat."

Here notice,—1. The command was intelligible and positive. 2. The penalty was distinctly revealed, and most fearful in its nature. 3. Faith in what God had said, so long as it continued, preserved our first parents in their integrity. 4. The tempter was one of arch sagacity. 5. His first and great effort was to induce unbelief in what God had threatened, and in this he succeeded. 6. The desire of Eve was based upon a sensation and two speculative opinions, in the origin of which Satanic agency was doubtless largely influential. These were, "that the tree was pleasant to the eyes;" "that it was good for food;" "and a tree to be desired to make one wise." These, and these alone, were the reasons of the desire, and the wish to sin against God was not among

them. 7. The only thing that was necessary to lead to the act, namely, to induce the belief that she could do it *safely*, and even with profitable results, having been accomplished, she ate the fruit, and her husband also. 8. The word of God, not the word of the devil, proved true, "the eyes of them both were opened." God's displeasure fell upon them—they began instantly to feel the penalty, "Dying ye shall die." 9. Hence, it is clear that *temptation from the devil, and unbelief in the agent, originated the first sin, which was "a transgression of the law."* Can anything be clearer which depends upon rational inference from revealed premises? And if it be inquired, Where was the demand for resistance previous to the origin of desire? we answer, Just where the temptation of the devil commenced. Had she resisted the devil sufficiently, she never would have had occasion to resist herself; and had she continued steadfastly to believe God during the trial, she never would have felt the desire to sin which followed it.

Our duty requires the application of these principles to the case of sanctified persons under the gospel dispensation. They "being made free from sin, and become servants to God, have their fruit unto holiness, and the end," if faithful, "everlasting life." While the remains of carnal nature were within them, they originated wrong desires and passions: "The roots of bitterness springing up troubled them." Their enemies were not only "the world," and "the devil," but "the flesh" also. But "the blood of Jesus" has "cleansed them from all sin;" hence this enemy, called the flesh, is not merely conquered, as before, but destroyed—removed, according to the gracious promise: "I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean from all your filthiness, and from all your idols will I cleanse you."

Now the desire of sin cannot arise from within: "The good man, out of the good treasure of his heart, bringeth forth good things." The devil sometimes assaults him with great violence, and sometimes approaches him as "an angel of light;" but in all these conflicts *he* is on the Lord's side. Once he had himself also to fight; his most grievous enemy was "the flesh;" his greatest danger in engaging the world and the devil arose from their inward ally, the struggles of which often called forth all the energies of his soul, and gave his outward foes fearful advantage over him; but now, "being made free from sin," every power of his soul is absorbed in doing and suffering the will of God. Himself he need not resist; for all there is of strength, preference, or desire, for Christ's sake, is on the side of truth and holiness. Nor is it the less so for being artfully or fiercely assault-

ed by temptation. The simple rule of his heart and life is, "Resist the devil, and he will flee from you; draw nigh to God, and he will draw nigh to you." Faith transfers the battle from his poor feeble soul to the Redeemer. He who was victorious upon the mount of temptation, is his sure defense. In the spirit of filial confidence and triumph he may say to his foe, *There is the power you defy;* there is the arm you must break before you can crush me.

"Who in the strength of Jesus trusts
Is more than conqueror."

Now let the original temptation get the mastery over this man; let his faith in the promises or threatenings of God fail; let him take his trust from Christ, and place it upon himself; and see how quick he is conquered. Shorn of his divine strength, he becomes weak as another man. Through unbelief he falls from his steadfastness, and his soul, once pure, becomes corrupt. Now if he undertakes to rally, as God grant he may, he has himself again, as well as the world and the devil, to subdue. Now the temptation produces "a conscious tendency to seek gratification in a forbidden object;" nay, the desire of carnal pleasure arises directly from his unsanctified nature. "Out of the heart proceedeth that which defileth the man."

The proof in confirmation of this rational view is in experience. To this we confidently appeal. Does not every merely justified person feel this "conscious tendency to seek gratification in the forbidden object?" Is it not the greatest grief of his heart? Does he not weep, and mourn, and pray over it, feeling satisfied and happy only as he gets the victory over it. The charge of God to him in precisely this state is, "Go on unto perfection." He obeys the command—the Saviour's words are fulfilled: "Every branch that beareth fruit, he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit." He was sanctified in part before, but now the apostolic prayer is answered: "The very God of peace sanctify you wholly." And suffer us to inquire, Do those desires of carnal pleasure now arise from his heart, wholly consecrated to God? Does that spirit, where purity reigns, meet the seductions of the devil with "a conscious desire to seek gratification in the forbidden object?" Gratification? It has no inclinations to gratify with carnal delights. Weak, indeed, it may be—"weaker than a bruised reed"—but love divine is its only "gratification;" swallowed up in God, his glory is its only delight. It spurns the unholy pleasures which temptation offers as soon as they are recognized.

Now let those who enjoy the blessing of perfect love judge whe-

ther this is the true relation of their souls to worldly enjoyment, or whether they find in every temptation "a conscious tendency to seek gratification in the forbidden object!" From the whole force of experience, observation, and Scripture, we verily believe our appeal will be sustained by the unanimous support of those who know the things whereof they affirm.

In conclusion of this topic let us remark, that the author of this theory of temptation does not hesitate to claim its unrestricted application to the temptations of the immaculate Saviour!

"Though not tempted in every identical way in which it is possible for man to be tempted, we cannot doubt that his temptations were the same in nature, and at least equal in degree, with those to which our first parents or any of their proper offspring could be innocently subject. But we have seen that these are all subject to temptations which reach beyond the mere thoughts."—P. 147.

Can it be possible that any man will adhere to a theory that pushes him to such extremes? The Saviour of the world in every temptation actuated by "a conscious desire to seek gratification in a forbidden object!" The holy Redeemer feeling a desire to worship the devil! Assaulted by the prince of darkness in many ways, and in every instance being obliged to grapple with and put down a desire to do the hellish deeds to which he was urged! and inclining to seek *gratification* in such acts! Whose soul does not recoil with instinctive horror at such an imputation? And yet as the Saviour was "tempted in all points like as we are," better it seems to allow it than to admit that we may be tempted without it, and thus ruin a favorite theory. Whoever can endure to read an elaborate attempt to prove a doctrinal consequence so preposterous and shocking, may find it some ten pages in length in "The Philosophy of Christian Perfection," from p. 145.

But it is time to introduce the author's views upon the subject of depravity. His governing idea of Adamic perfection required peculiar opinions on this subject also. These he found already originated and argued in Edwards on Original Sin. Want of room will not allow us to quote them at length; they are familiarly stated and fully indorsed in Upham's Mental Philosophy, vol. ii, § 189–196. It is claimed that

"the injury consequent on Adam's sin consisted in a derangement of the powers which God had given him, and not in the acquisition of any constitutional principles in themselves evil."

Why did the writer say *constitutional* principles, except to make a defense easier? Certainly no one ever claimed that *constitu-*

tional principles, either good or bad, are *acquired* in any way. But principles, in themselves evil, may, nevertheless, have assumed the government of the soul.

The author says truly that "this derangement of his moral powers was such as to render him incapable of keeping the divine law;" and "that this incapacity did in no way tend to release him personally from the claims of the law under which God had placed him," (p. 34;) but sums up in relation to Adam's descendant as follows:—

"First. He is constitutionally destitute of the love of God as a controlling principle of his nature. Second. As one consequence of the absence of this regulating principle, he early finds his appetites and passions, and all the lower elements of his nature, clamorous for indulgence, and impatient of control. Third. From his connection with a sinful world, he must, on reaching the years of discretion, find himself more or less under the influence of habits, whose tendency is to incline him to transgression and sin. Finally. It follows from all these considerations, that even prior to the effects of voluntary sinful indulgence, his moral power is enfeebled by Adam's disobedience, and he has become subject to temptations and dangers, though not, as we can perceive, differing materially in their nature, yet more numerous and varied than those which attached to man's original condition." —P. 36.

Here is this queer use of the word "constitutional" again. He is "constitutionally," as his Creator made him, a man; but a fallen, depraved man. "He *early* finds his appetites and passions, &c., clamorous for indulgence." "Early?" One would be inclined to inquire, *How* early? This indefiniteness has a reason, which will presently appear. How does he come to be *inclined* "to transgression and sin?" Why, "from his connection with a sinful world, he must, on reaching the years of discretion, find himself under the influence of habits, whose tendency is to incline him to transgression and sin." Whose habits? His own, or other people's? As "he finds *himself* under the influence of 'these' habits," they must, it would seem, be his own. He must have formed them some time previous to his "reaching the years of discretion." But as this is impossible, and his difficulties arise from "a connection with a sinful world," the habits of others must be intended. Had the author said *example* instead of "*habits*," he would have avoided this obscurity. A little bad literature here; but the theology is worse. But how is it with this moral being previous to the effect of these "habits?" Why, "even prior to the effects of voluntary sinful indulgence his moral power is enfeebled (notice, 'enfeebled' only, not *depraved*) by Adam's dis-

obedience, and he has become subject to temptations and dangers, though not, as we can perceive, differing materially in their nature, yet more numerous and varied than those which attached to man's original condition." It is strange that any educated man will write so loosely. Here are these "temptations and dangers" arising directly from "Adam's disobedience;" and yet not "differing materially in their nature" from those Adam suffered before his sin!

But let us examine this theory of depravity as a whole. This edition of it differs in no essential particular from that which we have in Edwards and Upham, and to which our author refers us. It asserts that the depraved *action* of the natural and moral sensibilities is depravity, and the whole of it; and that the absence of love to God is the sole cause of it. It is only "early" that man finds his appetites and passions, and all the lower elements of his nature, clamorous for indulgence and impatient of control, when, "from his connection with a sinful world," he finds himself under the influence of bad "habits" or example. His powers are "deranged" or "enfeebled" only in consequence of Adam's sin; and how even this could occur, the author makes a very feeble and ineffectual attempt to show.

We object to this view, that it assigns a *result* of depravity for its *cause*. If it be said that "men are depraved because they fail to love God," we ask, Why do they fail to love God? The answer would be, "Because they are depraved;" and thus we have a clear specimen of reasoning in a circle: *Men are depraved because they fail to love God, and they fail to love God because they are depraved!* The only point at which this argument can be deemed vulnerable is that which asserts the *cause* of Mr. Edwards' *cause*. In regard to this it is only necessary to insist that no other fact than man's innate original depravity is adequate to account for this *universal failure* to love God. If man be not a sinner, in the sense of inherent depravity, prior to all voluntary sin, then the universal defection of the race remains unaccounted for, and the Scriptural history of the fall of man fails to explain, as we deem it was intended to do, the present rebellious and wretched state of the human family.

Our author talks of "the infusion of evil into man's nature" in a way almost to indicate a forgetfulness of the spirituality of mind. He undoubtedly believes that it is an indivisible unit, without body or parts, and, hence, that all this language is perfectly idle. This is a form of expression that our opponents have chosen for us. Certainly no man can find it either in our Articles of Religion or

in our accredited standard authors. Our Seventh Article is Methodism on this subject as we understand it, and are willing to defend it:—

"Original sin standeth not in the following of Adam, (as the Pelagians do vainly talk,) but it is the corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and of his own nature inclined to evil, and that continually."

This is a plain view of facts, which it would be difficult for a thinking man to deny. Our author, we presume, would be very reluctant to deny it; and yet "the corruption of the nature of every man that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam," is in language of very different import from "a derangement of the powers which God had given him," "constitutionally destitute of the love of God," "his moral power is enfeebled by Adam's disobedience," and the like.

The great error of this writer is in transcending the proper limits of philosophy in his psychological speculations. We claim that its true sphere is *the facts*, and not *the manner* of the facts. This is an admitted general principle in mental science. But it seems that in this attempt of psychology to give law to theology, the old error of grappling with *the mode* of mental phenomena is to be revived. Not content with ascertaining the nature and extent of depravity, it must be shown *how* we are depraved. *The method* which the author has adopted has misled him. He is determined to be a philosophic theologian instead of a theological philosopher. Hence, assumed psychology is his starting point. It is true, that if this primary position were infallibly certain, and his processes of ratiocination were so also, this *a priori* method ought to lead him to correct results. But is it so? How has it become so? Indeed, we can conceive of nothing more directly injurious to the credit of philosophy than such imprudent, extravagant assumptions in its favor. The uncertainty of this foundation has imposed immense difficulty upon all who have depended upon it to harmonize their conclusions with revelation.

But let this method be inverted. Let us take revelation fully supported by fact, as the basis of the investigation, and ascend *a posteriori* to the limit of philosophy. Here is the universal sinfulness of unregenerate human nature. God's law is trampled under foot; the rights of man are superseded by the demands of selfishness; the creature is preferred to the Creator; the body to the soul; time to eternity. There is war in this world over the scene of peace and order: war with conscience; war with duty;

war with God, and war with man. However humane and lovely the natural intellect and earthly dispositions of men may sometimes appear, when you call for them in the field of religious labor, of pious action, under the influence of genuine Christian motive, they are not there. In the field of selfishness they are always to be found; in that of God's glory, *never*. To go into the detail of proof, where the memory of past consciousness, or present experience, or universal observation, combine to attest the Scriptural view, must be wholly unnecessary. Here, then, is the starting point—solid foundation on which to base an argument. "The fruit is corrupt;" the stream is impure. What, then, can be easier or more legitimate than to infer that the tree is corrupt, the fountain impure? The mind's natural religious phenomena are unmixed sin. It must, therefore, be psychologically correct to infer that its religious state is totally sinful. Show us an unconverted man who is in any sense or in one single respect a pious man, and we will admit that the state of his soul is not totally depraved, and also that the general principle of total depravity is not predicable of human nature. But so long as no such man can be found, and the Scriptures include all under sin, we must insist that universal sinfulness clearly indicates, and indubitably proves, "the corruption of the nature of every man, that naturally is engendered of the offspring of Adam, whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and of his own nature inclined to evil, and that continually."

Here, then, is the mind's condition inferred from the mind's acts, just as we infer its powers from its phenomena; a totally depraved state ascertained from a totally depraved action: and this is the limit of philosophical inquiry. Attempt to settle the *mode* of this depravity, and you rush at once into midnight darkness, where the light of revelation and psychology never has penetrated. Here is the point at which the bold and daring spirit of philosophy must be checked. We may not with impunity assume to settle *the manner* of moral more than of intellectual condition and development.

We pass now to the consideration of his views upon "the nature and extent of the divine provisions for man's recovery from the moral effects of the fall." Having prepared the way by attempting to show that Adamic perfection was really quite imperfect, that in their state of original purity our first parents were liable to errors of judgment and practice, and subject to "troubles and trials," and that they were capable of a conscious desire to seek gratification in a forbidden object, without, however, in the least

affecting their moral rectitude in the sight of God; and by asserting a negative depravity only—implying nothing but the withdrawal of God in his love and holiness from the soul, and hence requiring no renovation, no "cleansing from sin," only "regulating in the relative position of its powers"—our author proceeds to set forth the claim of Adamic perfection for sanctified persons under the gospel. This perfection must, of course, be strictly legal if it is Adamic, and hence the first thing is to show that the law is unchangeable and binding upon every man in all its force for ever. This position is a true one, and we are happy to give our readers the substance of the argument by which it is supported.

A third arrangement may be conceived, that would have released the posterity of Adam, either altogether or in part, from the obligations of the moral law; in other words, in regard to man, the moral law might have been altogether abrogated, or at least so far repealed that its claims might be graduated by man's enfeebled powers. Inasmuch as such a plan has been suggested, as indeed the one adopted by infinite Wisdom, it is deserving of a moment's consideration.

The great objection to this view is, that it seems to presuppose that the principles of rectitude are dependent upon the divine volition, in such a sense as to be liable to repeal or change; whereas it appears to us that the law to which a Being, infinite in perfection, would, from the very nature of the case, make his intelligent creatures subject, cannot, without a species of impiety, be supposed else than perfect. This law, then, of which the rule of perfect obedience in the garden, and the commandments given on Sinai, are exponents, must be the same for men and for angels, and for all possible created intelligences. We do not mean to be understood, that the immutability of moral distinctions has its origin in "the nature of things," and is something extraneous to the divine Intelligence, to which "God himself is amenable, and desires to be considered as amenable;" and in such a sense that it can be said to be "the duty of God" to do this or that. We believe that such forms of expression are not only wanting in philosophic accuracy, but that they present truth to the mind in a wrong aspect, and are evil in their tendency. We believe, nevertheless, that the principle on which the distinction between right and wrong rests is eternal and immutable, not "existing interwoven and imbedded in the nature and constitution of things," but existing as an element of the divine constitution. Belonging thus to God himself, it is not "a principle of nature" any more than it is "a matter of creation." It is neither; but it is coexistent and

coeternal with the Deity. With Dr. Wardlaw, author of the *Christian Ethics*, we say: "It is evident that there could be no authority extraneous to Deity, and no principles of rectitude but such as had their subsistence in the divine mind." With this immutability of moral distinctions, however sustained, any change in the requirements of the law of perfection is entirely at variance. We cannot, then, admit it for one moment; and are, therefore, driven to the conclusion that the perfect law under which Adam was originally placed remains unchanged, and in full force. This we believe to be the sentiment of Christian philosophy; and Knapp but gives it utterance when he says: "Moral laws are in themselves universally obligatory, and unalterable as the laws of nature."—Pp. 38–43.

In regard to this argument we think it proper to remark,—

1. That it is perfectly conclusive and amply sustained by the best theologians of every period.

2. That it is not a *psychological* argument. It is true that the author believes it to be "the sentiment of Christian philosophy," and it is, so far as sound logic, or drawing correct conclusions from a comparison of related ideas, may be justly styled "Christian philosophy." But no powers or phenomena of the human soul form the basis of the argument or conduct the development of this important truth.

3. The inference drawn from the position established is a *non sequitur*, and, hence, if true at all, must rest upon proof other than the unchangeable character of the divine law. This inference, though not presented in immediate connection with the premises, is abundantly claimed in different parts of the book, namely, that *the obedience of the perfect Christian is a strictly legal obedience*. The question upon which we join issue here is simply this, *the immutable claims of God's law being in full force upon the agent, can he be accepted of God, or in any true sense "perfect," without perfectly obeying that law?* Our author would say *No* to this question; we answer, *Yes*.

And, 1. By universal Protestant consent man's acceptance and "perfection," must *commence* without legal obedience; or, in other words, nothing he does, or can do, has the slightest tendency to render him just before God. In the language of Scripture, "A man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ;" and of our Ninth Article, "We are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own works or deserving:—wherefore, that we are justified by faith only is a most

wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort." Such then is the relation of the offender to the divine law that his acquittal depends upon the intervention of an atoning Sacrifice made available by faith.

2. If perfect legal obedience be the condition of acceptance at all, it is universally so; that is, it must be the sole ground of the divine approbation for every pardoned sinner and at every moment of probation, if it is for one such person at any single moment. It cannot be partly for Christ's sake and partly for legal obedience, or for one at one time, and the other at another, that the smile of divine complacency is granted. To assert the acceptance of the Christian for one moment upon legal grounds, is, therefore, to deny the necessity and use of the atonement, and the intervention of a Mediator for all Christians at all times. Is the author prepared for this? Observe, we do not speak of apostates. We mean those, and those only, who live so as to retain their Christian character. For purposes of pardon, whether at, or subsequent to, conversion, it is conceded that a Saviour is necessary. But if obedience is subsequently as perfect as before the fall, we utterly deny the necessity, and even the possibility, of mediatorial intervention.

3. If this theory be true, we claim that there can be no grades of Christian character. But upon grounds of legal obedience the question is not how much of the law they shall keep. They keep the whole or nothing, and the whole up to the utmost extent of it; and hence, at every moment of their truly Christian lives, meet the most rigorous demands of uncompromising justice. Certainly, then, there can be no religious diversity among them. God has not made a separate law for each individual. There are not as many infinitely perfect divine laws as there are Christians. No: for the author says, in language already quoted, "This law then, of which the rule of perfect obedience in the garden, and the commandments given on Sinai, are exponents, must be the same for men and for angels, and for all possible created intelligences." Now all Christians are, *as such*, exactly alike, or this theory is false.

We presume the author anticipated trouble from this view, and hence he has, in the latter part of his book, taken a most extraordinary position.

"What is that element in the law under which men are now placed, [Why *now?*] call it by what *name* we will, which adapts it to all its subjects? What is it which adapts it equally to the intellect of a Pascal, or a Sir William Jones, and to that of the obscure Christian in the humblest walks of life? It is the element expressed by the

word *just*. The Psalmist pronounced the law *holy*, yet at the same time *just* and good. The justice of this law consists in its entire adaptation to the circumstances of every individual who is under it; and what we wish to remark, is, that the same principle which suits the law to the varying circumstances of individuals, at the same time renders all change in the divine law, considered as a rule of life, entirely unnecessary; and obviously removes from the holy man all necessity of violating, whatever may be the weakness of his mental or physical powers."—Pp. 104, 105.

Here, then, is this "perfect law," which "must be the same for men and for angels, and for all possible created intelligences," brought down to "the varying circumstances of individuals!" "of every individual!" And this is the man who complains of Dr. Peck for what he is pleased to term his "new standard of obedience!" though the doctor only claimed, as the context should have shown, and as he sufficiently explained in the last number of the Review, that what a man can do is all God requires of him "as a condition of acceptance."

We would simply ask, if this immutable law was not in full force upon Adam after he fell, before he was redeemed? If we are to believe our author, it certainly was, as he claims its binding obligation upon all men at all times. But was Adam able to keep it? We suspect not;—unless, because the law was "*just*," *it was adapted to* his existing condition. And is not the law in full force upon the finally lost, and upon the devils in hell? Certainly it is; for it never relaxes its claims upon those who are once responsible to it. But, says our author, no impossibilities are required;—the law must be perfectly adapted, therefore, to the "varied circumstances" of these inhabitants of the world of woe!

There is no escaping from this position but by retraction; for if the reason why the law can be perfectly kept by man is the fact that it is *binding*, then wherever it is binding it can be kept. And if its binding force depends upon its adaptation to the precise circumstances of its rightful subjects, then it must be perfectly adapted to the condition of all men and angels, both good and bad.

But does this writer really intend to claim that a man's duty is limited by his ability? He certainly does, as will appear from his dissent from Dr. Upham's proposition, namely, "God is to be regarded as righteous in exacting from us whatever we could or might have rendered him, if Adam had not fallen, and if the race had remained holy." "Against this doctrine," he says, "in whatever language it is couched, or by whatever formula expressed, we feel bound to enter our solemn protest." So that if a debtor, on his way to pay his creditor a thousand dollars, is drawn into dissipation, and, at the

very last moment of the stipulated credit, loses his all by gambling, he is discharged from the debt. His obligation, forsooth, must be limited by his ability! The ability to meet the claim he really once had, but he has voluntarily destroyed it; and what is to be done? Why, the claim must at once adjust itself to his new and unexpected circumstances. Adam, too, in paradise kept a law which was adapted to his noble powers as the perfect creation of a perfect God. But by sin he fell to a state of deepest degradation and utter helplessness. This faultless, immutable law, however, had the property of adjusting itself to the new circumstances of its erring subject, and hence at once regulated its claims by the ability of the sinner, though he had by an open abuse of his freedom and contempt of that law disposed of his ability to keep it, as it stood before the fall. We presume that any further development of such absurdity is wholly unnecessary.

4. If we may claim that the goodness and wisdom of God have provided a Saviour whose gifts supply our strength, whose merit atones for our sins and makes up the difference between our actual services and the just claims of the law; that merit being available upon the exercise of a faith which produces the utmost exertion of our gracious ability, and the purification of our motives, then we may claim also that accepted Christians do not necessarily keep the law to its utmost extent, even though the law remains in full force. And here we come upon plain common ground: Paul saith, "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me." Not, I can perfectly keep the law, and therefore have no need of Christ. Again: "For Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth." Of the ceremonial law only, our author would say, then, "To him that believeth" not, the ceremonial law is all of it in full force. "The law is our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ." "But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption." Now we have seen that perfect obedience to the law would supersede the necessity of all this. Christ would in that case be only our justification, not "the end of the law for righteousness," not our "wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption." But mark that decisive passage in Galatians ii, 20, 21: "I am crucified with Christ: nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me; and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me. I do not frustrate the grace of God, for if righteousness come by the law, then Christ is dead in vain." A clearer, fuller argument, against the doctrine of legal perfection,

and in favor of the total dependence of the Christian upon the Saviour and his atoning merits, instead of his own works, for his acceptance, need not be sought and is not required.

We have found that the entire life of the Christian must be a life of strict dependence upon the merits of Christ; and that the moment he should be judged by the character of his own acts, compared with the rigor of divine justice, he would be condemned without mercy. All that Wesley asserts, in the following evangelical lines, is therefore strictly true of every soul:—

> "Every moment, Lord, I need
> The merit of thy death."

Of course this must include the state in which sanctification is incomplete. "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and cleanse us from all unrighteousness." Not "to regulate our moral powers," but "*to cleanse us.*" And, "if we walk in the light as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin."

Thus we think it fully appears, that the inference of the fact of perfect legal obedience from the immutable claims of the law is a *non sequitur.*

We now enter upon the direct question:—Is Christian perfection Adamic perfection? And if not, what is it? And we claim that the controversy is now reduced to comparatively narrow limits. We have removed one by one the great pillars upon which the author's theory rests. He depended upon psychology to prove that the Adamic state was quite imperfect, but it proved no such thing. It became clear, upon examination, that his conclusions were based upon imperfect analysis, and his processes conducted by mistaken analogies: that the only sources of truth upon the subject were the perfections of God and the Holy Scriptures; and that these formed the conclusion of man's finished physical and mental (including moral) perfection.

He invoked the spirit of philosophy to prove upon Adam, previous to his fall, "the conscious desire to seek gratification in a forbidden object,"—such desires as we now sometimes have; but there was no response. It was found that these desires could not coexist with perfect purity.

He sought psychologically to develop a depravity that implied no inward corruption, and that consisted only in the derangement of powers still the same as before the fall, resulting from the absence of love to God, and hence requiring no destruction of inward sin to restore the soul to its pristine state; but there were the stubborn

facts of a totally depraved life, incontestibly indicating a totally depraved mind; there was the universal failure to love God, arguing, conclusively, the universal sinfulness from which it sprang.

And then he seized upon a glorious truth—the unchangeable character of the law—(in the support of which, however, he found no room for "our psychology")—which it seemed must surely imply Adamic perfection; but no such conclusion *would follow* his premises. The Scriptures would insert, as utterly indispensable, the blood of Jesus between the best actions of men and the rigorous claims of the law; and hence this strong reliance failed to uphold the new philosophical system. Other minor arguments there are, in considerable numbers, scattered through the book, which we deem it unnecessary to examine in this review. The following reasons for denying Adamic perfection, under the gospel, will, we think, properly close this discussion:—

1. Adam was a perfect *man*. A perfect *man* must be one whose body and soul are right, compared with a perfect standard, as it exists in the mind of the Deity. He knows what is right; and that knowledge is his law. From his infinite knowledge he must compare every fact of man with perfect truth. And first, in regard to *the character* of body and mind: he knows what ought to exist in them. He knows what every organ and tissue of a human body ought to be; and this knowledge is, of course, the standard by which he would judge of the physical powers of Adam. And we claim that, by the test of this law, they were perfect. The proof, as we have before seen, is the fact that he made them just as they were. Now had they, in any sense, deteriorated from the time when they left his forming hand, they must still have been compared with that perfect standard, and would have been imperfect. But there could have been no deteriorating cause operating upon the constitution of man previous to the fall. There was perfect health in a sinless state. We can conceive of the law of progress and development in full force at that period, though we cannot of the action of disorder and decay.

Mental character must have been compared with the same infallible standard. The knowledge of what it ought to be, was complete in God; and that was his law. This required perfection in the power of intelligence, the power of thought, the power of reasoning, the power of feeling, and the power of determining. It was the same, whether these powers were appropriated to natural or moral subjects. Had they been less in kind than God knew they ought to be, they would have been imperfect. But could God have made them so? No one would admit it. The power of knowing

the right, of choosing the right, and of doing the right, was, therefore, certainly perfect; or, in other words, exactly what God knew it ought to be. And the capability of indefinite mental progression must have been complete also, compared with the same law. So far we can see no room for cavil.

Next, as to the *use* of these powers. Here we are compelled, by our starting point, which is the character of God, to set up the same claim. What may have been the character and extent of physical action and development, we do not now know. But it is certain that if there had been any abuse of the physical laws, such abuse would have been *sin*. God knew what ought to be the action of every muscle in the body, the function of every organ. The slightest variation from this standard would, of course, have been a physical wrong, and condemned by the knowledge of God. This knowledge, or what God knew to be right, must have been the law to which man was responsible for the use of his body. To assert that this law was violated would be to predicate sin of a sinless state; which is impossible.

Nor could there have been any perversion of mental powers in this perfect state. The ability to know was brought into action where and as God knew it ought to be. The acquisition of intelligence from perception, consciousness, and reason, must have been exceedingly rapid. How rapid we cannot tell; but God's law was its literal standard. Thought was always pure, always right, as to the character, subjects, and extent of it. Had it varied in any of these respects, from what God knew it should be, it would have been sin against that faultless law. The sensibilities were exactly what they were expected and required to be. Every emotion, every desire, reached the standard of immaculate holiness. The same principle secured the correct determination of the will.

Thus, in character and conduct, Adam was a *perfect man*. Not merely "morally perfect," as our author has claimed, but physically and mentally, in precisely the same sense compared with the same standard—the knowledge of God as to what he ought to be. This is Adamic perfection.

And we now inquire, Are there any such perfect men? This is a question of fact; but one which every person is able satisfactorily to answer. The Scriptures aid us in this judgment. "We are fools for Christ's sake; but ye are wise in Christ: we are weak; but ye are strong: ye are honorable; but we are despised," &c. "My strength is made perfect in weakness." "For when I am weak then am I strong." "Sorrowful, yet always rejoicing." How, we ask, would these expressions have suited the condition of Adam

and Eve before the fall? "We are weak," "perfect in weakness," "when I am weak," "sorrowful," and the like. No physical or mental "weakness" was true of them; and hence a sense of it would have been impossible. But here are Paul and his associates, among the most eminent and perfect of Christians, realizing and confessing the weakness of poor human nature in themselves, and more than intimating their power as Christians, or, in other words, the extent to which they appropriated, by faith, the power of Christ, depended upon their true sense of it; while others, of most defective Christianity, imagined they were strong. With his eye upon his own imperfections, compared with the stern law of God, and also upon Christ, who strengthened him, Paul could consistently say, "Most gladly, therefore, will I rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me. Therefore I take pleasure in infirmities, in reproaches, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses, for Christ's sake; for when I am weak, then am I strong. I am become a fool in glorying: ye have compelled me; for I ought to have been commended of you: for in nothing am I behind the very chiefest apostles, though I be nothing." Surely Adam never could have said this.

But further; upon the question of fact, experience and observation are decisive. No individual has anything more than to know himself to be aware that he is a very imperfect man. Those who have deepest understanding of the facts of their own hearts, have the most overwhelming sense of their own utter unworthiness; and that even compared with their own knowledge of the intended and required character and destiny of man. And if so in the light of what they know, how must it be in the light of what God knows they ought to be? Sometimes indeed fancy has arrayed a human being in the garb of complete perfection; but, at near approach, the vision has always vanished. Bodily condition is below the standard of a divine formation, showing, at every point, with more or less distinctness, depending upon the truthfulness of the view, the sad effects of the fall. Nor can its practical use be vindicated by the law, as it has always and invariably existed in the mind of the Deity. It neither moves so truly nor so briskly as it should, to fulfill its Maker's high behests. The soul is clogged by its dull mortality, and enfeebled by its relation to a long line of degenerate ancestry. Its discriminations often fail; its impulsions are comparatively weak; and its retributions often untrue. The relations it holds to God and man are but obscurely perceived, and the duties they demand frequently unknown till it is too late to perform them. Ah! these are very imperfect bodies—imperfect minds.

2. Adam had no need of a Mediator. His intercourse was direct with God. He asked for nothing through the name of another, or for the sake of another. His own perfect rectitude was the ground and the condition of his full and instant gratification, whether his wants were of physical or spiritual origin. The fact that no Mediator was provided, is the proof. And can our author, can any man, claim this degree of excellence for any Christian? If a servant of Christ were as perfect as Adam, he must have the same rights, and be met with divine supplies upon the same terms. The laws of divine communication are immutable. Admitting the necessity of atonement for the forgiveness of sins, the soul, brought into precisely the same state of perfection with Adam, would sustain the same relation to God, and of course have no more need of the name of Christ than he. Upon this theory you should therefore never hear a perfect Christian pray, O, Lord, bless me for Christ's sake; hear and answer me for Christ's sake; save me for Christ's sake! for in perfect legal Adamic obedience he is already blessed—he is heard, and answered, and saved on his own account, or by virtue of fulfilling the law.

But no Christians approach God thus. Their first experience is a view of their need of Christ, and an act of sincere dependence upon him; and their mature experience is an utter renunciation of self, and a total reliance upon Christ for everything and at every moment. Observe the life of such a man; listen to his prayers, and see the all-absorbing charm of his soul. O it is Jesus, Jesus, Jesus! Nay, feel the power of perfect faith, and drink perpetually from the living fountain of purity, and see how totally you will accord with the sentiment of the apostle, "Most gladly, therefore, will I rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me;" or with the dying exclamation of the sainted Wesley,—

> "I the chief of sinners am;
> But Jesus died for me."

The actual intervention and indispensable necessity of a Mediator to give the best of men audience with the Deity, to supply all their deficiencies by the merit of his blood, and plead for them before the throne, without ceasing, therefore proves incontestibly that theirs is not Adamic perfection.

Other arguments there are in proof of this great truth; but, for the purposes of this review, they are not necessary, and hence will be omitted.

Now a brief attention to the question, What perfection is attainable in this life? We answer, *Christian* perfection; or, that which

originates in Christ, appropriates the merits of Christ, and lives to the glory of Christ.

It is the perfection of sanctification, or entire deliverance from inward sin. "The very God of peace sanctify you wholly." "The blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, cleanseth us from all sin."

It is the perfection of the Christian graces. Love is the principal of these. "Perfect love casteth out fear." "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength, and thy neighbor as thyself." Upon this we remark: 1. That the obedience rendered to this command is less than obedience to the perfectly unchangeable law, by just so much as the powers of man are less than they would have been if he had never been a sinner. 2. That it implies pure motives and the full devotion of all the capabilities of the soul and the body to God. 3. That the power of filial, perfect love, the spirit of love, and the exercise of love, are all from Christ, and all the obedience rendered is through faith in his name. In no other way could it be accepted. For Christ's sake, "it is accepted according to what a man hath, and not according to what he hath not." 4. The deficiencies of our service must be atoned for by the blood of Christ, or the law must bend to accommodate them. The latter is impossible; therefore the former must be true.

Upon each of these topics we should be pleased to enlarge; and we should be happy to review the criticisms of our author upon the systems advocated by distinguished divines; but our limits will not allow it. That portion of the discussion which we abbreviate, is, however, so well understood, and has been so long and generally matter of agreement among theologians of the M. E. Church, that extended amplification is less important. And the writers assailed will, we have no doubt, defend their own works, so far as they are defensible. We therefore close by expressing the devout and earnest wish that all novelties of doctrine, as well as errors in practice, upon this great subject, may be calmly, firmly, and successfully resisted; that the Bible may remain our text-book upon this and every theme of faith and duty essential to salvation; and that experience may speedily become so general as to supersede wild speculation and profitless controversy.

Art. VIII.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *Sketches of Wesleyan Preachers.* By Robert A. West. With a Portrait of Dr. Bunting. 12mo., pp. 400. New-York: Lane & Tippett. 1848.

We have nothing like this book upon our catalogue. It contains sketches of the characters and public labors of Wesleyan ministers. The author's extensive acquaintance with the Wesleyan ministry afforded him peculiar advantages for the accomplishment of his undertaking; and his powers of description, his judgment in the selection of incidents, and the felicity with which he transfers his own vivid conceptions to his pages, impart rare excellence and high interest to the work. The reader will here find both excitement and nourishment, amusement and instruction. The author wields a nervous pen, and often throws off a passage, which, for brilliancy, will compare with the best specimens of English composition. Some of the *sketches* have been published in the *Advocate*. These have, however, been greatly enlarged and improved. The book contains many *sketches* which have never before appeared, of equal interest with those that have been before the public. All who have heard or read of the leading spirits in the Wesleyan Conference will be gratified with the opportunity of making their acquaintance through one who knows them so well, and has the happy art of telling what he knows in a manner so consistent with the principles of good taste and elevated moral sentiment. Let all obtain this book as soon as possible; and that they will *read it through* when they have obtained it, we consider as certain beyond a doubt. And it is equally certain that they will be both pleased and profited.

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2. *Lectures on the Law and the Gospel.* By Stephen H. Tyng, D. D., Rector of St. George's Church, New-York. Sixth thousand. 8vo., pp. 404. New-York: Robert Carter. 1848.

The subject of these Lectures is one of vast importance. The proper distinction between the law and the gospel, and their relations to each other, are subjects which are not sufficiently studied by those who are "set for the defense of the gospel." Our author is an evangelical Calvinist, and, consequently, entertains notions of *imputed guilt* and *imputed righteousness* held by the old Calvinistic school. These views, however, only give a *tinge* to the work, not being pushed out to those Antinomian consequences which have sometimes been attached to them. Upon the nature, permanency, obligation, and uses of the law, *Dr. Tyng* is perspicuous and orthodox. The Lectures glow with a spirit, piety, and zeal, which render them really grateful and attractive to a devout heart. The style of composition is beautifully flowing and powerfully impressive. The book is well got up, and accompanied by a striking likeness of the author. Notwithstanding the exceptions which, as an orthodox Arminian, we take to a portion of the *theological phraseology* of the work, we still say distinctly that it is a good and useful book—one which will amply compensate the purchase and reading.

3. *Recollections and Reflections of an Old Itinerant. A Series of Letters originally published in the Christian Advocate and Journal, and the Western Christian Advocate.* By Rev. HENRY SMITH. New-York: Lane & Tippett. 1848.

THIS book contains a multitude of good things. Those who have read the letters in the Advocate will be glad to have them in a neat little volume. Father Smith is among our worthies who have labored long and faithfully for the salvation of sinners and the building up of the church, and are now devoutly waiting for their reward. When he shall have gone to heaven, he will yet speak through this pious and instructive volume. Those who wish to see how the *fathers* labored and suffered, should procure and peruse this book. May it be a means of keeping us in lively remembrance of "the way the fathers trod," and of preserving in healthful and vigorous action our excellent system.

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4. *Experience and Ministerial Labors of Rev. Thomas Smith, late an Itinerant Preacher of the Gospel in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Compiled chiefly from his Journal.* By Rev. DAVID DAILY, of the Philadelphia Conference. New-York: Lane & Tippett. 1848.

WE have here a record of the labors and successes of an ardent and faithful minister of Jesus Christ. The incidents of the book are interesting and instructive. Wonderful success followed the labors of Mr. Smith, and he has noted many singular providential occurrences, which almost wear the appearance of romance. We doubt not but the book will be read with great interest and profit by many more than those who were personally acquainted with the subject. The compiler has accomplished his part with great judgment, and is entitled to the thanks of the church. Of course we recommend the work, especially to our own people.

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5. *The Nature and Ministry of Holy Angels.* By Rev. JAMES RAWSON, A. M. New-York: Lane & Tippett. 1848.

IN this work the author has brought out what the Scriptures teach upon the subject of *good angels*. The theme is elaborated and reduced to practical purposes. The composition is chaste, perspicuous, and often elevated. As a manual upon the subject, the work before us has no rival. It seems to be just what is wanted upon the subject, and we hope it will meet with an extensive circulation. We recommend it without the slightest reserve.

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6. *A Series of Sketches, Literary and Religious, designed for the Improvement of the Young.* By ERWIN HOUSE. Edited by B. F. TEFFT, A. M. 18mo., pp. 320. Cincinnati: Swormstedt & Mitchell. 1847.

WE are most happy to call the attention of our readers to this book. The style is chaste and elevated, and the sentiment truly evangelical. We cannot do better than to give the editor's account of its character and objects:—

"The leading object of the book is to furnish useful, and, at the same time, attractive reading, to the young. The elegant literature of the day has become so corrupt, so full of moral poison, that an effort must be made to provide works for desultory perusal, which, while they inform the understanding, shall please the imagination and improve the heart. We have impressed a literary taste upon the minds of the rising generation. Books adapted to their years they will have; and, whatever they have, they will read. This appetite we have spent time, and money, and energy, to create; and, now, we must supply the food. The following Sketches, so various in matter, and so pure in style, may be safely adopted as a work prepared expressly to meet this demand."

We could most earnestly desire that this little work might be put into the hands of all our young people of both sexes. It is an admirable and attractive volume.

*** In consequence of an unusual demand for space, in the review department of this number, we have been obliged to lay over a large number of Critical Notices. We must, for this, beg the indulgence of authors and publishers.

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THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1848.

EDITED BY GEORGE PECK, D. D.

ART. I.—*Life and Religious Opinions and Experience of Madame de la Mothe Guyon: together with some Account of the Personal History and Religious Opinions of Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray.* By THOMAS C. UPHAM, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Bowdoin College. In 2 vols. Vol. 1. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1847.

A LOVE for the mysterious is among the original instincts of our nature. Whatever is detected by our senses, or comprehended by our reason, is esteemed common, and fails to give interest. Though a thousand known divinities were confessed and duly worshiped, the soul were yet unsatisfied, and would secretly breathe out its aspirations to the unknown God. Nor should these emotions be accounted the mere vagaries of an ill-disciplined fancy. Their source lies deeper; and they argue, not the wreck of man's original character, but his essential spirituality, by virtue of which he is, in all the phases of his social and intellectual condition, *a religious being*. Endowed with powers of cognizance beyond those of sense, and of perception above reason, the requirements of his nature can be satisfied only by communion with the spirit world. Conscious, from the instinctive intimations of his own heart, of his dependence upon a superior power, he requires as the object of his confidence and worship a being of a superior nature. It is, therefore, as repugnant to sound philosophy as it is to the dictates of divine Wisdom, to require a merely rational theology, or to submit the subtil doctrines of experimental religion to the inadequate tests of reason.

It is sometimes assumed with much apparent confidence that religious zeal is a sign of little learning, and want of mental acumen; but we believe that facts disprove the assumption. Dullness may doubt against evidence, and deny the truth, however plainly

proved; but it never goes beyond the truth, nor seizes that which is too subtil for the grosser senses. Ignorance may wrap itself in its own imaginary greatness, and fancy itself to be the centre of the universe, for which all things exist and around which they move; but religion leads the spirit out of its snail-like seclusion of selfishness, to commune with other natures, and to converse with superior beings. Such intercourse enlarges the views and perceptions of the soul; and as it tends to increase the scope of the understanding, so it indicates a somewhat elevated cast of the mind. Biographical history strongly corroborates these statements. Many of those who have been distinguished as *mystics*, have evinced extraordinary powers of intellect. As a class they have been remarkable for vigor of understanding, and, in many instances, for extensive erudition. It should indeed be added, that for the most part they have been persons of ill-balanced minds, whose imaginations were but partially subjected to the judgment. This is, indeed, characteristic of the class; for by this alone is the enthusiast distinguished from the devout but sober Christian. The impulses of a glowing heart, operating upon a strong and susceptible imagination, over which the judgment has but little control, occasion intemperate fervors, and sometimes lead to that voluntary faith which is properly the basis of enthusiasm. And yet we are not prepared to pronounce an unqualified condemnation of this enthusiastic fervor. Compared with its opposite,—a cheerless skepticism,—it is to be cherished as a real good. Many of the most illustrious names in the annals of the church, are those of persons who are known as mystics,—through whose agency the declining cause of piety has been revived, and the church brought back to recognize the essential spirituality of religion.

Among persons of this class, few are better known, or have made a more conspicuous figure in religious literature, than the principal subject of the work whose title stands at the head of this article. Many have admired her character, and some have in part adopted her notions, though she had had but few disciples. That work, however, shows, that even at this distant period, and in Protestant America, and, strangest of all, in Puritanical New-England, she has made a convert worthy of her largest ambition. The author of these volumes is favorably known in the republic of letters as the compiler of several treatises on mental philosophy,—some of which are extensively used as text-books in colleges and schools, —and recently he has sent forth a number of works on practical and experimental divinity. By means of these he has gained for himself a place in the affections of many devout Christians of dif-

ferent denominations; for in writing them he has carefully shunned a controversial style, and has maintained throughout a deep tone of devotion to God, and charity to all mankind. It was impossible, however, for him wholly to avoid the promulgation, by implication at least, of certain theological opinions; but in doing this he has generally chosen to set forth only fundamental catholic truths, and has skillfully separated the essential from the non-essential. He has evidently read much in works on experimental divinity, and the mystical writers of the Romish Church during the seventeenth century seem to have both engaged his attention and captivated his heart. A shading of mysticism is plainly perceptible in his former religious works, but they contain so much that is really excellent that their incidental defects have been overlooked; and coming from a source whence very little of the kind has emanated for a long time, they have been hailed as an indication of a struggling for a higher religious experience in that quarter. The mystical character of these works is, however, only partially developed; (though clearly visible to any discriminating reader;) but the Life of Madame Guyon gave occasion to complete what before was only in embryo. As therein exhibited, Professor Upham is unquestionably a mystic,—using that term as contradistinguished from sober but devout and evangelical Christians,—and this fact, thus exhibited, must greatly circumscribe the influence of his religious works. The judicious religious instructor, though he may still regard their author as a good man, and especially commend the devout spirit that pervades his writings, will, nevertheless, hesitate to recommend them as guides to the untaught but inquiring spirit. Compared with the experimental writings of British divines of the seventeenth century, they have many defects with very few compensating advantages; and, viewed by the side of the standards of Wesleyan theology, as set forth during the last century, their light is as the glare of the meteor compared with the steady radiance of the mid-day sun.

The literary character of the work requires but a passing remark. Professor Upham is so well known as a writer, that no notice of the style of this work is necessary, further than to say that in this particular it is not unlike its predecessors. A verbose style, burdened with expletives and explanatory clauses, is made the vehicle of thoughts generally simple and intelligible in themselves, and, whenever the subject admits of it, despite of these disadvantages, expressed with a good degree of clearness. The conduct of the narrative is commendable. A gentle vivacity pervades the whole, and the reader's interest is seldom permitted to decline;

and it may be presumed, that whoever begins the perusal of these volumes will not choose to lay them aside till he has read the last page.

In this work our author comes before the public, not merely as the biographer of Madame Guyon, but as her apologist and interpreter also. He seems to concede her unfitness to speak for herself, and, by implication, declares the public incapable of understanding the depths of her half-expressed doctrines; but being himself perfectly instructed in these mysteries, and having also the power to render them intelligible to the uninitiated, he has kindly undertaken to interpret them, and to exhibit as high and holy truth what would otherwise appear as nonsense or falsehood. Such apologists have been seen in other instances; and if Madame Guyon would recognize herself in her modern attire, she might congratulate herself that it has fared better with her than with some others.

Before proceeding to a more particular analysis of the work under review, we will pause to notice a peculiarity that pervades all the religious works of this author, but is especially prominent in this one. A peculiar dialect, differing very considerably from the language of the Scriptures, or that of the most approved Protestant writers on experimental divinity, is adopted and maintained throughout. St. Paul speaks of "the carnal mind," Prof. Upham of "the life of nature;" the apostle exhorts to "put off the old man," our author to the "annihilation of self;" the former sets forth the Christian's privilege to be "filled with all the fullness of God," the latter to become "one with God." If it should be contended that the terms of the second class are only synonyms of those of the first, the defense were insufficient. Why should we introduce a new and unnecessary nomenclature in religious discourse, thus obscuring the sense that should be made clear? The reader of works of this class, if hitherto he has learned only the proper meaning of words, must begin by learning a new language, and at last remain in doubt whether he has correctly interpreted the occult sense of the writer. We cannot but consider it a capital mistake in Prof. Upham to adopt the *cabalistic* language, the *cant*, —as it may be styled, without intending any opprobrium,—of the Mystics and Quietists of the Romish Church in former times. It is granted that words may obtain a peculiar signification in certain circles, within which that sense may be sufficiently intelligible; and also that when a subject lying beyond the usual limits of thought and discourse is made the theme of conversation, language must be accommodated to that subject, and words used in a new and

peculiar sense. Hence it will always seem to those who have no perception of spiritual things, that those who speak of them use cant and cabalistic language. But as every science has its appropriate forms of speech, so has experimental divinity; nor are its peculiar forms and phraseology to be chosen at the caprice of individuals, or exchanged by them at pleasure. It is no less important to "hold fast the form of sound words," than to set forth sound doctrine; for that is essential to this. The Bible should be the rule and standard of our religious language, as well as of our faith and morals; nor can we too decidedly condemn his course, who seeks to substitute for its universally intelligible terminology the dialect of a sect or party. Words are things; and he who adopts a new verbiage in religious discourse will soon be found to have changed his doctrines too. This whole affair looks suspicious, and if it does not originate in doctrinal error, (as is generally the case,) it necessarily tends to that end.

In using the writings of Madame Guyon our author has pursued a somewhat novel process. Her language is not *translated* according to its verbal signification, but *interpreted* as he chooses to understand her meaning, though quite differently from its literal sense. Her phraseology, however, is retained, as too valuable to be dispensed with, and so nearly are the style and expressions of the biographer assimilated to those of his subject, that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the language of one from that of the other. But a more objectionable feature is his affectation of metaphysical acumen in illustrating the phenomena of religious experience. We call this an *affectation;* for, though use may have rendered it most familiar to him, it is, nevertheless, unnatural; and, if so, habit can not make it anything else than an affectation. That this mode of conveying religious instruction is not the most excellent, will be readily granted by all who regard our Lord Jesus Christ as the great Teacher. But few minds can appreciate such teachings; and if our author wrote only for the favored few, he was poorly employed. It is but justice to presume that such was not his design, and we gladly charge the infelicity of his manner to error of judgment, rather than to a defect of his heart. Still it is to be regretted that so decidedly respectable a writer should permit himself to adopt a manner by which he is perpetually reminding his readers that he is a professor of mental philosophy, and author of certain treatises on that subject. Simplicity of style is a cardinal excellence in practical religious instruction, for the want of which nothing else can compensate.

Having made these preliminary observations, we will now pro-

ceed to examine and analyze the subject matter of the work itself, reserving any further criticisms till called up by passing occasions.

Jeanne Marie Bouvières de la Mothe, better known by her marital name, Madame Guyon, was born on the 13th day of April, 1648, at Montargis, a considerable town situated about fifty miles to the south of Paris, in what was formerly the province of Orleanois. Her family was respectable and somewhat above plebeian rank. She was the child of a second marriage of both her parents, both of whom had children by their former marriages. When only two and a half years old, she was placed in the Ursuline Seminary of her native town, but continued there only a few months. At an early age she was committed to the care of the Benedictine nuns at Montargis, and afterward was a second time with the Ursulines, and still later with the Dominicans. While in the seminary of the last-named order an event occurred, which, as it probably exerted a considerable influence on her after life, deserves to be noticed. A Bible was by some oversight left in her chamber, and, young as she was, she seems to have in some degree appreciated its excellence. Being left much by herself, she devoted her hours of solitude to reading her newly acquired treasure. She says of herself, "I spent whole days in the reading of it, giving no attention to other books or other subjects from morning to night. And having great powers of recollection, *I committed to memory the historical parts entirely.*"

She gave early indications of a religious turn of mind, and her autobiography details several instances of juvenile piety, marked by the usual traits of childish devotion—tenderness and inconstancy. Her father, who seems to have been a religious man, favored this inclination, and when she was but little more than twelve years old, suggested that she should receive the holy eucharist. This pious suggestion, seconded by the instructions of her paternal half-sister, who had already entered the Ursuline Convent, was the means of leading her to a more decided devotion to a religious life. She even had some thought of taking the veil herself, but was overruled by her friends. She, however, went through the formality of a preparation for the holy sacrament, and in due time was admitted to that ordinance as given in the Roman Catholic Church. At this time she declares that she was an entire stranger to the inward power of religion, of which fact her history bears sufficient evidence.

When she was about fifteen years of age, her father removed to Paris, taking his family with him. Paris was then, as now, the

centre of French refinement and licentiousness; and especially then, with Louis XIV. on the throne of Charlemagne, was it the seat of elegance, luxury, and worldly greatness. Such a place and such associations, could not be otherwise than dangerous to the religious character of Mademoiselle de la Mothe, as events amply proved them to be. Her modesty, beauty, and accomplished manners, added to the standing of her family, procured her many suitors; and, after fluttering in the gayety of the metropolis for about a year, she was married to M. Jacques Guyon, a person some twenty years her senior, and of a spirit most uncongenial to hers. His father had been an undertaker on the public works, especially the canal of Briare, and by successful adventures had amassed a fortune, and was honored by his sovereign with a patent of nobility. The arrangements for the match, on the part of the bride, were made by her father;—nor had she ever seen her future husband until a few days before their nuptials. When this is considered, and also the disparity of their ages and the diversity of their associations, it will not be thought strange that their union was not happy. But though inexperienced youth, and all the delicate sensibility that parental tenderness had induced, were thus suddenly ushered into the responsibilities of the marriage relations, yet even there a husband's smiles and confidence would have strengthened her heart and cheered her spirit among her too arduous duties, had such favors fallen to the lot of the youthful Madame Guyon. But her husband was a man of unrefined manners, avaricious and low-minded, and evidently jealous of his wife's mental superiority; which feeling he did not fail to manifest in such ways as would readily occur to a person of a mean spirit. To heighten her infelicity she found her new home occupied by one not at all inclined to give way for the new comer. Her mother-in-law, who was the prototype of all her husband's bad qualities, without any of the more amiable ones,—of which he was not wholly destitute,—was still in the vigor of womanhood, with the energy of a tigress and the spirit of a vixen. A more uncongenial situation than that in which the youthful bride of M. Guyon found herself placed cannot be readily conceived; and she seems to have been fully sensible of its infelicity.

Other events of a character well calculated to beget seriousness, and to induce her to seek the aids of religion, occurred in rapid succession soon after her marriage. Her husband's business affairs became embarrassed, which increased his unkindness and moroseness of spirit. In less than two years she became a mother, and was bereaved of her own mother and her paternal half-sister,

—the religious guide of her early youth. These afflictions bent her gentle spirit to the very earth. The world lost much of its influence over her, as she saw her earthly hopes and dependences blasted and cut off around her. In these extremities she determined to return to the Lord from whom she had wandered; which she at once began to do by humiliation, good works, and prayer. Her biographer remarks:—

"She laid aside all such reading as was incompatible with her present position, and confined her attention chiefly to the most devout works. One of these books, which, notwithstanding its Catholic origin, is much esteemed among Protestants, was the Imitation of Christ, by Thomas á Kempis—a work which is widely circulated and read among devout people of all denominations of Christians. . . . . Some of the works of Francis de Sales, also, which she mentions as having read at an early period of her life, were consulted by her at this time, with great interest."—P. 44.

But her views of the ways of religion, derived, as they necessarily were, from the prevailing instructions of the Romish Church, or from the imperfect and harassing teachings of mystical writers like Kempis and Francis de Sales, were inadequate to the task of affording her the wisdom and consolation that she needed. She sought to be justified by works, for as yet she had not learned a more excellent way. About this time she passed a considerable season at her father's residence in the society of a devout lady, then temporarily resident there, whose life and conversation seems to have been highly profitable to her:—

"Among other things, this devout lady remarked in connection with what she had observed of her various exterior works of charity, that she had the virtues of 'an active life;' that is to say, the virtues of activity, of outward doing: but that she had not the 'truth and simplicity of the life within.' In other words, that her trust was in herself rather than in God, although she might not be fully aware of it. But Madame Guyon, in recurring to this period afterward, says significantly, '*My time had not yet come; I did not understand her.*'"—P. 46.

But such was her honest earnestness, and the steadfastness of her purpose to be a Christian indeed, that she eagerly embraced everything that promised to facilitate her in the attainment of salvation. Her spiritual guides were, at best, of a doubtful tendency; though evidently some of them did not confine their notions of religion to outward observances, but conceived truly exalted views of its spirituality and power. She gives an account of an interview with one of this class, a Franciscan, who, when she had told him of her exercises and difficulties in seeking the peace of her spirit, replied,

"Your efforts have been unsuccessful, madame, because you have sought without, what you can only find within. Accustom yourself to seek God in your heart, and you will not fail to find him." In this remark we have, though in a somewhat infelicitous form of words, a statement of the great evangelical doctrine of faith—and its infelicity was probably less felt in that case than it would be with us; for so completely were the teachings of the church engrossed with a dead formalism, that the call to Christ within could not fail of a salutary tendency. The remark proved to be a word in season. The same expression might have been made a thousand times to others, or to herself at other times, without making any marked impression; but her heart was then prepared to receive the light and the quickening power of the Holy Spirit. She thus describes her mental exercises at this interesting crisis:—

"They [the Franciscan's remarks] were to me like the stroke of a dart which pierced my heart asunder. I felt at this instant deeply wounded with the love of God;—a wound so delightful that I desired it never might be healed. These words brought into my heart what I had been seeking so many years; or rather they made me discover what was there, and which I did not enjoy for want of knowing it. . . . From that moment he [God] had given me an experience of his presence in my soul—not merely an object intellectually perceived, but as a thing really possessed of the sweetest manner. . . . . I slept not all that night because thy love, O my God! flowed in me like delicious oil, and burned as a fire which was going to destroy all that was left of self, in an instant. I was all on a sudden so altered that I was hardly to be known either by myself or others. I found no more those troublesome faults, or that reluctance to duty, which formerly characterized me. They all disappeared, as being consumed like chaff in a great fire."—Pp. 52, 53.

We give her own account of these interesting transactions, as best adapted to convey a correct notion of them. It is not very difficult to trace in it the chief features of that spiritual change, of which multitudes of the most sober and discreet Christians attest the divine and soul-saving reality. Thus, after a long and painful conflict with the powers of sin and unbelief, her soul was enabled to rest in God through faith in the atonement. Her experience had probably gone beyond her speculative faith, and she had found a salvation of which her creed, as taught by the accredited depositaries of religious knowledge, gave no account.

In his observations on Madame Guyon's conversion, the biographer distinguishes between the illumination of the understanding as to religious truth, and the renewal of the heart; and claims for her both one and the other. The distinction is not unworthy of atten-

tion, especially when, as is now the case, there is a strong tendency to a merely intellectual religion. Formerly these internal works of the Spirit were severally denominated "conviction" and "conversion." Whether the superiority of the new terminology will compensate for the inconvenience of a change we will not attempt to determine. Her experience bears strong marks of being the genuine work of the Holy Spirit;—it was her heart, rather than her imagination or her senses, that was affected. And though she was filled with great joy when first delivered from the power of condemnation, she soon learned to distinguish her spiritual consolations from the soul's communion with God, in which the essence of religion consists. This is probably intended in the following characteristic expression, by the author:—"The leading and decisive characteristic of her religious experience was the subjection and loss of her own will in its union with the divine will. It may be expressed in a single term,—*union.*"

This subject is largely elaborated by our author in Madame Guyon's own dialect, and illustrated by extracts from her writings, and the "one idea" rung through all its changes. His statements seem to embody the principal element of the doctrine of faith, though expressed in an unusual style.

Madame Guyon dated her conversion from the 22d day of July, 1668; when she was twenty years old, and had been married about four years. The annual return of that day was regarded by her with great interest, and subsequent occurrences rendered it still more notable in her personal history. There is no good reason to doubt the reality of her conversion at that time, as both the accompanying exercises and the fruits attest its genuineness. The grace of God was now permanently with her—a spirit of life and power; but it was surrounded by the frailties of humanity and the corruptions of the carnal mind within, and by the spirit of the world that knows not God, without. But her spiritual change was decided and strongly marked. No room remained for doubts; for the faith that had delivered her soul from condemnation, also sealed her heart with the Holy Spirit of promise, and enabled her to recognize her filial relation to her reconciled God.

The practical duties of a religious life now demanded her attention. This is often found to be the most difficult part of personal godliness, especially to one living among those with whom religious profession does not imply separation from the world and the consecration of one's self to God. She, however, considered these to be parts of her duty as a child of grace, and her actions corresponded to her convictions. She says:—

"'I bade farewell for ever to assemblies which I had visited, to plays and diversions, to dancing, to unprofitable walks, and to parties of pleasure. The amusements and pleasures which are so much prized and esteemed by the world, now appeared to me dull and insipid—so much so that I wondered how I ever could have enjoyed them.'

"Without going into particulars it may perhaps be sufficient to say, that from this time it became her object, in her dress, in her modes of living, in her personal habits generally, as well as in her interior dispositions, to conform to the requisition of the inward monitor, the comforter and guide of holy souls, who now began to speak in her heart." —Pp. 66, 67.

The world seldom fails to resent the affront offered to it by those who renounce its proffered goods for the sake of the gospel. This Madame Guyon fully experienced :—

"'When the world saw that I had quitted it,' she remarks, 'it persecuted me, and turned me into ridicule. I became the subject of its conversation, of its frivolous stories, and of its amusements. Given up to its irreligion and pleasure, it could not bear that a woman, who was little more than twenty years of age, should thus make war against it, and overcome it.'"—P. 75.

She especially experienced the truth of our Lord's promise to his faithful disciples, that "a man's foes shall be those of his own household." Her husband was not pleased with her religious course; but he did not wholly withdraw his affections from her, nor altogether deprive her of religious privileges. But her mother-in-law, as if incensed that her victim had found a source of enjoyment of which she could not deprive her, pursued her with every form of petty persecution, and labored with fiendish ingenuity to embitter all her pleasures—in which she was aided by other members of the family. She was, however, enabled to endure all her afflictions with patience and resignation; and in her bitterest persecutions, like her divine Master, she "opened not her mouth."

Religious experience, though essentially the same in all cases, is incidentally modified by circumstances. In the case of Madame Guyon two modifying causes are especially worthy of notice. Her own mental character was peculiar. Though her intellect was of a high order, her judgment was not clear and discriminating. Her imagination was fertile and always active; and so much did it influence her perceptions, that she seemed to dwell among unsubstantial forms. Her affectional and impulsive powers were very strong; so that her feelings, rather than her judgment, became the rule of her conduct. She saw nothing clearly, but wherein perception failed, imagination more than supplied the defect; and what was only imaginary as to its cause, became a substantial reality in

its effects, and the whole energy of her active spirit was called into exercise accordingly. To whatever she assented she gave her whole soul; and whatever she approved of, received more than a mere approval. When, therefore, she became a Christian, great zeal and warm devotion to religion were the natural results of the sanctification of a soul so constituted. The usual cold and spiritless forms of religion did not satisfy her; a more active charity was recognized as her reasonable service, and her sensitive spirit required the stimulus of oft-recurring religious exercises. As a second modifying agency, the circumstances of the nominal church about her must be taken into the account. Theological dogmas often serve as barriers and limits to circumscribe the action of spiritual impulses; conventional usages and notions of fitness exert a controlling influence over their manifestations; and ecclesiastical rules are, to a great degree, the laws of religious life and character. Madame Guyon had, with the most unreserved sincerity, chosen the Christian's portion, and therefore she desired to be wholly the Lord's. But for the requisite helps in the work of actual consecration she looked to her accredited spiritual guides. She was a sincere and unsuspecting Romanist, and the doctrines and discipline of her church were her rules of faith and practice. She had learned the plague of her own heart by painful experience, and now felt the need of deliverance from its indwelling corruptions. But how could this inward purification be effected? Of the way of faith she knew only what she had experienced, and probably in this her speculative notions came far short of her practical exercises. Her church pointed her to penances, prayers, and outward observances; and, as for the Bible, she seems to have made but little use of it as a guide and teacher. To those, therefore, she had recourse.

The attempt is sometimes made to distinguish between the *expiatory* and the *disciplinary* character of religious austerities. Professor Upham attempts this in behalf of Madame Guyon. We do not deny that there is such a distinction; the difficulty is in keeping it clearly and practically before the mind: nor can we agree with our author that the object of his admiration is above suspicion on that point. She made a war of extermination against her natural appetites and desires, without much discrimination as to which were essentially evil, and which only incidentally so. Her purpose seems to have been not so much to cleanse her heart, as to lay it waste—to dismantle it. Her course is thus stated by her biographer:—

"She refused for a time to indulge them [her appetites] in anything, in order that she might regain her lost control, and be enabled afterward

to employ them aright. She curbed them strongly and strictly, even beyond what might otherwise have been necessary, not only for the purpose of breaking their present domination, but for the purpose of annulling the terrible influence of that law of habit, which gave to their domination its permanency and power."—P. 84.

All this appears very well, and would be harmless, and perhaps a useful discipline, if it were all. But the statement is not ingenuous and full, and our author has shown elsewhere, by quotations from Madame Guyon's writings, that she did not stop at a wholesome discipline of her own spirit, but resorted to voluntary self-tortures to effect her inward sanctification. She says:—

"'I kept my appetites under great restraints;—subjecting them to a process of *strict and unremitting mortification.* It is impossible to subdue the inordinate action of this part of our nature, perverted as it is by long habits of vicious indulgence, unless we deny to it, for a time, the smallest relaxation. Deny it firmly that which gives it pleasure; and, if it be necessary, *give to it that which disgusts,* and persevere in this course, until, in a certain sense, it has no choice in anything which is presented to it.'"—P. 85.

The above gives only a faint expression of Madame Guyon's asceticism; for, in passing through the hands of her "interpreter," it has been prepared for Protestant ears; but the spirit of it is retained. Waiving all other objections, we would ask, by what authority these austerities are to be inflicted upon one's self? Both Madame Guyon and Professor Upham have written much about the subjection, or, as they choose to express it, the "annihilation," of the human will; and though we do not altogether agree with them in this matter, yet as respects austerities it should be strictly adhered to. We are specially cautioned in Scripture against "voluntary humiliation" and "will-worship," and are taught that God requires "obedience rather that sacrifice." "Do thyself no harm," is a divine commandment, incumbent on every man, and not to be dispensed by any human authority. But Madame Guyon's design in using austerities was as objectionable as was their tendency. She seems to have been more intent upon the destruction of her natural powers than upon their sanctification. It was not so much purity of heart as its *deadness*, that she sought through self-inflicted tortures. Christianity requires the purification of our natures, rather than the extirpation or suspension of our active powers. In this our holy religion infinitely transcends the systems of the greatest philosophers. The "carnal mind," whose destruction is the great design of inward religion, is not identical with the essential properties of human nature; "but it is the *corruption* of

the nature of every man," and therefore its extirpation implies no more than the purification of the heart. All the original powers of the soul may be used to the glory of God, and the legitimate design of religious discipline is not to destroy them, but to bring them into his service.

The period in the life of Madame Guyon now under consideration covers a space of about six years, extending to the twenty-sixth year of her age. During this time her religious state was greatly diversified with lights and shadows. When abroad her associations were such as could not be agreeable to her feelings; or if her heart at any time inclined to their pleasures, it was but to prepare for itself more bitter repentance. At home her religious privileges were circumscribed with the most malevolent watchfulness. She was seldom permitted to be alone; and if she at any time sought out some secret place to commune with her God, her absence was noted and made the occasion for sneers and reproaches. Her own spiritual strength was comparatively small, and her faith weak; yet she grew in grace and became more and more established. Toward the close of this period, when she had been bereaved of her father, her daughter, and other cherished friends, she formally renewed her espousals to the Lord by a written deed of consecration; a covenant that was never forgotten by her in after life.

About the beginning of the year 1674, Madame Guyon entered upon a remarkable period in the history of her religious experience. She styles it her season of *privation* and *desolation*, and thus describes it:—

"'I seemed to myself cast down as it were from a *throne of enjoyment*, like Nebuchadnezzar, to live among beasts—a very trying and deplorable state, when regarded independently of its relations, and yet exceedingly profitable to me in the end, in consequence of the use which divine wisdom made of it. Considered in comparison with my former state of enjoyment, it was a state of emptiness, darkness, and sorrow; and went far beyond any trials I had yet met with.'"—P. 152.

"'Loaded with miseries of all sorts, weighed down with the burden of continual crosses, I at last gave up all hope. The darkness of an eternal night settled upon my soul. Looking upon myself as a victim doomed for destruction, I had not the least expectation of emerging out of the distressing state in which I found myself. As in the case of the Saviour in the extremity of his suffering, God seemed to have forsaken me. But thanks be to his grace, my heart bowed in entire and holy submission. Lost as I was, or rather as I seemed to myself to be, I could not cease to love.

"'Believing as I did, in the strange position of my mind, that I could never again be acceptable to God, and never received by him, I distinctly and fully recognized his justice and his goodness; and could

not repress the longing desire I had to do something to promote his glory. I could praise the Lord out of the depths to which no lower depths seemed possible.'"—P. 182.

Such cases, which are sufficiently numerous to be accounted a class, may be partly explained as resulting from an original peculiarity of mental character,—a natural proclivity to desponding views and feelings,—and from want of understanding the gospel way of salvation; but in most instances they must be referred to the voluntary action, or inaction, of the individual. Both of the former causes may be presumed to have operated in this case, and probably the influence of the last was not wholly wanting.

Madame Guyon supposed herself to be forsaken of God, not because of an unusual resistance to the Holy Spirit, but because he did not love her, nor desire her salvation. She indeed confessed her unworthiness of his favor, and seems to have tortured her mind into a kind of insane acquiescence with what she blasphemously supposed to be the will of God—that she should be damned. There is no means of accounting for many of the vagaries of diseased mental action, and nowhere else are these phenomena so strangely exhibited as in religious experience, for in nothing else are the mysterious powers of the soul so fully called into action. For more than six years was she the victim of these painful despondings,—relieved, indeed, at distant intervals with gleams of fleeting and unsatisfying hope; till at length, without any outward cause for the change, she was delivered from her captivity, and enabled again to rejoice in the goodness and loving kindness of God her Saviour.

As, during their continuance, Madame Guyon considered her "desolations" as coming from the Lord, so she ever afterward viewed her sufferings as of divine infliction; but with this remarkable difference, that, whereas before she looked upon them as altogether punitive, she now saw them to have been disciplinary and corrective. This subject involves an important question in practical divinity, upon both sides of which great names are arrayed, and high authority may be appealed to; and upon the determination of which vastly important consequences are suspended. Mystical writers generally have taught that among the disciplinary dispensations of grace, spiritual dearth holds a prominent place; that God, for wise and gracious ends, takes away the consolations of his grace from the faithful souls whom he loves, to teach them to walk by "simple faith," in contradistinction to the light of faith. This was Madame Guyon's opinion, in which, as in almost everything else, her biographer has followed her; and he has availed

himself of this portion of his narrative, as an opportunity to set forth a pretty full statement of his views on that subject.

He confesses that this part of the history of Madame Guyon is peculiarly liable to be misunderstood; but intimates that he perfectly comprehends it all. He begins:—

"The Christian life, in the highest sense of the term, is a *life of faith*. This is generally admitted and understood, but it does not appear to be equally well understood that to live by emotions, to draw our activity and our hope from sensible joys, is to live by *sight* rather than by *faith*. Joy is not life, but merely an incident of life."—P. 153.

This distinction between faith and sight we deem unreal, and not agreeable to Scripture. Faith and sight are, indeed, distinguished and placed in opposition to each other in the Bible; but what do the sacred writers mean by *sight*, as the term is used in that connection? Evidently not every kind and degree of perception, but *natural* perception. Faith has a sight of its own, distinct and different from those of sense and intellect; and it is this *seeing* faith that St. Paul so pointedly opposes to sensible and intellectual perception. Wherever this faith is, there always will be a perception of God, and of the things of God;—of that God who has said, "I am the light of the world; he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life."

He proceeds,—

"God designed to make her his own in the highest and fullest sense. . . . . And in order to do this, it became with him, if we may so express it, a matter of necessity, that he should take from her every possible inward support, separate and distinct from that of unmixed, naked faith."—*Ibid.*

By "naked faith" our author seems to mean a faith that is divested of its divinely appointed accompaniments, light, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. But unless we greatly err, this "naked faith" is not that of which St. Paul discourses with such heavenly unction of soul. The apostles knew nothing of it as belonging to the gospel, but St. James has described it so accurately that it cannot be mistaken. Saving faith is never alone, is never without fruits,—among which *peace* and *joy* hold a prominent place. The triad of Christian graces are as really inseparable in the heart of the believer, as are their glorious prototypes upon the eternal throne, and those as these are united in all that is done for man's salvation.

That we may do our author no injustice, as well as to give the reader who may not have the work at hand a better notion of his views, we will let him speak for himself yet more fully:—

"It is true, undoubtedly, that we may enjoy the will of God in the joys of God; that is to say, while we take a degree of satisfaction in the consolations themselves, we may rejoice in them chiefly and especially as indicative of the divine will. But, in the earlier periods of Christian experience, we are much more apt to rejoice in our joys, than to rejoice in the *God of our joys*. The time had come in which God saw it necessary to take away this prop on which she was resting, in some degree at least, without knowing it.

"She could love God's will, trying though it often was to her natural sensibilities, when it was sweetened with consolations. But she was now called to endure another and a deeper trial. The question now proposed to her was whether she could love God's will, when standing, as it were, alone, when developing itself as the agent and minister of divine providences which were to be received, endured, and rejoiced in, in all their bitterness, simply because they were from God.

"This was a question which, under the circumstances of the case, could not well be tested, except in connection with that state of inward aridity to which we have referred; a state which, *in itself considered*, cannot properly be designated as painful, and still less as condemnatory, but which is sometimes described as a lifeless or *dead* state; that is to say, dead, not in the sense of being without religion, but dead in respect to a particular kind or class of emotions; a state which is without life in the sense of its being *unemotional*. In other words, joyous emotions have either ceased to exist, or their natural results are overruled by influences originating in feelings of a different character. God's hand is in this result; and it is well that it should be so. As men may make a God of their own intellect by being proud of their intellect; or may make a God of their will by being proud of their will; so they may make a God of their joyous emotions by taking a wrongly placed pleasure in them. And just so far as this is the case, it is proper for God, in the exercise of his gracious administration, to take away such emotions. He turns their channels back; he smites our earthly delights, and opens the sources of providential sorrow, and overwhelms them, and they disappear. And in doing this he does not take away men's religion, but rather takes away an idol; or, if that term be too strong, he certainly takes away that, whatever we may name it, which perplexes and injures religion."—Pp. 155, 156.

Two particulars are especially worthy of notice in the foregoing extract. The first is, that the author either does not understand himself, or else he is not satisfied with his own statement of the subject. This is evident from the frequent recurrence of such clauses as, "that is to say," "as it were," "in some degree at least," "in other words," &c.,—phrases which infallibly indicate dimness and confusion of ideas.* The other is, that this statement does not

* It might afford a little critical amusement, if some one would count up the number of times that some of these clauses occur in these volumes—their name is legion.

cover the case of Madame Guyon. Her "desolations" were not the result of the smiting of her "earthly delights," nor of any "providential sorrow." And our author seems to have been dissatisfied with what he had written; for he immediately proceeds to qualify his remarks, and gives us a curious specimen of backing and filling. He observes that the subject "involves a nice analysis of the mental operations;"—that by *emotions* he does not mean "all emotions," but particularly refers to "joyous emotions;" and that he does "not mean *all of them*," but means "emotions in the *wrong place*;" and concludes by saying, "This remark will be better understood, (?) when we add further, that religion, considered in its element or foundation principle, consists in faith in God, and in those desires and purposes which naturally flow out of such a faith." Really this is saying a great deal to express nothing; for, like the bewildered traveler, he has gone around an entire circle and come back to the starting point.

We doubt whether true faith can exist detached from its object, which is God,—not in the *abstract*, considered apart from his beneficent relations to us, but as he has revealed himself—our Father, our Friend, and Redeemer. To talk, therefore, of making our joys an object of faith is to talk nonsense, and to think of having a faith in God, otherwise than as he has revealed himself, is absurdity, to say nothing of impiety. But if the writer means, as probably he does, that we should wholly disregard our own enjoyment, and love and serve God only on account of his "inherent goodness and holiness," irrespective of his relations to us, we object to his scheme as supererogatory and impracticable. Our love to God necessarily takes the form of gratitude;—"we love him *because* he first loved us;"—he asks no more, and has not given us the power to render him more than this.

The practical importance of this subject must be our apology for dwelling so long upon it. The inclination to despondency is quite strong enough in devout minds, without the aid of a notion that we must be sorrowful in order to be Christians; and there are many other ways by which to account for the "desolation of our joys," less dangerous than to charge them to the will of Heaven. To do this is alike dishonorable to God and ruinous to ourselves; and so closely does the heart, many times, cling to its moping melancholy, that wholesome religious instruction often fails to induce the sufferer to burst the spell that binds him as with fetters of iron. How hopeless then must be his condition who has taught himself to regard his sorrows as divine dispensations, to be cherished and rejoiced in? Nor is the case relieved by the consideration that because

this "hour of darkness" is from God, it ceases to be a just occasion for condemnation. Unbelief has its logic as well as faith—and at such a season unbelief bears rule. But religious despondency is much less the creature of reason than of feeling. If, therefore, it could be shown that the want of consolations is no good ground to doubt as to the divine favor, the desponding spirit would doubt, nevertheless. The direct tendency of this state of mind is, invariably, to plunge the soul deeper and deeper into spiritual darkness and unbelief. We will add, the Scriptures teach nothing of this sort, but the contrary. To "walk in the light as he is in the light," is the privilege and the duty of the faithful; and though grievous trials may befall the righteous, yet divine consolations are mingled with them all. They may and should "rejoice evermore." During this remarkable period Madame Guyon's external history was diversified by some painful vicissitudes. Among these must be reckoned as chief, the sickness and death of her husband; for, notwithstanding the incongeniality of their characters, there evidently existed some affection between them. She was too good at heart, however erratic in spirit, to be otherwise than kind to all about her; and toward her husband she entertained something of that reverential esteem that becomes a wife. Nor was M. Guyon wholly destitute of the gentler virtues; and, when left to himself, under the chastening influence of sickness, his better feelings gained the ascendency. His heart was touched; his conscience smote him for his past unkindness; and, in deep emotion of spirit, he sought her forgiveness. A complete reconciliation was not difficult to be effected, for she was as artless and as free from malice as a child. She scarcely left his bedside during his whole sickness, and was comforted in his death with the hope that he was not wholly unprepared for his great change.

Being now left a widow at the age of twenty-eight, and having the cares of a family, and of a large and complicated estate, upon her hands, a new field of duty opened before her. Soon after, she retired to a private residence, with her three children and a nurse; where, though her heart was the abode of "desolations," her hands were engaged in active charities. Her own household engrossed most of her time and attention; but the poor of her neighborhood soon knew her, and "the blessing of him that was ready to perish" came upon her. She even attempted to remedy the defect of her early education, and actually studied Latin, that she might avail herself of the works of the mystical writers in that language.

All this time her inward conflicts and sorrow of soul continued without abatement. Since she had made a league with unbelief,

it is not strange that she was a subject of severe and painful temptations; and though she strongly strove to avoid all actual sins, yet to her morbid conscience the temptation to sin became an occasion for condemnation and self-reproach. Her solicitude to avoid the commission of sin induced her to seek the aid of religious counsel and instruction. This, however, did not occur till near the close of the period of her darkness, and it evinces a change in her feelings. The clouds were breaking, though she was not aware of it. There is a recuperative energy in man's spirit, that is often found sufficient to resist a vast amount of morbid influence, and which sometimes seizes upon comfort as with the hand of violence. This evidently was the case with Madame Guyon. She, however, obtained but little help from the spiritual guides with whom she was surrounded, which led her to seek aid from one in whom she had great confidence, but who was then in a remote part of the kingdom. As that individual acts a somewhat conspicuous part in her subsequent history, a more formal introduction may be agreeable to the reader.

Francis de la Combe was a member of the religious order of Barnabites—an ecclesiastic of a finished education and of polished manners, possessed of a quiet and devout spirit, slightly inclined to mysticism, but withal buoyant and hopeful. He first saw Madame Guyon, previous to the beginning of her "desolations," by means of a letter of introduction to her given by her half-brother, Father de la Mothe, to La Combe. Their first interview was formal, on account of a mutual shyness; but they were kindred spirits, and this was detected on both sides,—and

"One touch of nature makes the whole world kin."

They became interested in each other, met again, and exchanged sentiments more freely. She was the greater mystic, and so undertook to instruct him more perfectly as to the nature of the "interior life;" but he was more expert in the practical part, and soon outstripped her in the work of faith, and in turn became her guide.

Induced by her internal exercises, at the time of which we were speaking, Madame Guyon determined to write to La Combe, and to lay open her whole heart to him. The view which he took of her case in his answer, favored the inclination of her mind to returning hope. He told her "that she ought to regard these afflictions as an evidence of the goodness and mercy of God, who was thus painfully but kindly removing the earthly props on which her spirit leaned." This met her case. She pined to find a basis of hope, and this gave it. The night of her sorrows was far spent; nature refused to grieve longer, and happily for her she found a

way to rejoice in God. This correspondence occurred early in the year 1681; the eventful 22d of July—the anniversary of her second birth—was approaching, and she began to anticipate its coming with much hope. She wrote again to La Combe, requesting him to make that day a season of special prayer in her behalf. The hope of deliverance, at that time, grew stronger as the day approached; this strengthened her faith, and "according to her faith it was done unto her." On that favored day the clouds passed away, and the light of divine glory shone in upon her soul.

Of the facts of this case there can be no rational doubt; but they will be differently explained, according to each one's views of experimental divinity. Those who regard religion as more than an outward form, will here recognize the agency of the Holy Comforter; but whether the work wrought was only a change in her views and feelings, or whether her changed exercises were the effects of a thorough spiritual renovation, is more doubtful. The subject of them regarded them as the result of such an internal change, and her biographer coincides in that opinion. That she was truly pious, according to her knowledge, is evident; and that she had attained to an advanced state of religious experience is scarcely less certain. Charity requires the conclusion that the highest attainable degree of spiritual purity may coexist with great infirmities and many practical errors.

Madame Guyon describes her spiritual state after she was delivered from her protracted sorrows, as a "deep pervading peace resulting from the fact that all my desires were fulfilled in the will of God." "I desired nothing," she adds, "feared nothing, willed nothing." There is nothing peculiar in this statement of the soul's exercises—nothing more than is commonly experienced in the early stages of religious experience. Peace is the first fruit of the Spirit of adoption, and this necessarily implies the subjection of the whole soul to God, though not the entire purification of the soul. She remarks further,—

> "One characteristic of this higher degree of experience was a sense of inward purity. My mind had such a oneness with God, such a unity with the divine nature, that nothing seemed to have power to soil it and to diminish its purity. It experienced the truth of that declaration of Scripture, that to the pure all things are pure."—P. 195.

A question in psychology might be raised as to whether inward purity, which is only a negative quality, is a subject of consciousness. We should be inclined to doubt, were not the assumption indorsed by such high authority as our author, though even he

sometimes sacrifices the metaphysician to the mystic theologian. The idea intended in the last extract is a grand one; the Christian may live in the world with all its pollutions, and yet be kept from its evils. But the language is dangerous on account of its extreme liability to misconstruction. With her no doubt the idea was "pure;" but the same language has often been used as a license to the grossest impurities, and the illustration by which it is followed only increases its dangerous tendency. It is a favorite Antinomian maxim, that, as the rays of the sun come in contact with all manner of defilement and yet are not themselves defiled, so the "pure in heart" cannot be otherwise than pure, though immersed in all inward and outward sins. That she did not see this danger is not surprising; but what shall we think of her clear-headed, Puritanical biographer. Shall we likewise acquit his heart at the expense of his judgment? It is not enough to plead the wholesomeness of the doctrine set forth, *as she intended it;* it is the facility of perversion that effectually condemns the language used, and this should have restrained the biographer from reissuing it with his own indorsement.

The change which had occurred in Madame Guyon's religious views and feelings presented to her a new aspect of things. Her consecration must now become actual, and she earnestly desired to know and do her duty. Induced probably by the prevailing notion that such institutions were the appropriate abodes of piety, she first directed her thoughts to a convent; but after a brief hesitation, she decided not to become a nun. Her children required her care and protection, and it is greatly to her honor that she preferred that piety which leads to the discharge of relative duties, to the fictitious devotions of the cloister.

On the other hand, the question of a second marriage was presented to her; but after mature deliberation and much prayer, she "resolved to be God's alone." Without depreciating her piety at all, we may presume that motives originating in herself had some influence on her determinations. Religion sanctifies the affections and purifies the motives, without destroying the original and habitual inclinations of the soul. She was constitutionally inclined to rule, and, having once tried the matrimonial yoke, she chose not again to be in subjection. Still she was not at ease. Her spirit was restless, and she desired to be doing good; and, not content with her present sphere of action, she sighed for distant fields, and craved the labors and privations of a missionary.

It should not be forgotten that Madame Guyon was zealously attached to the Roman Catholic Church, not only as a Christian,

but also as a partisan; she was a Romanist as distinguished from Protestants, with whose opinions and practices she had ample opportunities to become acquainted. She sympathized with the spirit of her church as then manifested in France—a spirit of earnest propagandism. The Church of Rome, aroused from its lethargy by the incursions of the reformers, was then making strenuous efforts to regain its lost ascendency, and France was the chief field of the contest. A cruel persecution had been set on foot by the French monarch and his priests; and to further the great design of "extirpating heresy," the missal and crucifix were joined to the sword and fagot, and the missionary became the fellow-laborer with the dragoon.

Geneva, lying upon the very border of France, was one of the strongholds of the Reformation, but was still claimed as a portion of the domains of the church, and had its titular bishop, who resided at some distance from the city and beyond its jurisdiction. Upon this fair city, as a gem to be recovered for the church, Madame Guyon fixed her heart; and she felt her spirit inclining her to go thither as a missionary. Her history at this point begins to exhibit indubitable signs of mental aberrations. We do not intimate that a wish to convert heretics is a proof of insanity, though we confess that her zeal was hardly compatible with a sound mind and the religious character for which we have given her credit; but her choosing for herself a task that had baffled the utmost efforts of Rome for more than a hundred years, indicates a far-gone case of religious Quixotism. It was in vain that her duty to her fatherless children stood in the way of her favorite project; all the claims of humanity and relative obligations were silenced by one perverted text of Scripture:—"He that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me."

It happened that D'Aranthon, the titular bishop of Geneva, whose diocese lay among and near the Alps both in France and Savoy, was at that time in Paris. With him Madame Guyon sought an interview, and partially opened to him her designs, and obtained his approbation of them. She accordingly broke up her little family, and leaving her two sons at Paris, with only her little daughter and her faithful nurse she set out upon her pilgrimage. Probably very few who have devoted themselves to the cause of Christ, have done it more sincerely or more in the spirit of sacrifice than did Madame Guyon; and however ill-advised she may have been, we must at least commend her sincerity and applaud her honest self-devotion. She had disciplined herself to resist "the life of nature;" and if an affection were natural, that alone

were sufficient to render it virtuous to do it violence. It was to no effect that her natural affections moved in her heart to her little ones whom she was abandoning; she had forgotten that "obedience is better than sacrifice." Relative to this part of her history she remarks:—

"'The ties with which God held me closely united to himself were infinitely stronger than those of flesh and blood. The laws of my sacred marriage, in which I had given myself to the Lord, to be his in the most intimate and sacred relation, obliged me to give up all, to follow my Spouse whithersoever it was his pleasure to call me after him. Though from time to time I had doubts and trials of mind, before I went upon this religious mission, I ought to say that after my departure, I never doubted of its being God's will that I should go.'"—P. 221.

Had she known more of human nature, and more of her own heart, she would have detected the sophistry of her conclusion, that because she felt no further doubts after she had gone forth upon her "mission," therefore it was of God. In her state of perplexity a decision was itself a relief; and with her strong powers of volition a decision was final. Having made her choice, she would approve it; not only for the same reasons that first induced it, but also, and with greatly increased attachment, because it was her own.

She proceeded from Paris to Lyons, and thence to Anecci, the residence of the bishop of Geneva. The next day, the auspicious 22d of July, (1681,) was celebrated by D'Aranthon, in honor of her coming, by certain religious services at the tomb of St. Francis de Salés, who was buried at that place;—"where," she adds, "I renewed my spiritual marriage with my Redeemer." The next day she went to Geneva, but passed onward in a few hours to Gex, a small town in France, where she took up a temporary residence with the Sisters of Charity. About this time her former confessor and director died, and D'Aranthon assigned her La Combe in his stead—an arrangement highly satisfactory to Madame Guyon. Here she remained for a short time without special occupation; and her own statements show that she was luxuriating in a voluptuous religious sentimentality. But hers was an active charity as well as a lively sensibility. She presently engaged in benevolent labors in behalf of the poor and sick of her neighborhood; for which she was applauded by her associates and also commended by the bishop. But her animal spirits, to say nothing of the designs of Providence, called her to another sphere of activity: she sighed for something further, but knew not what. In her religious conversations she had begun to speak of the "interior life"—of the

intrinsic as well as the relative sanctification of the vessels of grace; and in the simplicity of her heart she stumbled upon the great fundamental principle of vital religion—she spoke of *salvation by faith*.

"Both the thing and the manner of the thing struck those who heard it with astonishment. Sanctification itself was repugnant; and sanctification by *faith* inexplicable. In the Protestant Church it would have been hardly tolerable; but in the Catholic Church . . . the toleration of a sentiment which ascribes the highest results of inward experience to *faith alone* was impossible. So that, instead of being regarded as an humble Catholic, as she supposed herself to be, she found herself suddenly denounced as a heretic. But the word was in her heart, formed there by infinite Wisdom; and in obedience to that deep and sanctified conviction which constitutes the soul's inward voice, she uttered it *now*, uttered it *always*, though bonds and imprisonments awaited her."—Pp. 238, 239.

Though surrounded by ecclesiastics and religious persons, she stood alone in her views of the power and efficacy of faith. La Combe, who resided some twenty miles distant, alone supported her; and even he rather sympathized with the sentiments of her heart, than coincided with her newly declared opinions. His ecclesiastical relations to her called for his interference in the present exigency of her affairs. Having visited Gex for this purpose, and perceiving the opposition she was likely to meet with, he invited her on his return to accompany him to his residence at Thonon. Here the director soon became the disciple, and in a short time was made a convert to the new faith of his spiritual protegé, which he ever afterward maintained in fidelity to her, and to his own conscience, though at the expense of all the world besides.

After a brief sojourn at Thonon, Madame Guyon returned to Gex, where she employed herself in instructing all to whom she had access in experimental religion. Shortly after this, La Combe was called to preach on some public occasion, and with the zeal of a new convert he availed himself of the opportunity to set forth his newly acquired views of salvation by faith; which led to new commotions, and incipient but abortive persecutions for heresy. D'Aranthon finding that his new auxiliary was likely to bring him more plague than profit, wished to place her in a situation where the latter might be increased and the former avoided. He proposed to her that she should give her property to one of the religious houses at Gex, and become its prioress. This he supposed would give her a field for the exercise of her active spirit, and at the same time afford her a covert from the storm of contempt and

persecution which was gathering about her. This, too, she had herself frequently proposed to do; but now her answer was, that *the voice of God in her soul* called her to a new and higher *mission*. The influence and authority of La Combe were next invoked to bring her to compliance, but he was found as little complaisant as she. D'Aranthon was grieved, perhaps offended; and though he behaved with much prudence and moderation, his subsequent relations to both Madame Guyon and La Combe were antagonistic. Her own spirits during this time were at the flood-tide of rapturous exultation. She believed herself to be perfected in all the Christian graces, that her own will was annihilated, and that she had become "one with God." She arose at midnight for purposes of devotion, and found no need of her alarm-watch to warn her of the time. "It seemed to me," she remarks, "that God came to me at the precise time and awoke me from sleep, that I might enjoy him." Her language and expressions are at this point offensively fondling and voluptuous. She no doubt knew something of spiritual religion, but her spirituality was greatly intermixed with earthly elements. She knew Christ, but it was after the flesh; because she had not attained to that purer spiritual affection which distinguishes the perfect Christian.

But clouds and storms were gathering around her, and severe trials beset her pathway. Her doctrines were unpopular, and her manners offensive; and she was made the victim of numerous petty annoyances, designed to drive her from the place. She, therefore, removed from Gex to Thonon, where she enjoyed a season of quiet and great inward peace; and though she was aware that her name was aspersed by her enemies, she was not in haste to justify herself, but calmly awaited the developments of Providence. But the fame of her good deeds as well as the slander of her enemies reached her new abode; and many who sighed in spirit for something better in religion than vapid forms, sought from her the words of life. Her instructions, as given at this time and recorded by herself, are singularly evangelical, but greatly discolored by mysticisms. Here she was again visited by D'Aranthon, who renewed his solicitations to her to become the prioress of a convent; to which she opposed her divine commission to another work, and wholly declined the proposal. This rather silenced than satisfied the bishop, and they parted not in the best temper toward each other.

Madame Guyon's relations to the Church of Rome were now apparently becoming critically delicate. In spirit she had for some time ceased to be a consistent Romanist, and now her breach with

D'Aranthon seemed to threaten a formal rupture. But the danger was only in appearances. Madame Guyon was a thorough, even a bigoted Roman Catholic, despite of her piety and experimental acquaintance with a purer faith. Such anomalies are not of very rare occurrence in the Church of Rome. She, however, continued her customary method of giving religious instruction to all who came to her; and such was the interest awakened upon the subject that she presently became the centre of a wide-spreading religious influence. As may be presumed, this did not fail to awaken opposition. The powers of the church were at length evoked against her and her party; and both she and La Combe were ordered to leave the diocese.

She, therefore, left Thonon, where she had resided about two years, and came to Turin in Piedmont, having been invited thither by the marchioness of Prunai, a lady of kindred spirit with herself, and who had also drunk deeply of the cup of earthly sorrow. While she abode at Turin her manner of life was much the same that it had been at Thonon, and her labors were followed by similar results. But Italy was not her appropriate field of labor, nor had she purposed to make it more than a temporary retreat. After a brief sojourn, therefore, she prepared to return to France, and being invited by a religious friend, she went to tarry for a season in the city of Grenoble.

It was while Madame Guyon resided at Thonon that she first attempted authorship. The state of her health compelled her to seek some repose from the constant labor and excitement occasioned by the numerous visitors who frequented her residence for religious instruction; and this season of quiet was occupied by her in composing a little treatise on religious experience. It was entitled "The Spiritual Torrents," and under the figure of the progress of streams of water toward the ocean, she attempted to illustrate the progress of souls in grace. The salient idea is that of the essential identity of the human soul and the essence of God, like that of all detached portions of water with the ocean. As the vapor is separated from the ocean by its form, so, by sin, souls are separated from God. The conversion of the soul answers to the condensation of the vapor; for as the water then immediately begins to seek the ocean, so the regenerated spirit instinctively aspires to God and holiness. And thus following up the figure, the various forms of religious experience, the advances and retrogradations of Christian life, are all attempted to be classified and illustrated by the various kinds and characters of streams of water. Our author becomes eloquent in discussing the subject-matter of this treatise,

and shows plainly that in it he finds his own cherished faith. He discourses upon it in this wise:—

"Like the mystic writers generally, like Cudworth and Leighton among English writers, the authoress of the Spiritual Torrents insists much upon the harmony of the human and divine mind. This is her mode of expression; a mode of expression, which, when properly understood, not only conveys a high religious truth, but is based, as it seems to me, upon a correct mental philosophy. Sin is only another name for divergency from God, who is the truth and the good. When we recognize the great truth that our life is from God, and accept his appointed way of return through Christ our mediatorial sacrifice, and cease to be divergent by becoming one with him, then we cease to sin. And this is always the case when the human will is entirely in harmony with the divine will."—P. 323.

In his further "interpretations," he proceeds to point out the difference between a "submissive" and a "harmonious" will. The former, he tells us, "is only brought into *position* by the sentiment of duty;" but the latter "carries the heart with it,"—"it is not only concordant, but is *one*."

"And then the question comes, How is this harmony to be brought about,—a harmony which places the centre of all human wills in the centre of the eternal Will? And the answer is, Just in proportion as we dislodge the human life from its own centre, which is self, it has a tendency by the laws of its own nature to seek the true centre, which is God."—P. 324.

We give these extracts rather as specimens of their author's manner, than with any expectation of enabling the reader to understand his meaning. After carefully studying his remarks in this part, we may venture a *guess;*—we dare not do more. There seems to be some glimmering views of evangelical truth, very awkwardly set forth, and mingled with much that is erroneous and of pernicious practical tendencies.

This work embodied the elements of Madame Guyon's theological system, though in a somewhat chaotic state, exhibiting her as a devout enthusiast, deserving some praise and much admiration, but painfully demonstrating her unfitness for a pattern or teacher of experimental godliness. Nor is the evil taken away by the labors of Professor Upham; and though we may accord to him the praise of piety and of an honest purpose to do good, we must still believe that his works, especially this one, are likely to do much more harm than good. His statement of the state of perfect sanctification, to say nothing of its puerilities, presents the idea of the lethargic beatitudes of Vishnoo in his eternal repose, rather than the intelligent and fervent zeal of Christian love. Its ten-

dency is to exalt the idle contemplativeness of the cloister, above the active charities of social life; to induce an undue regard for *impressions*, which, if they may be the work of the Holy Spirit, may also be, and much more probably are, the creatures of the imagination; and to cherish spiritual pride and the worship of self, under the semblance of the most profound humility,—for how readily may the deceitful heart, while seeming to worship the Godhead within itself, glide unperceived into the worship of itself?

We have noticed Madame Guyon's arrival at Grenoble. The lady by whose invitation she came thither, who seems to have had some knowledge of her history and character, desired her to remain there for a season; and as Providence seemed to point to this, she assented to do so. She accordingly took lodgings with a poor but pious widow in an obscure part of the city, where she passively resigned herself to the will of Heaven. But no sooner was she come thither, than her arrival was noised through all the religious houses of the city; and she, who sat down in solitude and among strangers, was presently thronged by a multitude of deeply interested visitors. With these her conversations were exclusively religious, and her instructions highly spiritual; and their effects were truly remarkable. The whole city was agitated by a new and unparalleled religious excitement. She remarks:—

"'People flocked together from all sides, far and near. Friars, priests, men of the world, maids, wives, and widows, all came, one after another, to hear what was to be said. So great was the interest felt, that for some time I was wholly occupied from six o'clock in the morning to eight in the evening in speaking of God. From the situation in which I was placed, it was not possible for me to aid myself much in the remarks I was called upon to make, by meditation and study. But God was with me. He enabled me in a wonderful manner to understand the spiritual condition and wants of those who came to me, and to say to them something which was pertinent and satisfactory. Many were the souls that submitted to God at that time;—God only knows how many. Some appeared to be changed, as it were, in a moment. Delivered from a state in which their hearts and lips were closed, they were at once endued with gifts of prayer which were wonderful. Marvelous, indeed, was this work of the Lord.'"—P. 357.

Of the nature of this religious awakening, and of the extent of the work in the hearts of its subjects, it is impossible to form any certain judgment. Madame Guyon evidently believed the whole of it to be the genuine work of the Spirit, and no doubt that cases of merely resolved doubt, and probably of satisfied curiosity also, were set down by her as real conversion. If in this she over estimated the effects of her efforts, the error is venial and far from

being singular. Whether there was a revival of pure religion, resulting in genuine conversions to God, on that occasion, must remain a matter of doubt, for want of further information as to the nature of the exercises of the inquirers, and as to their subsequent lives, by which alone professed conversions can be tested.

About eight miles from the city of Grenoble, in an almost inaccessible mountain dell, was situated the celebrated monastery of the Grand Charterose. The discipline of that convent was much more rigid than that of most religious houses, and hitherto a woman had never been seen within its sacred precincts. Induced by their reputation for piety, Madame Guyon determined to visit these holy monks in their mountain fastnesses, and so, all unasked, she set out and forced her way onward till she reached the consecrated valley. When it was known that she had come into their seclusion, and was awaiting an interview at the house of reception, some distance below the convent, father Innocentius, the prior, took with him a number of his most venerable brethren to be witnesses of their interview, and called to see her. The impression made upon the mind of the venerable friar was unfavorable. He perceived her waywardness of mind, and probably detected in her both the fanatic and the Protestant, though he would not be likely to distinguish them very accurately. She returned the same day to the city. As may be readily presumed, her great success and growing reputation were the signal for new hostility to herself and her doctrines. The lady, by whose invitation she had come to Grenoble, moved by jealousy as Madame Guyon supposed, became her enemy; and the confessors, finding perhaps their craft in danger, raised an outcry against her.

The season of Madame Guyon's stay at Grenoble, notwithstanding the press of outward and public duties upon her hands, was occupied by her in writing two of her most considerable works,—"A Short Method of Prayer," and "Commentaries on the Holy Scriptures."

The latter of these works was begun at Grenoble, and continued through several years, till she had gone over the whole of the sacred volume. In nothing else is intellectual obliquity so readily detected as in the use and interpretation of Scripture; and by this delicate test Madame Guyon's partial insanity is abundantly demonstrated. Her notes are for the most part practical and experimental; and, as may be presumed, are expressed in the wildest strains of transcendental mysticism. She supposed herself to be the subject of the immediate influence of a divine afflatus, and considered her expositions as immediately inspired. To favor her

ecstasy she wrote mostly in the night, and so sensibly did she fancy that she felt the presence of God, that she "both begun and left off writing as he pleased to order it; writing when he gave the inward light and strength, and stopping when he withheld it." She further adds, "I wrote with great rapidity, light being diffused within me in such a manner that I found that I had in myself latent powers of perception and knowledge of which I had but little previous conception." We may smile at all this, as the babblings of an enthusiastic woman, whose fevered fancy had dethroned her understanding: but whoever does this, must now beware; for in so doing he includes the author of the "Interior Life" in the same condemnation. In remarking upon this subject he says:—"She seems in this to have been an illustration and proof of the Scriptural declaration, that those who do the will of God shall know of the doctrine whether it is true. God taught her just as far as she was his." A more pernicious enthusiasm, than that here broadly indorsed by Professor Upham, never cursed poor erring man; for it substitutes the vapors of an over-heated brain for the plain common sense of the Bible, and is sufficient in any case to change the truth of God into a lie.

"There is one passage illustrative of the operations of her mind, in the preparation of her commentaries, which it may be proper to repeat here. 'In writing my commentaries on the Book of Kings, when I gave attention to those parts which had relation to King David, I felt a very remarkable communion of spirit with him—as much so almost as if he had been present with me. Even before I had commenced writing, in my previous and preparatory contemplations, I had experienced this union. By a remarkable operation upon me, I seemed to comprehend very fully the greatness of his grace, the conduct of God over him, and all the circumstances of the states through which he passed. In his capacity of leader and pastor of Israel, I was deeply impressed with a view of him as a striking type of Christ. The Saviour and his people are one. And it seemed to be nothing less than that pure love and holy union, which I had previously experienced in connection with the Saviour, which now extended itself to the king of Israel, his antitype, [antetype?] and embraced him and also other saints. It was in the experience of this intimate union with Christ, and with those who are like him, that my words, whether written or spoken, had a wonderful effect with God's blessing in forming Christ in the souls of others, and in bringing them into the same state of union."

Whether disembodied spirits ever hold intercourse with those that are in bodies has been doubted by some good orthodox Christians; but here we have it set down as a matter of fact, tested by experience. But what follows makes a yet larger draft upon our faith, or rather *gullibility*.

"A considerable part of my comments on the Book of Judges happened by some means to be lost. Being desired by some of my friends to render the book complete in that part which was wanting, I wrote over again the places which were missing. Afterward the papers which had been mislaid, were found. My former and latter explications were found on comparison to be conformable to each other, with scarcely any variation."

This is *theopneusty* with a witness. The long-mooted question of literal inspiration may now be given up. After recording the foregoing, the author very coolly adds:—

"From the connection in which this statement is introduced, we are led to infer that she regarded the sameness of the two explications as resulting from the sameness in that inward and divine operation which alone gives the true light. The Lord guided her."—P. 377.

Though Madame Guyon wrote Notes on the whole Bible, yet she gave especial attention to the Canticles, the visions of Ezekiel, and the Apocalypse,—portions that have baffled the skill of merely critical and exegetical commentators, but which presented no difficulties to her mind. A mystical sense was found in everything; and the whole Bible seemed to her imagination replete with doctrines which she fancied she had been taught by immediate inspiration. That she made that mistake, is not wonderful, considering the state of her mind; but how the same fancy could gain a place in the mind of any one at all acquainted with "Disordered Mental Action," we are at a loss to divine.

About this time, and for the benefit of her numerous disciples at Grenoble, Madame Guyon prepared the other work already spoken of—"A Short Method of Prayer." This treatise is better arranged, and on the whole much more satisfactory, than was her first publication; but the subject and scope of thought are almost identically the same. She begins with a statement of the nature of prayer, as she understood and applied the term—not the offering up of specific petitions, but "*that state of the heart in which it is united to God in faith and love.*" How far this notion of prayer differs from that taught by the Church of Rome, we will not delay to specify; but as is often the case, in breaking away from one extreme of error she passed to the other. Prayer is made to consist essentially in the *state* of the heart rather than in its *exercise;* instead of being an *act*, as it is uniformly considered in Scripture, it is here spoken of as a *frame of mind*,—a passive yielding of the soul to the instinctive impulses of the "religious life." This doctrine, more fully developed, afterward gave her much trouble;

and, as it gave the stamp of Quietism to her system, it caused her doctrines to be disapproved by most sober and discreet Christians.

But in consideration of the infirmity of beginners in religious exercises, she permits the use of formal prayer to such, as the lame require a crutch, which would be only a hinderance were they not lame. Upon this part her instructions are such as are given in Scripture to all; and, we may add, are worthy of the careful attention of all grades of Christians. But when she comes to consider a higher grade of spiritual life, her mystical notions appear again. It was her folly to trust to her own heart, and it is not strange that she thus became a blind leader of the blind. Believing herself to have been smitten by God with sorrows and spiritual "aridity," as a means of sanctification, she recommended like visitations to all who would advance in religious experience. She, therefore, proceeds to inculcate the duty of *self-abandonment*—by which is implied not only a renunciation of all dependence on one's self for any meritorious agency in procuring salvation, and the entire subjection of the will to God, but also a total unconcern for one's individual welfare, making the glory of God the single object of desire. In this connection she abundantly lards her pages with such expressions as, "the annihilation of self," "the death of self," "the extinction of the will," "the crucifixion of the life of nature," &c.—phrases which in other connections would bear a Scriptural construction, but as there used must mean a total indifference of the soul, whether salvation or damnation be its eternal doom. The soul thus self-abandoned is considered to be in a state of pure or unselfish love, which is the acme of spiritual sanctification.

In pursuance of her leading topic, the method of prayer, she proceeds to set forth what she considered as the highest form of this sacred exercise, which she styles *the prayer of silence.*

"The prayer of silence is one which is *too deep for words.* It is a state of the soul which does not speak, because it has nothing to say. It has a consciousness of having God, and in the fullness and riches of its possession it rests; it is silent, it asks nothing more."

"It has so simplified and consolidated its petitions . . . . that it has hardly anything to say, except to breathe forth in a desire unspoken, *Thy will be done.* This prayer, so simple and yet so comprehensive, may be said to embody the whole state of the soul. He who utters this prayer, utters *all prayer.*"—Pp. 347, 393.

That there is much here that is really excellent, cannot be denied; but it is also very liable to be abused. Man, in his present state, needs a sensible mode of religious communication, and tangible

means of grace. Hence Christianity is presented to us as a formal and sacramental religion, as well as one of essential spirituality. It is dangerous, and indicative of spiritual pride, to fancy one's self to be above the need of the divinely appointed means of grace—among which formal prayer is a principal one.

The publication of the "Short Method of Prayer" produced an unusual excitement in Grenoble and its vicinity; for, through the agency of some pious persons, fifteen hundred copies were presently circulated, which were eagerly read by all orders of persons. Its religious influence, which soon began to be felt on all sides, spread dismay among the ecclesiastics, and was the signal for a combined opposition to its doctrines and its author. But her mind, in this state of her affairs, was buoyant with joyous excitement, which opposition only increased; for her spirit was of that kind that delights in tempests and whirlwinds. The gathering storm became daily more threatening, so that even her tried friends, among whom was the bishop of the diocese, advised her to depart from Grenoble. Accordingly, leaving her daughter and nurse at the convent where they had been during her stay in that city, she set out for Marseilles.

She was now more than ever before an exile and fugitive in the world; for she literally went out, not knowing whither she went. She descended along the banks of the river Isere, to its junction with the Rhone, where, embarking upon the latter river, after a variety of painful adventures, she came to Marseilles. Her reception at that ancient city was such as she had not anticipated, though she had come prepared for whatever might befall her. She says:—"I arrived at Marseilles at two o'clock in the morning, and that very afternoon all was in uproar against me." She had brought with her from a pious friend at Grenoble, and a man of rank, a letter of introduction, and a copy of the "Short Method of Prayer," to a knight of Malta, resident in that city. The book was taken up by the knight's chaplain, who, glancing hastily over its pages and discovering its character, spread the alarm against the newly imported heresy. The matter was presently brought before the bishop, who, having examined the book, declared that *he liked it very well;* and the same judgment was given by several other learned and judicious persons. She, however, found it necessary to depart from Marseilles on account of the clamor. She, therefore, prepared to depart, though she knew not whither to go; but recollecting the kindness of the marchioness of Prunai, and her frequent invitations to visit her, she set out for Turin. Her journey thither, by the way of Nice and Genoa, was the most laborious and

painful that she ever performed; and after nearly a month spent upon it, in the midst of winter she reached Verciel in the vicinity of Turin. There she found La Combe, who was residing in that place, where he was highly esteemed. The bishop, too, received her kindly, and treated her courteously. But her physical strength began to give way under her labors, and trials, and constant mental excitement; and, soon after her arrival at Verciel, she was prostrated by a fever, during the continuance of which she experienced marked kindness from her new friends. Like D'Aranthon, this bishop desired to retain Madame Guyon in his diocese, and proposed to form for her a select religious house or congregation; but, as in the former case, she felt an "intimation" against it, and therefore declined the kind proposal. It was also presently discovered that the state of her health, to which the climate seemed to be unpropitious, forbade it. As soon as her health would permit, therefore, she began to think of removing, having determined to return to Paris. La Combe accompanied her by direction of the order of which he was a member. Her route lay by Turin and Mount Cenis. Near the former place she paused to call upon her valued friend the marchioness of Prunai, with whom she spent a brief season, and then resumed her journey. She crossed the Alps in safety and came to Chamberri, in Savoy, where she met her half-brother, Father de La Mothe, whom she had not seen for several years. Though so nearly related to each other, they were strangers in spirit; yet their meeting was cordial, and La Mothe was not altogether unmindful of his duty to his sister. They presently proceeded to Grenoble, where was Madame Guyon's daughter, now ten years old, whom she designed to take with her to Paris. Public opinion had greatly changed in her favor during her absence, and now she was solicited to remain there to be employed in connection with one of the hospitals of the city; to which, as in other similar instances, she declined to accede. After about a week's delay she resumed her journey, accompanied by La Combe, her daughter, and her female attendants, and reached Paris on the *twenty-second day of July*, 1686—five years after her departure from that city.

At this point our author very naturally closes his first volume; and here we will close this protracted article, fearing that we have already exhausted the reader's patience. Here, too, the subject properly closes; for though Madame Guyon lived many years afterward, and was engaged in many highly exciting affairs, yet in all these she acted a subordinate and comparatively unimportant part. In the second volume a new and very different set of per-

sons appear upon the stage, whose real and circumstantial greatness casts her into comparative insignificance.

The first volume is in many respects the more important portion of the work, as it contains the elements of the doctrinal and experimental system of divinity with which the name of Madame Guyon is so intimately associated; but in point of grandeur and imposing circumstances, and of whatever strikes the imagination, the advantage is altogether with the second volume. The subject of Quietism, of which it principally treats, may hereafter receive a further notice in our pages. As a summary of our views, given above, we will close with the remarks of another on this subject—one who was capable at once of sympathizing with Madame Guyon's religious feelings, and of correcting the aberrations of her intellect—John Wesley:

"As to Madame Guyon herself, I believe she was not only a good woman, but good in an eminent degree; deeply devoted to God, and often favored with uncommon communication of his Spirit. But I know, from her own words, she was far from infallible; yea, that she was actually deceived in many instances—the more frequently, because she imagined herself infallible, incapable of being deceived. She had naturally a most fertile imagination, together with vast impetuosity of spirit. Hence she rushed forward, taking everything for divine which was strongly impressed upon her; whereas much of it was from her own spirit, and much from the grand deceiver. It is true, the anointing of the Holy One taught her of all things which were necessary to her salvation. But it pleased God to leave her to her own judgment in things of a less important nature."

"The grand source of all her mistakes was this—the not being guided by the written word. She did not take the Scriptures for the rule of her actions; at most, they were but a secondary rule. Inward impressions, which she called inspirations, were her primary rule. The written word was not a lantern to her feet, a light in all her paths. No; she followed another light—the outward light of her confessors, and the inward light of her own spirit. It is true, she wrote many volumes upon the Scriptures. But she read them not to learn, but to teach; and therein was hurried on by the rapid stream of her overflowing imagination. Hence arose that capital mistake which runs through all her writings, that God never does, never can, purify a soul, but by inward and outward suffering. Utterly false! Never was there a more purified soul than the apostle John. And which of the apostles suffered less? yea, of all the primitive Christians? Therefore, all that she says

on this head, of 'darkness, desertion, and privation,' and the like, is fundamentally wrong.

"This unscriptural notion led her into the unscriptural practice of bringing suffering upon herself; by bodily austerities; by giving away her estate to ungodly, unthankful relations; by not justifying herself, than which nothing could be more unjust or uncharitable; and by that unaccountable whim, (the source of numberless sufferings which did not end but with her life,) the going to Geneva to convert the heretics to the Catholic faith.

"And yet with all this dross, how much pure gold is mixed! So did God wink at involuntary ignorance. What a depth of religion did she enjoy! of the mind that was in Christ Jesus! What heights of righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost! How few such instances do we find of exalted love to God and our neighbor; of genuine humility; of invincible meekness, and unbounded resignation! So that, upon the whole, I know not whether we may not search many centuries to find another woman who was such a pattern of true holiness."—*Works*, (Book Room edition,) vol. vii, p. 562, 563.

New-Haven, Jan., 1848.

Art. II.—*Mental Discipline, with Reference to the Acquisition and Communication of Knowledge, and to Education generally: to which is appended a Course of Theological Study.* By Rev. Davis W. Clark, A. M. George Peck, Editor. New-York: Lane & Tippett. 1847.

The above is the title of one of the best books lately issued by the Methodist Episcopal press. It is a book which will be useful—permanently useful—and cannot be read without profit by any. The author has evidently had two classes of persons particularly in view while writing the book, namely, students and ministers, and especially young ministers of the gospel. For the latter, he has made one of the best books we have.

The great work of leading the young mind to the stores of knowledge is only second to the great work of leading it to Christ, to holiness, and to heaven. And in respect to the author of this work permit us to say, once for all—"and we testify that we do know"—he has a holy and burning interest in behalf of the youth of our land, and an unquestionable ability to point out the way of knowledge, and also an actual experience on his part in the business of

its acquisition and communication, having himself been engaged in the business of teaching, and at the head of one of our most flourishing literary institutions for several years past. He is, then, in every way well fitted for his task.

The two grand topics of the work are, first, the *acquisition*; and, second, the *communication*, of knowledge. In these are laid the foundations of a severe and perfect mental discipline. In the acquisition of knowledge we obtain that invigoration of our intellectual powers, and, to use the language of the author, "the formation of those mental habits, that will facilitate subsequent attainments—enabling the mind successfully to grapple with and overcome difficulties, to thread the intricacies of logic, to discriminate between the real and sophistical in reasoning, and to obtain clear, precise, and comprehensive notions." There is also a true discipline of mind which arises out of the *communication* of knowledge. By teaching, we learn, and "secure those mental aptitudes which will enable us to impart knowledge in a more lucid, concise, and effective manner." We have just now represented mental discipline as arising out of the acts of acquiring and communicating knowledge. The converse is equally true. By good mental discipline, both the acquisition and communication of knowledge is wonderfully promoted. There is a reciprocal influence between these two things to establish and advance one another.

Part Third, which relates to the diversities of mental character, is by no means the least valuable part of the work. "It is an inquiry of great wisdom," says Lord Bacon, "what kinds of wits and natures are most proper for what sciences."* "The varieties of mental character, from whatever causes they may result, often require different modes of training and discipline. Hence the importance to him, who would have his powers properly balanced and regulated, of carefully discriminating the various grades of intellectual character, and especially of determining the class to which his own mind belongs, that he may choose an appropriate system of mental discipline." We do not remember to have seen this subject anywhere so fully developed as in the work under review. We would commend this part to the special attention of the student. It will assist him very much in making a wise choice as to the field he may occupy in subsequent professional or literary pursuits. At the close of the work there is subjoined "a course of theological study," that is, a list of the leading doctrines and principles in a complete course of Christian theology has been

* Advancement of Learning, quarto, p. 90.

made out, and references given under each topic to sources of information upon that special subject. This "course of study" will be found of the greatest value to young ministers, and others who study and investigate the doctrines of our holy religion.

The above is a brief analysis of this excellent little work, from which the bearing and objects of it may be at once inferred. Its theological character betrays the author's solicitude for the progress of divine knowledge. This we regard as a chief merit of the book, which is calculated to make it more extensively useful. Dr. Johnson, in his Life of Dr. Watts, remarks, that "whatever he took in his hand was, by his incessant solicitude for souls, converted to theology." We are glad to see this feature of the work brought out so prominently. An awakening desire is beginning to be manifested, especially by the church of which the author is a member and a minister, for the literary, theological, and Biblical improvement of its ministers. This desire is manifested by the increased attention given within a few years to the course of study which has been sanctioned and enjoined by the highest judicatory of the church. It is also manifested by the numerous theological associations throughout the northern and eastern conferences, among our ministers and preachers, for mutual improvement in theological knowledge. And, further, in confirmation of this fact, we would refer to the actual organization and establishment of a "Biblical Institute," or theological seminary for Methodist preachers, whose services are not immediately required in the regular work. We regard the work before us as but the reflection of the common feeling and spirit among us.

Though there is some difference of opinion in regard to the *kind* of facilities we should encourage for ministerial improvement, yet I believe we are all agreed in this, that it is desirable and important for the work of the ministry that its candidates should possess good literary qualifications, as well as gifts and grace. Without these, that is, gifts and grace, the minister is but a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal. These constitute the foundation, and are the indispensable prerequisites in the character of a minister of the gospel. We do not go so far as some of our brethren of our sister churches as to make it essential that every young man, whom God calls to the ministry, whatever his circumstances may be, must first, before his entrance into the work, go through with a curriculum of literary and theological studies. But we do go as far as this, and say, when a man believes himself called of God to enter the ministerial work, that it is his duty to avail himself of every opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of the sciences, and

especially of Biblical and theological science, of which he is now called to be a teacher. Any young man who neglects study, and will not improve, it seems to us should be considered as decidedly disqualified for the sacred office. "Study," says the apostle Paul, "to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." 2 Tim. ii, 15. And the great apostle himself, though filled with the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, made "*books* and *parchments*" the companions of his travels and labors. 2 Tim. iv, 13. He seems, also, to have been familiar with the literature of his time, both Jewish and heathen. He was brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, the greatest of the teachers in Israel. He quotes the Greek poets, Cleanthes and Epimenides,* and refers familiarly to the doctrines of their philosophers. We say, then, that any young man who does not love study, had better pause before he enters the ministry; and unless he can contract a love for it, let him turn to some other employment—God calls not him to the ministry. And this we understand to be Methodism. "We advise you," says the Discipline to the preachers, (ch. 1, sec. xvii,) "1. As often as possible to arise at four; 2. From four to five in the morning, and from five to six in the evening, to meditate, pray, and read the Scriptures, with notes, and the closely practical parts of what Mr. Wesley has published; 3. From six in the morning till twelve, (allowing an hour for breakfast,) read, with much prayer, some of our best religious tracts. Why is it that the people under our care are not better? Other reasons may concur, but the chief is, because *we* (the preachers) are not more knowing and more holy. But why are we not more knowing? Because we are idle. We forget our first rule, 'Be diligent; never be unemployed; never be triflingly employed. Neither spend any more time at any place than is strictly necessary.' We talk—talk or read what comes next to hand. We must, absolutely must, cure this evil, or betray the cause of God. But how? 1. *Read the most useful books;* 2. *Steadily spend all the morning in this employment,* or *at least five hours in the four and twenty.* 'But I have no taste for reading.' *Contract a taste for it by use,* or *return to your former employment.*" This is Methodism; and this is as it should be. It is the apostle's doctrine: "Till I come *give attendance to reading.*" 1 Tim. iv, 13. To our minds it seems scandalous and shameful for any man in the ministry—a professed teacher of the people, and of that most excellent knowledge, the knowledge of

* Acts xvii, 28; Titus i, 12. See Clarke's Com., *in loc;* also Bloomfield's Notes.

the way of life and salvation, to neglect the improvement and cultivation of his mind by reading and study when he has the opportunity for so doing.

But as we have already remarked, on this point, as to the duty above referred to, there is no marked difference of opinion among us. Preachers and people are united upon this, that when a candidate will not study to show himself approved, he is not fit for the sacred office. "The priest's lips should keep knowledge." Another point in which we are all agreed is, that it is highly necessary that every candidate for the sacred office should have some general literary qualifications—as an ability to speak readily and grammatically in that language in which he proposes to preach, and to read from and expound the Holy Scriptures. It will be understood that we are now speaking of candidates for deacon's or elder's orders, and not of local preachers, who are properly, when not ordained, only *lay* preachers. There are many of this class among the Indians and the slaves of the south, and even among the poorer and uneducated classes of the middle and northern states, who preach the gospel with great usefulness, and often in the demonstration of the Spirit, and with power, and yet who are not able to speak the English language correctly, and are not able even to read the Scriptures intelligibly. God forbid that we should shut the mouths of these men. Let them fulfill their mission. They have the Spirit of Christ. Let them preach Christ, though it be in ungrammatical, and even broken, English. The pure water will flow through an unsightly aqueduct as well as through a silver tube. But so far as the writer of this article has been able to ascertain, it has not been usual to ordain such men, and thus clothe them with the full powers of the Christian ministry. We say it has not been usual. Extraordinary exigencies, however, have arisen in the church when it has been thought necessary to depart from this rule, and to ordain men with very deficient literary qualifications. But these are only exceptions. Certain literary qualifications, as we have stated above, have always been required, and should be required, in order to maintain the character and credit of the ministry, and the advancement of the work of God.

We are not only agreed that a knowledge of the language and an ability to interpret and expound God's Holy Word in the congregations of our people are now necessary, but also that a course of theological study shall be pursued by candidates for the ministry, and that, for the term of four years; and before they can be received into full connection, or ordained deacon or elder, satisfac-

tory evidence of a compliance with this requisition must first be given. It has now become the law of the church, not only by common consent, but an ordained and recorded statute, which must be regarded by all. It is thus recorded:—

"It shall be the duty of the bishops, or of a committee which they may appoint at each annual conference, to point out a course of reading and study proper to be pursued by candidates for the ministry for the term of four years; and the presiding elder, whenever such are presented to him, shall direct them to those studies which have been thus recommended. And before any such candidate is received into full connection, or ordained deacon or elder, he shall give satisfactory evidence respecting his knowledge of those particular subjects which have been recommended to his consideration."—*Discipline*, chap. i, sec. 9, 3.

An occasional objector there may be found to the course of study, but they are few and far between; and it will, without doubt, generally be found that such are neither great proficients in, nor great lovers of, study.

Our present plan, then, in training our candidates for the ministry is to send them into the circuits, with the Bible and the standard works of the church, together with such books on general science as are deemed proper for them to pursue;—they are required to preach, read, and study. They are to be directed in their studies by the presiding elder, and are examined at the end of every year by the annual conference; and if at the end of four years they are deemed workmen, sufficient for the great calling of the gospel ministry, they are received, commissioned, and sent forth with the full powers of ambassadors of Christ. This, in many respects, has proved an admirable plan;—and many under this plan have arisen to great usefulness and eminence in the church. It is a plan which has made our young men practically wise, and many have become learned and able ministers, especially those who have had the advantages of the old circuit plan. But within ten or twelve years past, in many parts of our work the circuit system has been abandoned, and multitudes of small stations have sprung up in their place. Whether this is a wise or unwise policy it does not become us now to inquire. But if we may be allowed the expression of an opinion, we would say that this policy is deteriorating the itinerancy and the itinerant spirit; and is wonderfully detracting from the power, and glory, and success, of original Methodism. For ourselves we earnestly pray to be restored again to the ancient plan. The multiplication of small stations has multiplied the demand for preachers, and it has been found necessary to place young

and inexperienced men in charge of churches, with all the burden of government, and preaching, and study, prescribed by the conference. The consequence has been that the churches in many places have not prospered. Some of the young men have become discouraged and turned away from the work; others have sunk under this burden of responsibility into an early grave; while a large majority have gone on, and notwithstanding the many disadvantages they have labored under, have done, and are now doing, well in the ministry. It has been found, too, that many of those who graduate to the ministry under this plan, have no settled habits of study, and are exceedingly superficial in the branches they have gone over. In the mean time the educational spirit and a desire for literary improvement have increased greatly in the church. Other denominations have educated their candidates for the sacred office with the greatest care and thoroughness. And it has been thought by many, unless we take greater care in the training of our candidates for the ministry, that in a few years we shall lose in a great degree our hold upon the public mind, and also our influence over the educated portions of our own people. The welfare of souls whom God in his providence has committed to our care, should lead us to ponder this matter well. Permit us to ask why it is that Methodism has not that influence with the educated and wealthier classes of the community, that it has with the poor and the uneducated? Is not our mission to the whole world, and to all for whom Christ died? Ought we not to preach the gospel to every creature, to the rich as well as to the poor, to the wise as well as to the unwise? We glory in the fact that God has made us instrumental, above others of his servants, in carrying the gospel to the poor. But while we have been so successful here, ought we not to have been, and should we not be, equally successful with the opposite classes of society? If there has been a fault in this matter among us, ought we not manfully to acknowledge it, and set about its correction? We believe the Methodist ministry need not be inferior to any other on earth. In zeal and labors we are second to none. In natural talent and experience we are not behind. But in solid ministerial character, and in extended and varied learning, we have to acknowledge our lamentable deficiencies. But a brighter day is dawning. Our young men are anxious to avail themselves of every advantage within their reach for improvement, especially in Biblical and theological knowledge. Our elderly ministers, especially the more intelligent among them, are approving this desire, and rejoicing that while they in the early stages of their ministry were without advantages, their children and successors are beginning to

enjoy them. We hail this spirit as an omen of good to the ministry, and, by consequence, an omen of good to the church.

But while there has been a general agreement in regard to the importance of the cultivation of sacred learning among us, and the intellectual elevation of our ministry, there has been much diversity of opinion in regard to the best manner in which these ends may be attained. By some it has been maintained that when a young man stands forth as a candidate for the sacred office, as one who believes himself moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon him the ministerial work, that he should at once go into the work of preaching the gospel without any special previous training for it. That whatever knowledge it is needful to gain in order to preach the gospel and do the work of the ministry, can better be gained in the actual performance of ministerial duties; and that any young man of proper industry and perseverance will overcome all the difficulties in his way, and make himself a useful servant of the church, and a workman that need not be ashamed. This plan has its advantages, especially of making men practically acquainted, and at an early period, with the duties to which they expect to devote their lives. But its disadvantages must be allowed to be exceedingly embarrassing, and in many cases destructive to ministerial character and usefulness. A young man without even a knowledge of the grammar of his native tongue, and ignorant of the sciences which are taught to some extent in all the common schools of the land, ignorant, withal, of the Bible, the very book he is called upon to expound and enforce, and ignorant also of theology as a science, having only a few common-place ideas of the great system of Christian doctrine, must necessarily feel himself embarrassed, and often distressed, in the performance of the duties of his office. Not a company does he go into, but he finds men whose intellectual attainments are superior to his own. Not a congregation does he stand before, in which he is not sensible there are some who are able to teach him in the doctrines and duties of our holy religion. To require of such a one to construct a sermon—such as a sermon should be—is like requiring a man to construct a house who has not yet learned the first principles of the art of building.

Feeling this difficulty, a large proportion of our young men in the northern sections of the church have gone to our conference seminaries, and there, by a residence of a year or more, have better prepared themselves for the sacred work.

But it has been objected by some that this is *going to school* to learn to preach! That preachers are not made by going to school,

but by the Holy Ghost! and that a man who is called to preach the gospel has no need of doing this. But where is the Bible ground for such objections as the above? Where is the rational ground? Is it not expecting the end without the means, to suppose that the Holy Ghost will make a man a minister, without his putting forth any efforts to become such himself?

We believe it is a well-established principle in the divine government that we are not to expect any valuable ends or objects without using means to attain them; and this principle is carried out in respect to the sacred office in all the history of the church, as truly as it is in regard to any other office, or to any other work. The lawyer must first become *acquainted* with the laws of the land, before he can expound them to his neighbors. The physician must first study the rules of the healing art, diseases and their remedies, before we will permit him to exercise his functions upon the sick of our families; and even the maker of a coat, or a shoe, must serve an apprenticeship of years before he is considered qualified to carry on the business of his art. Can it be possible that it is the will of God, that a man or set of men may take upon themselves the sacred office, the most elevated and responsible of all offices among men, without any previous preparation? Is it reasonable that a man who is to become the teacher of the people, should himself be untaught? We say, the history of the church, and the history of the sacred office in every age, prove a different doctrine.

In the original organization of the Jewish priesthood, the Levites were set apart by the authority of Jehovah to perform the functions of the sacred office. Their business was not only to offer sacrifices and burn incense, but also to multiply copies of the law, and *teach* the people. That *teaching* the law was a part of the business of the Levitical priesthood, is evident from various passages of Scripture. Moses said of the sons of Levi, "They shall *teach* Jacob thy judgments, and Israel thy law." Deut. xxxiii, 10. At a season of declension Jehoshaphat, a pious king, sent Levites and priests "throughout all the cities of Judah; and they taught in Judah, and had the book of the law with them, and they taught the people." 2 Chron. xvii, 7–9.

The priests and the Levites resided in forty-eight cities, which were located at different points throughout the land; six of which were cities of refuge. They resided in these communities by divine appointment, principally that they might have a better opportunity for mutual instruction and consultation; and where the young men, who did not enter upon the regular duties of the priesthood until the age of thirty years, might be trained and instructed for

their sacred work." Num. iv, 23, 30, 35, 39, 43, 47; 1 Chron. xxiii, 3; Luke iii, 23. "From the very first platforming of the Church of Israel," says Lightfoot, "the tribe of Levi was set apart for the public ministry, to attend upon the altar at Jerusalem, and to teach the people up and down the nation; and for the better fitting of them for teaching they had eight and forty cities allotted them. These cities were so many universities, where the ministerial tribe, distributed in companies, studied the law, became learned, and thence scattered through the whole nation, dispersed learning and the knowledge of the law in all the synagogues."—*Works*, vol. v, p. 120. Besides the Levitical schools, there were in after times the schools of the prophets, in divers places both of Israel and Judah. There was a school of this kind at Naioth, near Rama, the residence of Samuel,* over which he presided.† There was another at Bethel, and another at Jericho, in which Elijah, and after him Elisha, was president and teacher. 2 Kings ii, 3, 5, 7, 15. There was also another at Gilgal, where the sons of the prophets or disciples are represented as sitting before Elisha. 2 Kings iv, 38. And from this passage, also, we learn that they sat at a common table, and at that time the number of members of this school was a hundred men. 2 Kings iv, 43. We should be pleased to pursue the subject of the Jewish schools, both Levitical and prophetic, but our limits for the present forbid.‡ Enough has been said to show that it was not an uncommon thing for candidates for the sacred office under the Jewish dispensation, to tarry awhile after their call

* Samuel established the first school of the prophets.—See *Dr. Clarke's Com.* on 1 Sam. xxv, at the end.

† 1 Sam. xix, 20, et seq. The word Naioth, Heb. נָיוֹת from נוּה *to dwell*, means a *dwelling*, *habitation*, and is rendered by the Chaldee paraphrast בֵּית אוּלְפָנָא *house of learning*. It was probably the house where the "sons of the prophets" were gathered for the purpose of receiving the instructions of Samuel, and of engaging in the pursuits of sacred study.

‡ The college spoken of in 2 Kings xxii, 14, was properly a divinity school, where, as Mr. Benson says, "the sons of the prophets, and others who devoted themselves to the study of God's word, used to meet and discourse of the things of God, and receive the instructions of their teachers. The יְשִׁיבוֹת were a kind of divinity schools in which the law was expounded. Such were the schools of Hillel and Gamaliel; also those which were subsequently established at Jabneh Tsipporis, Tiberias Magdala, Cæsarea, and other places. Rabbi Jochannan, who compiled the Jerusalem Talmud, was president of one of these schools eighty years. On these subjects see *Jahn's Archæology*, ed. 1, pp. 117, 436, 468; also *Lightfoot's Works*, vol. iii, p. 397; v, p. 42; x, pp. 75, 174, &c.

from the business of the world, to enjoy the instruction needful before their entrance upon the full discharge of ministerial duties.

Let us now briefly inquire, if this principle in regard to ministerial preparation did not also prevail under the gospel. If we mistake not, it is even more fully and distinctly recognized under the gospel than under the law. John the Baptist, and our Lord Jesus Christ himself, tarried, and entered not upon the work of preaching the gospel until they were about thirty years of age, (Luke iii, 23,) conforming in this to the requirements of the Levitical law. Is not this example of our Saviour a suitable rebuke to those who will urge on young men, and press them into the work of the ministry, while both the mental and physical systems are yet immature and unformed; and often to the ruin of the young men, the injury of the church, and the disgrace of the cause of Christ? How much better it would be, it seems to us, were they to tarry awhile, until they become matured in mind and body, and suitably trained and instructed, as were Samuel and Elisha, for that most laborious and responsible office which a man is called to fill on earth! Will it be said that souls are perishing, while our young men are studying? Were not souls perishing during that long thirty years in which John was "in the wilderness," and Christ unknown in his own city, Nazareth, and probably laboring at the carpenter's trade? Were not the fields white unto the harvest then, and were not the laborers few? Were not the necessities of the world a hundred fold more urgent then, than they are at this moment? Where then is the propriety now of urging young men into the work, who are still immature and unskillful in the word and doctrine?

Our Saviour did not thus. He called the twelve *disciples;* as *disciples* they remained for three full years before they became, and were sent forth, the *apostles* of Christianity. The example of our Saviour in selecting illiterate fishermen to be his apostles, has been often quoted by those who plead for an untutored and unlearned ministry. But, in the first place, all these apostles were acquainted with the original languages and idioms of the Holy Scriptures, which it requires years of study to understand, and lived amid the scenes, customs, and rites, of which we obtain a knowledge with much pains and labor. Besides, for the period of three years they assuredly did listen to his instructions both in public and private; followed him in his sojournings from place to place, as scholars at that day attended their instructors; were eye-witnesses of his miracles, and of his majesty in the holy mount of transfiguration; and after his resurrection he visited them for forty days, and taught them out of the Hebrew Scriptures the things

concerning himself; and, finally, having finished his instructions, as "they beheld, he was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their sight." If it was necessary for the apostles to spend three years with the great teacher himself to be properly qualified for the work, is it too much to ask of our young candidates for the ministry now, that they spend a moiety of this time with the best advantages they can command, before they present themselves as teachers of the people in the things of God?

Again, the apostles received the plenary inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and were endowed with miraculous gifts; and were freed from the necessity of study in a great measure on the promulgation of truth. Yet even the princes of the apostles, as Peter and Paul, were under the necessity, or at least found it the better way, to read and study. Peter was a diligent student of the Scriptures, and especially of Paul's Epistles, 2 Pet. iii, 15, 16; and Paul also was engaged with his books and parchments. If these great apostles found it necessary to study, what will become of those ministers of this day who neglect it entirely? Does it need a prophet to predict they will become barren and unfruitful?

In further answer to the objection, that the apostles were unlearned men, we would remark, that though this was probably the case when they were first chosen, yet afterward they did become truly learned in all that relates to the great work of the gospel. And also it appears, from the writings of several of them, that they were no mean proficients in the arts of composition, both in the Hebrew and Greek tongues. St. Matthew, in all probability, first wrote his Gospel in Hebrew or Syriac, and afterward translated it into Greek. St. John has given to the church three epistles besides his Gospel and Revelation; and no scholar will deny the simplicity and beauty, and even classical correctness, of these compositions, if we except the occasional phrases which wear a Hebraistic dress. Peter has left two finished and divinely wrought epistles, James one, and Jude another; and though some of them may have been unlearned and ignorant men in respect to Jewish questions and Rabbinic learning, yet in the science of salvation by Jesus Christ, in profound and spiritual knowledge of the prophetic Scriptures, who among the Jewish doctors was their equal? But in the case of the apostle Paul we have a distinguished example of sanctified learning, and of the honor which it pleases God to put upon it. He preached the gospel more widely in foreign lands, and wrote a larger portion of the inspired volume, than any of the twelve. He received his birth and early education in the learned city of Tarsus, famed through all the eastern world for its schools

in philosophy and the polite arts; and, according to Strabo, (lib. xiv,) as a place of education excelled even Athens and Alexandria. Here it is probable that Paul received his early instruction in Grecian learning. After this he went to Jerusalem, and was brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, the most celebrated of the Jewish doctors. The apostle himself bears testimony to his proficiency in study: I "profited in the Jews' religion above many my equals in mine own nation, being more exceedingly zealous of the traditions of my fathers." Gal. i, 14.

Paul probably graduated at the Jewish schools, and, as Selden supposes, was formally set apart by ordination as a teacher of the Jewish religion. He was a tent-maker, it is true; but every Jew must have some trade. The old Jewish proverb was: "He who does not teach his son a trade, teaches him to steal." Paul, after his conversion, first preached the gospel at Damascus, and then remained in Arabia for two years; during which time it is highly probable he not only preached the gospel, but in this secluded region gave himself up to the study of the prophets, that he might be better prepared for the great work of the gospel, both among the Jews and the Gentiles. Let it not be said that there was no need of study in the case of the apostle, as he was under inspiration, for there is no evidence that the apostle Paul, or even any of the other apostles, were constantly under the influence of plenary inspiration; and, further, this would have superseded the use of their natural powers altogether, which was certainly unnecessary in all the ordinary concerns of the apostle's work; and it is certain God does not work miracles unless there be an adequate occasion.

In further support of the proposition, that it is both Scriptural and reasonable that candidates for the sacred office should give themselves to study in preparation for it, we would advert to the cases of Timothy, Titus, and others, who were under the personal instructions of the great apostle for this object. In the opinion of Mosheim, that great church historian, the apostle Paul taught Timothy, and Titus, and others, together, as candidates for the ministry are now often taught in our seminaries and colleges. He finds proof of this in these words, in 2 Tim. ii, 2: "The things thou hast heard of me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men, who shall be able to teach others also." Besides other references which might be given, says Mosheim, it appears from Irenæus, (*Advers. Hæreses*, lib. ii, cap. 22, p. 148, ed. Massuet,) that St. John employed himself at Ephesus, where he spent the latter part of his life, in qualifying young candidates

for the sacred ministry. And the same author, as quoted by Eusebius, (Hist. Eccles., lib. v, cap. 20, p. 188,) represents Polycarp, the celebrated bishop of Smyrna, as having labored in the same way. That the example of these illustrious characters was followed by the bishops in general, will scarcely admit of a doubt. To this origin, in our opinion, are to be referred those seminaries termed "Episcopal schools,"* which we find attached to the principal churches, and in which youth designated for the ministry went through a preparatory course of instruction and discipline under the bishop himself, or presbyter of his appointment."† Whether the above view of Mosheim on 2 Tim. ii, 2, is certainly the true one, we will not pretend to say; but other passages found in other parts of the epistle certainly confirm it: "Hold fast," says Paul, "the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me." 2 Tim. i, 13. "But thou hast fully known my doctrine," or teaching. 2 Tim. iii, 10. "Continue in the things thou hast learned and hast been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them." 2 Tim. iii, 14.

Much other evidence might be adduced from the Scriptures, which, to our mind, is fully conclusive that it was ordinarily the custom to admit only such men to the sacred office as had been duly trained therefor. It matters not whether they were trained alone or in company, in the fields or in the city, out of schools or in schools, the principle of *preparation* and *training*, in sacred study, on which we would now insist, is the same. It is still more clearly evident that this was the case in the early Christian church, and continued so to be for many ages. Thus we find Jerome (*de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*) saying of Polycarp, that he was "a disciple of John;" that Papias was "an auditor" of John; that Quadratus was "a disciple of the apostles:" and that he means by these expressions that they were students under the apostles, is plain from the fact that he uses precisely these terms when speaking of the relation borne by others to their known and regular instructors. Thus he tells us that Clemens Alexandrinus was "an auditor of Pantænus," and succeeded him as head of the ecclesiastical school at Alexandria; that Origen was a disciple of Clement; that Tryphon was an auditor of Origen, Dionysius,

* See Enfield's Hist. of Philosophy, book vi, chap. ii; Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. by Murdock, vol. i, p. 100; Hallam's View of Europe in the Middle Ages, chap. ix, p. 1; Prof. Emerson on the Catechetical School at Alexandria; Bib. Repos., vol. i.

† Mosheim; Commentaries on the Affairs of the Christians before the Time of Constantine, vol. i, p. 223, note, Vidal's Translation.

"a very distinguished auditor of Origen;" that Firmeanus and Lactantius were "disciples of Arnobius;" and that Irenæus was "a disciple of Polycarp:" and Irenæus is represented by Eusebius as speaking of his *studies*, and of the blessed Polycarp his instructor.*

In the early Christian church even schools of theology were founded, as we have already noticed. The most famous among these was that at Alexandria, founded, as it would seem, from the words of Jerome by St. Mark himself. To this school multitudes flocked to hear the lectures of those celebrated teachers, Pantænus, Clement, and Origen; and for three hundred years it continued to send forth the beautiful streams of learning and religion over the wide face of the church. Our limits will not permit us to go into a full account of this celebrated school. For further information we would refer the reader to the article of Professor Emerson in the Biblical Repository for 1834. A number of other schools of the same character became celebrated, as the schools at Cæsarea, at Antioch, and at Nicomedia, and others.

Thus stood the case in regard to the education and training of candidates for the ministry, both in the apostolical and the primitive churches. We now pass to notice, briefly, the state of things as it regards candidates for the ministry in the Wesleyan and in the Methodist Episcopal Churches.

Our remarks upon this point, on account of the small space left us, must be brief. That great and good man, Mr. John Wesley, early turned his mind to this subject of the preparation of his preachers for the sacred office. Rev. Mr. Grindrod says,—"At the first conference of the people called Methodists, held in London, in 1744, the establishment of an institution similar to that which now exists, was a subject of conversation. The question was then asked, 'Can we have a seminary for laborers?' And the answer is, 'If God spare us till another conference.' The next year the subject was resumed: 'Can we have a seminary for laborers yet?' Answer, 'Not till God gives us a proper tutor.'"†

So important did Mr. Wesley consider the improvement of his preachers in learning to be, that he contemplated the establishment of a seminary for this sole purpose. Mr. Watson, in his Life of Wesley, p. 173, says, that "the reason why it was not afterward carried into effect, appears to have been, the rapid spread of the work, and the consequent demand for additional

* For the above facts and quotations we are indebted to a discourse on Theological Education, by Dr. Howe of South Carolina.

† Grindrod's Compound of Laws and Regulations of Methodism. London.

preachers." He declares, however, that meanwhile "Mr. Wesley looked to Kingswood school as subsidiary" to this design.

As Providence did not seem at that time to favor the design of Mr. Wesley in establishing a school of the prophets, he adopted what he considered the next best plan for the improvement of his preachers, that was, the recommendation, perhaps we ought to say the injunction, of a *course of study* upon the preachers. In Mr. Wesley's larger Minutes, in answer to question 29, he says,—"Read in order, with much prayer, first the 'Christian Library,' (containing fifty volumes,) and the other books which we have published, in prose and verse, and then those which we recommended in our rules of Kingswood school." This course of study and reading is full three times as great as the conference course of study among us. The classical course of reading itself was much more extensive than that of most of our colleges and universities in this country. Let it not be said, then, that Mr. Wesley designed to encourage or train up an unlettered ministry.

The same spirit has animated the most eminent of the Wesleyan ministers, the coadjutors and successors of Mr. Wesley. They have ever aimed for a high standard of ministerial talent and ministerial attainment; and, by consequence, we now see in the Wesleyan ministry a body of men second to no other on the face of the earth in learning, in talent, and in labors for the extension of Christ's kingdom, and for the good of mankind. Mr. Fletcher, the celebrated author of the Checks, was for some time president of the prophet school at Trevecca; and Mr. Benson was engaged at the same time, and in the same school, as tutor. Dr. Adam Clarke exclaimed, near forty years since, "We want some kind of seminary for educating such workmen as need not be ashamed. The time has come, and now is, when illiterate piety can do no more for the interest and permanency of the work of God than lettered irreligion did formerly. Speak, O speak, speedily to all our friends!" It would delight us to quote much more of the same nature from these and other great lights of the Wesleyan body, such as Watson, and Bunting, and Hannah, and Jackson, in support of the principle of literary preparation for the ministerial work; but we must be content with a single passage from Mr. Jackson's eloquent Centenary Sermon:—"Sanctified learning has been of the greatest advantage to the church in the elucidation of Scripture and the silencing of gainsayers. It is the science falsely so called, which places itself in opposition to the revelation of God, that the sacred writers so earnestly rebuke and deprecate. The most devout and useful men that have ever served the Lord Jesus

Christ in our community, have been men of sound and varied scholarship." Acting upon these principles, the Methodists of England have at length realized the idea of Mr. Wesley in the establishment of two large and flourishing Theological Institutions, one in the south, and the other in the north of England. They are now in the full tide of successful operation; and scores of young men are now in fields of vastly more extended usefulness, especially those that are in the missionary work, for having enjoyed the advantages of these institutions.

We would, before we leave this topic, ask a brief attention to it as it appears in the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Immediately after the organization of the church in 1784, the bishops and preachers engaged in the project of building Cokesbury College with much zeal and success. One of the objects of the institution, as given in the printed plan, was stated in the following words:—"The institution is also intended for the benefit of our young men who are called to preach, that they may receive a measure of that improvement, which is highly expedient as a preparative for public service."* But Cokesbury College was strangely unfortunate. Twice were its noble structures burned to ashes. The preachers and people, and even Bishop Asbury, became discouraged; and the only plan for the literary improvement of the ministry was the "course of study" recommended by Mr. Wesley in the larger Minutes, already referred to. In 1816 the General Conference made it the duty of the bishops "to point out a course of reading and study proper to be pursued by candidates for the ministry;" and it was made the duty of the presiding elders to superintend the matter, and to direct such candidates to their studies. This rule remains in the Discipline essentially the same till the present day.

From the above, then, it will be seen that our church has not been forgetful of the improvement of its ministry. It is a point which has been kept steadily in view, though it must be acknowledged not with that success we could have desired. In the mean time great improvements in general education have been going on among us. Seminaries, colleges, and even universities, have been established, and a new spirit has been awakened in behalf of the rising ministry of the church. Many, especially among our young men, who have felt and believed themselves called of God to the work of the ministry, but who have seen themselves unqualified for it, have sighed in secret for some better means for the attainment of Biblical and theological knowledge, especially the former.

* See Emory's History of the Discipline, p. 151.

They have resorted to our seminaries and colleges; but there their wants have been only partially supplied. The community around us, the age in which we live, and, in fine, the necessities of the church, demand at our hands more adequate provision for Biblical instruction. It must be provided somewhere, either in connection with our colleges, in our conference seminaries, or in separate Biblical schools. We absolutely must do it, or in a measure betray the cause which God has committed to our hands.

The little work, an analysis of which we have given in the former part of this article, is the result of an awakened interest on the part of its excellent and able author to the claims of this great subject. He does not advocate any specific mode of theological education; nor would we be understood as having done this in the preceding remarks. What we assert is, that *preparation* for the great work of the ministry is necessary. *How* this preparation is to be attained, is a matter of small consequence compared with the preparation itself. It does not matter, we repeat, whether this result be attained in the circuit, in the seminary, or in the college, only so it be well attained.

This little book will be an essential aid to all students and candidates for the sacred office. The invaluable instructions of Burder, Claude, Osterwald, Fenelon, Blair, Watts, Mason, and Porter, and many other great lights of the church, are here converged to a focus; and all who will, may from this excellent work receive incitement and direction in the heavenly labor of saving souls.

We have not quoted individual passages to show its excellences. This would have been like showing bricks for a sample of a house. One must read the work in order to have an appreciation of its excellences. Mr. Clark, as a writer, combines beauty with strength. Drapery and ornament occasionally appear in his style, and often to excellent purpose, but never to profusion. It is rather diffuse than concise; always sufficiently so to be perspicuous, but never is it prolix. These are the right kind of qualities for didactic writing; and we earnestly hope that the author of this very useful work will not stop here. Let him continue to use his talent for the glory of God and the good of mankind.

Before we close this article we would make a few additional remarks in regard to the "topical course of theological study" with which the volume closes. This "course of study" has greatly enhanced the value of the work, and will of itself be deemed by some worth more than many times the price of the book. Not a sermon should be preached unless some important

Christian doctrine be handled therein. But it is important to know how other and abler minds have thought upon these points before us. This course of study will at once refer the young minister, when he may wish to discourse on any particular theological point, to the most able discussions on that point in the language. Further than this, works on general science and literature, which would be useful to the preacher, have been briefly referred to.

This part of the work has been done with great judgment and ability. It could hardly be expected that, in a concise course of study, all of the best works could be mentioned; and some may think, as their favorite authors have been omitted, it is very defective. We, for ourselves, should have been glad to see some of the most important works referred to, which might have aided the young minister in the study of the original Scriptures. But if this be thought desirable, it can easily be done in a subsequent edition. We were glad to find, in what the author calls a "digression," the diligent study of the Greek and Hebrew languages recommended, for the better understanding of the Holy Scriptures. No man is independent as an expounder of God's word until he makes this most valuable of acquisitions. It is true that the acquisition of these languages is difficult, but not so difficult but that even ordinary diligence and perseverance will succeed. It is a strange and impious neglect in our seminaries and colleges that the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures are not diligently taught, as well as the fables of Greece and Rome. But the future is full of hope. We will not cease to labor and pray that more correct views in regard to sacred learning may pervade our widely extended communion. Too much learning, when sanctified, we cannot have. There is always much danger that we shall have too little. What greater curse can there be to a church than "ignorant priests who cannot teach, and will not learn?" Rightly did the prophet denounce them. O let us arise as one man, watch, pray, labor, and *study* more, and save our heritage from reproach!

ART. III.—1. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.* By ADAM SMITH, LL. D., and F. R. S., of London and Edinburgh; one of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Customs in Scotland, and formerly Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. In two volumes. Dublin. MDCCLXXXV.

2. *A Treatise on Political Economy; or the Production, Distribution, and Consumption, of Wealth.* By JEAN-BAPTISTE SAY. Translated from the fourth edition of the French, by C. R. PRINSEP, M. A. With Notes by the Translator. In two vols. Boston: Wells & Lilley. 1821.

3. *On the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation.* By DAVID RICARDO, Esq. Second edition. London: John Murray. 1819.

4. *The Principles of Political Economy: with a Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Science.* By J. R. M'CULLOCH, Esq. Edinburgh: 1825.

5. *Elements of Political Economy.* By SAMUEL P. NEWMAN, Lecturer on Political Economy in Bowdoin College. New-York: H. Griffin and Co. 1835.

DESPITE the efforts and wishes of the party of immobility, sciences true and useful are evidently on the increase. Not only are old ones improving, but new ones are multiplying; subjects which, a few centuries ago, lodged reluctantly, if at all, in the boldest imagination, have since sprung into theory, acquired for themselves a "local habitation and a name," and exult in formulæ and principles, an ignorance of which is properly set down to a scholar's discredit. How vast is the debt of gratitude which we owe to the patient student—to the persevering philosopher! We are no friends to novelty for its own sake; we are inclined, from education and experience, to receive original statements at a discount, sometimes higher and sometimes lower, according to circumstances. "Lo here! and lo there!" present us no attractions. *Quidquid accepis diligenter expende*—"Take nothing for granted unless it be self-evident, and admit only what is fairly proved"—is our motto. At the same time, this does not discourage investigation, but in vigorous and healthy minds promotes it rather. Explore deeply the mine of thought, pursue the promptings of a well-regulated curiosity to their utmost limit; but for any sake, preserve us from pseudo-philosophy, or at least excuse us from receiving it. We wish to be so far conservatives, as to retain what

in the past is excellent and approved, and to adopt with caution such conclusions as are only in a transition state. These principles we believe are deducible from the general practice of the world; and to them all inquiries have been more or less subject. Judge, then, if the faithful and indefatigable inquirer after truth is not a benefactor to his race, and a hero withal; and so much the more commends himself to our admiration, in proportion as he has won his victory in defiance of all opposition, prejudiced or honest. Good men and true may have smiled at Franklin with his kite and string, and hoped the approaching shower would restore him to his reason: at this time engineers are elevating wires through our village, which will convey intelligence five hundred miles in less time than the reader has consumed in wading through this paragraph. Truth is mighty, and must prevail; but, O, let us cherish the noble and daring hearts which have not abandoned her in the hour of fearfulness and unbelief! Blessed be their memories for ever!

Progress is the order of the world. That is a cheerless and cowardly thought which reckons history as the product of human activity only. Human instrumentality constitutes but a single factor, and the least efficient one. God reigns at the head of affairs; supreme Intelligence is over all—we are not left to ourselves. Hence, though awful periods have come, (and may yet come,) when antagonist forces seemed to induce a stationary and almost regressive state, still, in spite of turns and windings, the main stream moves ever along. "All is conducted," says a recent writer, "by a higher spirit, which urges forward the wheel of history, turns even the passions and errors of men to its own service, and, through all events, bears the world continually on toward the glorious end established for it in the counsels of God."

One of the subjects which modern history has seen classed with the sciences, is political economy; and the works enumerated at the head of this article comprise but a very small fraction of what has been written upon it.

In what we may have to say, we propose to present a brief outline of the general subject, the measure of value, the causes of the delay in completing the science, and some remarks upon its present state of advancement.

Mr. M'Culloch defines political economy to be

"the science of the laws which regulate the production, distribution, and consumption, of those articles, or products, which have exchangeable value, or are either necessary, useful, or agreeable, to man."

Value.—"The word *value* has been frequently employed to express, not only the exchangeable worth of a commodity, or its

capacity of being exchanged for other commodities, but also its *utility* or capacity of satisfying our wants, or of contributing to our comforts and enjoyments. But it is obvious that the utility of commodities—the capacity of bread, for example, to appease hunger, or of water to quench thirst—is a totally different and distinct quality from their capacity of being exchanged for other commodities. Dr. Smith perceived this difference, and showed the importance of carefully distinguishing between the utility, or '*value in use*,' as he expressed it, of commodities and their value in exchange. But he did not always keep this distinction in view; and it has very often been lost sight of by subsequent writers. There can be no doubt, indeed, that the confounding together of these opposite qualities has been one of the principal causes of the confusion and obscurity in which many branches of the science, not in themselves difficult, are still involved. When we say, for instance, that water is highly valuable, we unquestionably attach a very different meaning to the phrase from what we attach to it when we say that gold is valuable. Water is indispensable to existence, and has, therefore, a high degree of utility or 'value in use;' but as it can generally be obtained in large quantities without much labor or exertion, it has in most places but a very low value in exchange. Gold, on the other hand, is of comparatively little utility; but from its existing only in limited quantities, and from a great deal of labor being necessary to procure a small supply of it, it has a comparatively high exchangeable value, and may be exchanged or bartered for a proportionably large quantity of other commodities. To confound these different sorts of value, would evidently lead to the most erroneous conclusions; and, hence, to avoid all chance of mistaking the sense of so important a word as value, I shall never use it except to signify exchangeable worth, or value in exchange; and shall always use the word *utility* to express the power or capacity of an article to satisfy our wants or gratify our desires."—*Principles*, part i.

We deem no apology necessary for the length of this extract. The importance of obtaining at the outset a clear and specific meaning of a term so capable of ambiguous application as the word value, is obvious at once; and it is creditable to Mr. M'Culloch that the promise to use it in the sense just ascertained, was faithfully adhered to throughout his work. We expect to meet this troublesome word again when we come to notice the "measure of value."

Production.—"Production is the adapting of material objects to the wants of man."—*Newman's Elements*, p. 20.

This definition is shorter than those usually given, and covers the whole ground. Production contemplates no creation from nothing. It is only adapting to useful purposes what is already at hand, and consists, from first to last, in nothing more nor less than a series of transmutations—changes of place and form. The doc-

trine, that since creation no addition has been made to the amount of matter, is one to which political economy heartily subscribes. But over matter already in existence, and so constituted as to admit of a great variety of forms, production exercises an almost unlimited control; and it is only by changing the forms of objects that labor is enabled to increase their value.

"To create objects which have any kind of utility is to create wealth; for the utility of things is the ground-work of their value, and their value constitutes wealth. *Objects*, however, cannot be created by human means; nor is the mass of matter of which the globe consists capable of increase or diminution. All that man can do is to reproduce existing materials under another form, which may give them a value they did not before possess, or merely enlarge one they may have before presented. So that there is, in fact, not a creation of matter, but of utility, [value;] and this I call *production of wealth*."—*Say's Treatise*, book i, chap. 1.

From this explanation of the term production, it will be seen that it constitutes one of the main topics of the science. It will be interesting, therefore, to notice more in detail some of the arrangements by which, in the ordinary course of affairs, "material objects" are "adapted to the wants of man." It is now generally agreed that labor is the true source of wealth; and in arriving at a knowledge of the means by which industry, intelligibly directed, accomplishes its great objects, it is customary for writers on political economy to select their illustrations from what they suppose to be the regular progress of communities. Against such a course no one can entertain a reasonable objection, provided a strict regard is had to facts. Society in its rude state possesses no property; is destitute of mechanical contrivances; makes no effort toward accumulation. On the contrary, as it emerges from barbarism, it gradually approaches toward an acquisition of these advantages, and just as it comes under the influence of civilization and refinement, in the same proportion do the circumstances which are favorable to production come into full operation.

"If we observe the progress, and trace the history, of the human race in different countries and states of society, we shall find that their comfort and happiness have always been very nearly proportional to the power which they have possessed of rendering their labor effective in appropriating the raw products of nature, and adapting them to their use. The savage, whose labor is confined to the gathering of wild fruits, or to the picking up of shell-fish on the seacoast, is placed at the very bottom of the scale of civilization, and is, in point of comfort, decidedly inferior to many of the lower animals. The *first* step in the progress of society is made when man learns to hunt wild animals, to

feed himself with their flesh, and to clothe himself with their skins. But labor, when confined to the chase, is extremely barren and precarious. Tribes of hunters, like beasts of prey, whom they are justly said to resemble closely in their habits and mode of subsistence, are but thinly scattered over the surface of the countries which they occupy; and notwithstanding the fewness of their numbers, any unusual deficiency in the supply of game never fails to reduce them to the extremity of want. The *second* step in the progress of society is made when the tribes of hunters and fishers learn to apply their labor, like the ancient Scythians and modern Tartars, to the domestication of wild animals and the rearing of flocks. The subsistence of herdsmen and shepherds is much less precarious than that of hunters; but they are almost entirely destitute of all those comforts and elegancies which give to life its chief value. The *third* step, and the most decisive, in the progress of civilization—in the great art of procuring the necessaries and conveniences of life—is made when the wandering tribes of hunters and shepherds renounce their migratory habits, and become agriculturists and manufacturers. It is then, properly speaking, that man, shaking off that indolence which is natural to him, begins fully to avail himself of his productive powers. He then becomes laborious, and, *by a necessary consequence*, his wants are then for the first time fully supplied, and he acquires an extensive command over the articles necessary for his comfort, as well as his subsistence."—*M'Culloch's Principles*, pp. 66, 67.

To the same point, the celebrated author of the Essay concerning the Human Understanding argues, with his usual power. After showing that two acres of land, the one highly cultivated, the other unblessed with the efforts of husbandry, may possess the same natural, intrinsic utility; but that, under these different circumstances, the one benefits society to the value of £5 annually, while the other may not produce the worth of a penny, he says,—

"'*Tis labor*, then, which puts the greatest part of value upon land, *without which it would be worth scarcely anything*. 'Tis to that we owe the greatest part of its useful products; for all that the strawbran bread of that acre of wheat is more worth than the product of an acre of good land *which lies waste*, is all the effect of labor. For 'tis not merely the ploughman's pains, the reaper's and thresher's toil, and the baker's sweat, which are to be counted into the bread we eat—the labor of those who broke the oxen; who digged and wrought the iron and stones; who fitted and framed the timber about the plough, mill, oven, or any other utensils, which are a vast number; requisite to this corn, from its being seed to be sown to its being made bread; must all be charged to the account of labor, and received as an effect of that. Nature and art furnish only the almost worthless materials in themselves."—*Locke's Ess. on Civ. Gov.*, book ii.

Industry being thus the acknowledged source of wealth, the next inquiry is, How can its highest productiveness be most advantageously promoted? Labor in itself may yield no profit, and thus become worthless, unless conducted on principles founded on just experience and observation. There are three great "arrangements" upon which political economists have agreed as mainly contributory, nay, essential, to the productiveness of labor. They are,—

1. The right of property.
2. The division of labor.
3. Barter or exchange.

With regard to the first of these arrangements, it needs only to be stated in order to be admitted. A community of goods, however ardently it may be sought and hoped for by those reformers who promise "the glorious restoration of injured humanity to its long-lost, but, nevertheless, eternal and inalienable, rights," has hitherto proved impracticable; and it is dubious whether modern experimenters upon their favorite "subject," *man*, will succeed, at an early period at least, in prevailing with society to break up its present relations. As long as cupidity, or the desire of accumulating wealth, remains inherent in the race, there must, and will be, distinctions in property: some will acquire more than others; and those governments which provide for its security to him who, by his honesty and industry, enlarges his possessions, evince not only a profound acquaintance with human nature, but also with those measures which contribute most effectually to national prosperity.

The division of labor is introduced at a late period in a people's civilization. It is not at once that men discover its advantage. Every one wishes to produce by his own agency and contrivance whatever is necessary to supply his wants; and until he discovers that, by pursuing a multiplicity of employments, he is not likely to succeed well in any, he will be unwilling to abandon them, and thus compromise what he delusively counts his natural independence. He fails all the while to discover that the members of a community are placed in peculiar relations; and that the different parts of the social machinery are so adjusted as to work well only when their operations are carried on with mutual reference to each other. On the advantages of this arrangement, no writer has expressed himself with more clearness and facility than Dr. Adam Smith:—

"To take an example from a very trifling manufacturer; but one in which the division of labor has been very often taken notice of:—A workman not educated to this business, [the manufacture of pins,] nor

acquainted with the use of the machinery employed in it, could scarce, perhaps, with the utmost industry, make one pin a day, and certainly could not make twenty. But in the way in which the business is now carried on, not only the whole work is a peculiar trade, but it is divided into a number of branches, of which the greater part are likewise peculiar trades. One man draws out the wire, another straightens it, a third cuts it, a fourth points it, a fifth grinds it at the top for receiving the head. To make the head requires two or three distinct operations; to put it on is one peculiar business; it is even a trade by itself to put them into the paper: and the important business of making a pin is, in this manner, divided into about eighteen distinct operations, which, in some manufactories, are all performed by distinct hands, though in others the same man will sometimes perform two or three of them. I have seen a small manufactory of this kind, where ten men only were employed, and where some of them, consequently, performed two or three distinct operations. But, though they were poor, and, therefore, but indifferently accommodated with the necessary machinery, they could, when they exerted themselves, make among them about twelve pounds of pins a day. There are in a pound upward of four thousand pins of a middling size. Those ten persons, therefore, could make among them upward of forty-eight thousand pins a day. Each person, therefore, making a tenth part of forty-eight thousand pins might be considered as making four thousand eight hundred pins in a day. But if they had all wrought separately and independently, and without any of them having been educated to this particular business, they certainly could not each of them have made twenty, perhaps not one pin in a day: that is, certainly, not the two hundred and fortieth, perhaps not the four thousand and eight hundredth part of what they are at present capable of performing in consequence of a proper division and combination of their different operations."—*Wealth of Nations*, vol. i.

This statement of the great advantage of the division of labor proceeds upon the supposition that the machinery and materials are all furnished spontaneously, or without previous exertion, to the workmen. It leaves out of sight the toilsome and complicated process of extracting from native ore the metal of which these pins are to be made, as well as the number of persons and variety of trades employed in the construction of the apparatus for making them; and the observations of Locke on the different agencies brought into requisition in procuring a loaf of bread are equally applicable to the subject in hand:—

"'Twould be a strange catalogue of things that industry provided and made use of about every loaf of bread, before it came to our use, if we could trace them. Iron, wood, leather, bark, timber, stone, coals, lime, brick, cloth, dying drugs, pitch, tar, masts, ropes, and all the materials made use of by any, or in the ship that brought away the commodities made use of by any of the work-

men to any part of the work; all which it would be almost impossible, at least too long, to reckon up."—*On Civ. Gov.*, book ii.

Dr. Smith did not fail to perceive the reasons why a judicious division of labor assists so greatly in the productiveness of industry. He thus sums them up:—

"*First.* The increase of dexterity in every particular workman; *secondly*, the saving of time which is commonly lost in passing from one species of work to another; and, *lastly*, to the invention of a great number of machines which facilitate and abridge labor, and enable one man to do the work of another."—*Wealth of Nations.*

In the arrangement of barter or exchange, we see one of the most effective methods of accumulating wealth; and a mere glance at the contents of a well-filled store-room will suffice to show how extensively it is adopted. The word is usually understood as referring not only to those exchanges of products which take place between members of the same community, but to those also which occur between distant portions of the same country, or between different countries. In this sense it embraces commerce. And there is one remark which will apply to this arrangement in common with the last, namely, it is the result of experience, and not of appointment by legislative authority. It arises in the ordinary course of things, and springs from the principle of selfishness. Whenever two men have accumulated an amount of different products beyond their own immediate necessities, it is only natural that they should trade with the excess; and as soon as it is found mutually advantageous to the parties, it will be continued and extended.

Distribution.—As the subject of distribution (another term in the definition of political economy) involves an extensive view of the various classes among whom the products of labor are ultimately to be divided, its discussion must necessarily be brief in an article like the present. We should far transcend our limits were we to enlarge upon the topics of price, wages, money, rent, capital, interest, &c.

In a comprehensive way, then, the inhabitants of a country are divided into three classes—laborers, capitalists, and landlords. To one of these every person, who is not dependent upon charity, must belong. The officers of government, civil and military, are laborers; and so are the members of the learned professions. They yield their services for valuable considerations; these considerations are wages; and just as much so as the wages received by the daily laborer. The other two classes are readily distinguished. The whole subject of distribution, therefore, is brought down to

an inquiry into the principles which regulate rent, wages, and profits.

1. *Rent.*—Land is said to be an agent gratuitously furnished to mankind, by whom it is afterward exclusively appropriated; and as soon as its products become an object of demand, its appropriation becomes a source of profit to the individual. If profits arise from it above the expenses of cultivation, others besides the owners will be willing to cultivate it under certain conditions. This surplus in the profits is the basis of rent—"the price paid by the farmer to the landlord for the use of the natural and inherent powers of the soil." Rents are of two kinds—produce rents and money rents; the former being the payment in kind of the products which have been raised, and usually in some stipulated proportion, the latter being in money, and having no dependence upon the amount raised. It is generally agreed that the landlord possesses peculiar and lasting advantages in the arrangement, while those of the farmer are but temporary. If public improvements are effected in the neighborhood, they operate to raise the rent; if improvements have been made upon the farm itself, the farmer derives the interest of them only until the expiration of his lease, when it devolves again to the landholder.

2. *Wages.*—Whenever men are left at liberty to select their employment, wages will either be equal or constantly tend to it. If one branch of business is found to be more profitable than another, others will be deserted and that crowded, until an equilibrium in the general rate is restored. This is the theory; but, in fact, there are inequalities which arise from two circumstances:—

First. The nature of the employments themselves. Thus wages will vary (*a*) with the agreeableness or disagreeableness of the business; (*b*) with the easiness or cheapness, or the difficulty and expense, of learning the business; (*c*) with the constancy or inconstancy of employment; (*d*) the small or great trust which must be reposed in the workmen; (*e*) the probability or improbability of success.

Secondly. The governments of Europe have occasioned inequalities of a more important kind. This is done (*a*) by *limiting* the competition in some employments to a smaller number of persons than would otherwise be disposed to enter into them; (*b*) by *increasing* the competition in some employments beyond what it naturally would be; (*c*) by obstructing the free circulation of labor and stock, both from employment to employment, and from place to place.

3. *Profits.*—This term has a threefold application, and embraces

the primary distribution of the gross products of a nation among the landholder, the capitalist, and the manager or undertaker. In the first application, it comes properly under the subject of rent, which has already been noticed. In the second, it includes interest, and the results of the employment of capital in various branches of trade. In the third, it refers to the remuneration of the agent who undertakes the management of a particular department of business.

Interesting as it would be to enlarge this meager outline, we are admonished that our space will not permit it. We must, therefore, finish this topic with one or two general remarks.

The whole process of distribution must be regarded, from beginning to end, as a result of production. In the great work of production, a vast number of agents are necessary. It cannot be carried on without them; for, as we have already seen, natural agencies lead to no accumulation of products, unless they are made available by human labor and ingenuity. But no person will engage in the improvement and direction of natural agencies unless he is assured that he will receive out of the gross amount of the products a portion corresponding in some degree with the share he may have in the work of producing them.

However unequal the wages of labor, and the profits of land and capital, may at first sight appear, there is, nevertheless, a remarkable equality, or tendency to equality, in them all, whenever other circumstances are equal. Different speculations, it is true, may seem to result more favorably than others; but when all things are taken into account—the greater risk—the different degrees of skill—the time employed in learning the business—the respectability or disgrace attending its pursuit—the constancy of employment, &c.—the wages and profits are ultimately reduced to a common standard, and, if left alone, always tend to equalization. "The establishment of this principle was one of the greatest services rendered by Dr. Smith to the science of political economy. Nothing can be clearer, more convincing and satisfactory, than his reasoning on this subject. The equality of wages and profits has, ever since the publication of his work, been always assumed as admitted and incontestible."

Consumption.—This is the last of the terms connected with the definition which we shall notice:—

"By consumption is not meant the annihilation of matter, for that is equally impossible with its creation, but merely the annihilation of those qualities which render commodities useful or desirable. To consume the products of art and industry is, therefore, really to de-

prive the matter of which they consist of the utility, and, consequently, of the exchangeable value, communicated to it by labor. And, hence, we are not to measure consumption by the weight or number of the products consumed, but exclusively by their value. Large consumption, therefore, is the destruction of large value, however small the bulk in which that value may happen to be compressed. . . . Consumption, in the sense in which the word is used by political economists, is synonymous with *use*. We produce commodities only that we may be able to consume or *use* them. Consumption is the great end and object of all human industry. Production is only a means to attain an end. No one would produce, were it not that he might afterward consume. All the products of art and industry are destined to be consumed or made use of; and when a commodity is brought into a fit state to be used, if its consumption be deferred, a loss is incurred. All products are intended either to satisfy the immediate wants or add to the enjoyments of their producers; or they are intended to be employed for the purpose of reproducing a greater value upon themselves. In the *first* case, by delaying to use them, it is plain we either refuse to satisfy a want, or deny ourselves a gratification it is in our power to obtain; and, in the *second*, by delaying to use them, it is equally plain we allow the instruments of production to be idle, and lose the profit that might be derived from their employment."—*M'Culloch's Principles*, pp. 390, 391.

Consumption goes on under different circumstances. It is sometimes rapid, at other times gradual: an iron machine is equally consumable with a loaf of bread, though not at the same rate of progress. It is sometimes only partial, as a horse resold by the possessor, when an equivalent is held in exchange. It is also involuntary, in the case where property is burned; and momentary, as in the case of pleasure received at a concert. But under whatever circumstances it goes on, it is absolute. Value is created only once, and can only once be destroyed. Where no value is communicated to matter, none can be taken away from it; thus land cannot be consumed, though its improvement and productive agency may; but if these are once exerted or made use of, they cannot be used again, for they have ceased to exist.

From the preceding extract from M'Culloch, it might be inferred that political economy sanctions indulgence in every gratification with which a person may wish or be able to furnish himself; or, to say the least, it does not draw distinctly the line between productive and unproductive consumption. The difficulty of drawing such a line is known only to those who have attempted it. Still there are some principles by which valuable conclusions may be formed on this subject. It may be set down, for example, that, as a general rule, "consumption is productive if it occasions, directly or indirectly, the production of the same or a greater quantity

of valuable products, and unproductive if it has not that effect." In this way industrious nations are greater consumers than poor ones, for they produce infinitely more. Hence the folly of recommending as models those nations whose wants are few, as some writers have recommended Sparta. She was in this respect only on an equality with savages, who are poorly provided for. It is vastly better to have many wants, with the ability to gratify them, since this multiplies the race, and enlarges the pleasures of each individual. In a *national* point of view, the balance between consumption and reproduction becomes a matter of the highest importance. Indeed, it determines the prosperity of a people. If the balance be in favor of reproduction, population and the means of producing comfort and happiness will increase; if there is no preponderancy either way, society will come to a stand; and if consumption be in excess, national decline is inevitable.

Whether *individual* expenditures should be regulated by law, or left to each one's discretion, is an old question. Rome, and some other countries of Europe, undertook to fix the outlays of their subjects. Experience and argument have long since disproved the expediency of such legislation. It is a most ruinous policy. "Sumptuary laws are a manifest infringement on the right of property; and no legislator can fetter his subjects in the disposal of the fruits of their industry, without rendering them less zealous about their acquisition, and paralyzing their exertions." Who is to draw the line between necessaries and superfluities? If an individual cannot do it even in his own case, how shall a grave and reverend body of senators do it for a whole people? Economy is the knowledge of our means, and the best mode of employing them; avarice is mere hoarding, not for the purpose of reproducing, but from an instinctive or mechanical impulse to hoard; and luxury is the consumption or use of dear or costly articles; but taste, education, temperament, and habits, will so vary the individual notions of economy, avarice, and luxury, that all attempts to settle the boundary between them must be frivolous and ineffectual. Besides, it has been well remarked that governments were not instituted for the purpose of keeping the accounts, and balancing the ledgers, of their subjects, but to protect the equal rights and liberties of all. To allow "luxuries" only to those who "can afford it," is to create unnecessary distinctions; and, what is worse, it damps the spirit of industry and enterprise: and while the liberty of disposing of their earnings as they please injures no one, but benefits all, it contributes to the general amount of valuable products in a nation.

"A watch," says Dr. Paley, "may be a very unnecessary appendage to the dress of a peasant; yet, if the peasant will till the ground in order to obtain a watch, the true design of commerce is answered: and the watch-maker, while he polishes the case and files the wheels of his ingenious machine, is contributing to the production of corn as effectually, though not as directly, as if he handled the plough or the spade. The use of tobacco is an acknowledged superfluity; but if the fisherman will ply his nets, and the mariner fetch rice from other countries, in order to procure himself this indulgence, the market is supplied with two important articles of provision by the instrumentality of a merchandise which has no other apparent use than the gratification of a vitiated appetite."

It is stated that at one time citizens of England were stationed in the pillory for the crime of wearing so important an article of luxury as a shirt; and as late even as 1577, Hollingsworth, in his Chronicles, indulged in dolorous lamentations upon the wicked and increasing prevalence of chimneys, and the substitution of earthen ware for wooden platters. Voltaire, too, was not free from prejudices of a similar kind. In complaining of the degeneracy of the times, he remarks, that while Henry IV. could dispense with tea, coffee, and chocolate, and breakfast on a "glass of wine and wheaten bread," the products of "Martinique, Mocha, and China, are now required for the breakfast of a servant!" These articles cost France fifty millions annually, and he could not see how she could long support such presumptuous extravagance! The difficulty is neatly dispelled by M'Culloch:—

"Voltaire forgot that the commodities with which the gold and silver exported to India are purchased *are the produce of the industry of France; and that the desire of acquiring tea, coffee, &c., is the sole principle that sets this industry in motion.* It is, therefore, obvious that in the event of the importation of these things being prevented, there would no longer be a motive for the exertion of that industry that is now employed in the production of the equivalents given for them; and France, instead of becoming richer by such a measure, would become just so much the poorer."—*Principles*, p. 400.

Measure of Value.—From what was said on a preceding page it will be recollected that the word *value* is susceptible of more meanings than one, and on this ambiguity many of the greatest errors in the science originate. And Archbishop Whately includes it among ambiguous terms, and remarks: "As value is the only relation with which political economy is conversant, we might expect all economists to be agreed as to its meaning. There is no

subject on which they are less agreed."—*Logic.* It has been shown, however, that, like any other word of various significations, its special meaning can be fixed and agreed upon by common consent. But our business is not so much now with a word as with an object—not so much the name as the thing. A standard measure of value—one which shall be uniform at all times, as well in a nation's early history as in its highest civilization—was for a long time a great desideratum. Why, it was asked, can we not have an invariable measure of value, as well as a statute mile or bushel? The answer is simple and obvious: no substance ever can be found which possesses the properties requisite to constitute it a correct permanent standard. Every substance is liable to variations, and must be affected by the operations of supply and demand. Wheat, for example, is subject to the fluctuations of the market; and this again depends on the supply; and this last again on the facility and success with which agricultural operations are conducted. Wheat or grain of any sort, therefore, is not to be thought of. Dr. Adam Smith proposes labor:—

"Every man is rich or poor according to the degree in which he can afford to enjoy the necessaries, conveniences, or amusements, of human life. But after the division of labor has once thoroughly taken place, it is but a very small part of these with which a man's labor can supply him. The far greater part of them he must derive from the labor of other people, and he must be rich or poor according to the quantity of that labor which he can command, or which he can afford to purchase. The value of any commodity, therefore, to the person who possesses it, and who means not to use or consume it himself, but to exchange it for other commodities, is equal to the quantity of labor which it enables him to purchase or command. *Labor, therefore, is the real measure of the exchangeable value of all commodities.*"—*Wealth of Nations*, book i, chap. 5.

To illustrate his meaning still further, he goes back to the original state of society—before the probable introduction of any other medium of exchange—and thence infers that the real price of every commodity is the toil and trouble of acquiring it:—

"If among a nation of hunters, for example, it usually cost twice the labor to kill a beaver which it does to kill a deer, one beaver should naturally exchange for or be worth two deer. It is natural that that which is usually the produce of two hours' or two days' labor should be worth double of that which is usually the produce of one day's or one hour's labor."—Book i, chap. i.

That this doctrine would hold in the case he has supposed, there is probably little doubt. While such a state of society continues, there can be no progress; and if any system whatever of exchange

were to prevail in the community, labor might be "the original purchase-money paid for all things," although to us there seems no prevailing reason why it should be selected rather than anything else. Be that as it may, however—admitting, for the sake of argument, that among the lowest barbarians labor obtains as a measure of value—still Dr. Smith leaves out of sight two important facts, which must not be separated from the question; *first*, that commodities of exchange are susceptible of increase from the same amount of industry, or, in other words, owing to different circumstances the same amount of labor will produce unequal amount of products; and, *secondly*, that labor itself must vary in value not only by the proportion between supply and demand, but also by the continual change in the price of food or other necessaries on which the wages of labor are expended.

"If the reward of the laborer were always in proportion to what he produced, the quantity of labor bestowed on a commodity, and the quantity of labor which that commodity would purchase, would be equal; and either might accurately measure the variations of such things: but they are not equal; the first is, under many circumstances, an invariable standard, indicating correctly the variations of other things; the latter is subject to as many fluctuations as the commodities compared with it."

"It cannot, therefore, be correct to say, with Adam Smith, 'that as labor may sometimes purchase a greater, and sometimes a smaller, quantity of goods, it is their value which varies, and not that of the labor which purchases them;' and, therefore, 'that labor alone, never varying in its own value, is alone the ultimate and real standard by which the value of all commodities may at all times be estimated and compared;' but it is correct to say, 'that the *proportion* between the quantities of labor necessary for acquiring different objects, seems to be the only circumstance which can afford any rule for exchanging them for one another; or, in other words, that it is the comparative quantity of commodities which labor will produce, that determines their present or past relative value, and not the comparative quantities of commodities which are given to the laborer in exchange for his labor."—*Ricardo's Economy*, chap. i.

On this subject, M'Culloch expresses himself with his usual clearness and force:—

"This distinction must be kept clearly in view. Dr. Smith seems to have considered the quantity of labor required to produce a commodity as an equivalent expression for the quantity of labor for which that commodity would exchange; and that, consequently, it might be said that the real value of A is to the real value of B, as the quantity of labor required to produce A is to the quantity of labor required to produce B; or that the real value of A is to the real value of B, as the quantity of labor for which A will exchange, is to the quantity of labor for which

B will exchange. But the difference between these two proportions is, in most cases, nothing less than the difference between what is true and what is false. And it is to Mr. Ricardo's sagacity in distinguishing between them—and in showing that while the first is undeniably correct, the second, instead of being an equivalent expression, is frequently opposed to the first, and, consequently, quite inaccurate—that the science is indebted for one of its greatest improvements."—*Principles*, pp. 222, 223.

As already hinted, no article of human subsistence can be made to answer for a permanent standard of value. Corn, for instance, must vary with improvements in agriculture, with the perfection or deficiency of machinery and implements employed in husbandry, with the discovery and cultivation of new tracts of land, with the increase of population, and also with the extent of the prohibitions which governments may enact with regard to its exportation. At first sight, the precious metals might appear less liable to variations than either labor or articles of provision; but they are subject to general influences of the same kind. These are briefly summed up by Professor Newman:—

"1. The value of money will vary with the labor and expense required to obtain it; that is, with the cost of production. As this remark relates to the material of money, it can apply only to a specie currency.

"2. The value of money will vary with variations in the proportion of the amount found at any time in a nation to the amount required for the purposes of a circulating medium, or, as it is more commonly expressed, with the relative variations of supply and demand.

"3. Money is subject to nominal variations."—*Elements.*

In proof of this last point he quotes from Dr. Smith, who maintains, with truth, that the denomination of coins originally expressed the *weight* of metal contained in them. Thus, the Roman pondo contained a *pound* of copper; the English pound sterling, during the reign of Edward I., a *pound* Tower weight of silver, and so of other metals and other denominations. It is not universally true that "names do not alter things." If fifty millions of pounds sterling are to be paid, nothing is easier in the world than to order that that amount shall be called one hundred millions, and by this means enrich the royal coffers at the expense of the royal conscience. Dr. Smith accordingly attributes the diminution in the quantity of metal entering into the several coins to the avarice and injustice of princes and states: and surely they took generous liberties with it; for "the English pound and penny contain at present about a *third* only—the Scots pound and penny

about a *thirty-sixth*—and the French pound and penny about a *sixty-sixth* part of their original value!"

After all, however, political economy suffers no serious loss from the inability of its friends to secure and agree upon a uniform and never-varying standard of value.

"Though it is quite visionary to expect to find what cannot possibly exist—an invariable standard of exchangeable value—it is not so difficult as might at first sight be supposed, to trace all variations in the exchangeable value of commodities to their proper sources. The discrepancies that obtain between the real and exchangeable value of commodities are not arbitrary and capricious. They all depend on a very few principles whose operation and effect admit of being clearly exhibited and defined. And when this is done, the proportion which the exchangeable value of a commodity bears to its real value, may at any given period be easily determined."—*M'Culloch's Principles*, part ii.

We have thus briefly sketched the measure of value, not, perhaps, because of its superiority in importance to many others which might be selected, but because the most partial examination of it will serve to show an interesting fact, namely, that no man is qualified for the high and responsible office of legislation who has not given to political economy a considerable share of his attention. The two sciences of political economy and politics are, it is true, separate and distinct. The great business of the politician is to investigate the basis and principles of government; to study the comparative excellence of its various forms; and to trace the practical duties and obligations arising from the reciprocal relations of rulers and people. The political economist finds his business somewhat in advance of this. He judges of the *measures* of government, and not of its *constitution*. If he finds those measures to be inconsistent with the principles on which the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth, are most advantageously conducted, he is expected to notice them, and point out their mischievous tendency. To be silent and inactive under such circumstances would be highly reprehensible; and accordingly the best writers on political economy have always felt themselves compelled to canvass without reserve the acts which national authority may have established.

But although the two sciences have their appropriate departments, and are characterized by peculiar differences, they are, nevertheless, so related as frequently to bear upon each other; and questions may, and often do, arise, which cannot be satisfactorily discussed without a knowledge of both. One thing at least is certain: those principles whose operations lead to the accumu-

lation of wealth in a country cannot be successfully learned from politics alone, and for this reason they do not necessarily depend on the form of government. National prosperity may be just as great in a monarchy as in a republic, provided the circumstances which usually contribute to it are the same in both. The remarks of Mr. M'Culloch on this subject are too striking to be withheld:—

"The laws which regulate the production and distribution of wealth are the same in every country and stage of society. Those circumstances which are favorable or unfavorable to the increase of riches and population in a republic may equally exist, and will have exactly the same effects in a monarchy. That security of property, without which there can be no steady and continued exertion; that freedom of engaging in every different branch of industry, so necessary to call the various powers and resources of human talent and ingenuity into action; and that economy in the public expenditure, so conducive to the accumulation of national wealth; are not exclusive attributes of any particular species of government. If free states generally make the most rapid advances in wealth and population, it is an indirect rather than a direct consequence of their political constitution. It results more from the greater probability that the right of property will be held sacred; that the freedom of industry will be less fettered and restricted; and that the public income will be more judiciously levied and expended under a popular government, than from the mere circumstance of a greater proportion of people being permitted to exercise political rights and privileges. Give the same securities to the subjects of an absolute monarch, and they will make the same advances." —*Principles*, pp. 57, 58.

Does it not appear singular, then, that if political economy has for its object the general prosperity of a nation, it should, notwithstanding, be so long in rising to the rank of a science? We are aware that to some persons this question will present no difficulty whatever. A recent writer, after congratulating "young America" on the progress she has made within the past fifty years, makes a lengthy digression for the purpose of uttering lugubrious wailings over the present tendency to the physical in our enterprises. He pronounces this the age of the *understanding*, as distinguished from the age of the *reason*, and adds, the confession is made with mingled emotions of sorrow and joy—the latter, however, being rather a diminutive ingredient in his cup. True, we *have* made some advance in social improvement; we *have* joined in the march of nations; and, to our credit be it spoken, that to the industrial and scientific avocations of life we have even added some claims to the title of intellectual: but let us not deceive ourselves; for, after all, we know comparatively nothing of the fine arts, æsthetics, and the

high ideal and spiritual capabilities of man—so intent, even to phrensy, are we upon the acquirement of the material and the practical. He comforts us, however, with the thought that, bad as things are, we are not wholly responsible for our wretched plight; for we have inherited it, for the most part, from our ancestors: and lest they should be disturbed in their resting place by so grave a charge, he kindly apologizes for them by assuring us they could not help it. Flying from the old world in their haste and flurry, they brought nothing with them but the spirit of liberty, and, releasing it from scholastic sophistry, and the rubbish of dilapidated dynasties, they clothed it in fleshly habiliments, and instructed it in the best methods of seeking a living for itself. As example goes before precept, they kindly led the way; and then commenced the struggle with nature, the groveling utilitarianism, which has pursued us to the present hour, and is molding all our habits, feelings, and institutions. Alas for us!

The term *utilitarianism* has become within the past few years a word of reproach, and may in some cases be correctly applied: but we confess we never could see the justice or propriety of allowing it so extensive and sweeping an acceptation as it has obtained. Notwithstanding the protest so solemnly entered by the sentimental, we are disposed to believe that the acquisition of wealth in an honorable way is not in itself so sordid and disgraceful; nay, we hold that a man is actually under obligation to secure as large returns for his labor or his capital as he can consistently with other obligations; and the reasons are obvious. Wealth furnishes the means of improving society; and when it is not accumulated, society must retrograde. Whenever communities find it necessary to engage in a constant struggle to supply the immediate and pressing wants of the body, no time can be spared for the cultivation of the mind. The natural and necessary result of such a state of things must be the prevalence of illiberal and contracted views. The possession of a competency, therefore, is highly desirable, not merely as a means of physical enjoyment, but as a means of civilization and refinement. Indeed, history justifies the inference that the elevation and improvement of society are in direct proportion to the increase of wealth.

"It is certain that the comparative barbarism and refinement of nations depend more on the comparative amount of their wealth than upon any other circumstance. *A poor people are never refined, nor a rich people ever barbarous.* It is impossible to name a single nation which has made any distinguished figure either in philosophy or the fine arts, without having been, at the same time, celebrated for its

wealth. The age of Pericles and Phidias was the flourishing age of Grecian, as the age of Petrarch and Raphael was of Italian, commerce. The influence of wealth, in this respect, is almost omnipotent. It raised Venice from the bosom of the deep; and made the desert and sandy islands on which she is built, and the unhealthy swamps of Holland, the abodes of science and of art. In our own country [England] its effects have been equally striking. The number and eminence of our philosophers, poets, scholars, and artists, have ever increased as the public wealth, or the means of rewarding and honoring their labors, have increased."—*M'Culloch's Principles*, part i.

These views are amply sustained by the best writers upon the subject of political economy; and yet Mr. Say, in his Introduction, shows very clearly that no correct systematic treatises upon it were published earlier than the sixteenth century. The general policy of the ancients is not to be named—their treaties, and the methods by which they governed their conquered provinces, prove that they knew next to nothing of the nature and origin of wealth, and of its proper distribution and consumption. If we inquire into the causes which contributed to keep this science in obscurity, we shall find they were chiefly the following:—

1. The existence of domestic slavery.

This evil is as old as war itself. After the very earliest conquests, the captives were treated as slaves; and the victors, instead of cultivating among them the spirit of industry by holding out the inducements of honorable reward and the hope of elevating their social condition, extorted from them their unwilling labor, and thus checked every motive to enterprise. From a mistaken view of what constitutes true greatness, some of the ancient governments prohibited their citizens from engaging in any manufacturing or commercial occupations; and where such sentiments prevailed, labor must have been regarded as beneath the dignity of freemen. Even the master minds of the age could not rise above this narrow prejudice; and Cicero declared that extensive commerce was only tolerable, while the more moderate was sordid and low. He regarded it as impossible to pursue these occupations and retain any of the principles of manliness or honesty: "Sordidi etiam putandi, qui mercantur a mercatoribus quod statim vendant, nihil enim proficiunt nisi admodum mentiantur. Opificesque omnes in sordida arte versantur, nec enim quidquam ingenuum potest habere officina. . . . Mercatura autem, si tenuis est sordida putanta est; sin autem magna et copiosa, multa undique apportans, multisque sine vanitate impertiens, *non est admodum vituperanda*." It is true that agriculture did not meet with so general disapprobation as other branches of industry. Great men

engaged in it occasionally. Thus we are frequently reminded that Cincinnatus left his plough in the furrow, placed himself at the head of the army, led his country to glorious victory, and then returned to the peaceful and quiet enjoyments of rural life. And it is only sheer justice that, as Cicero has been quoted to show his opinion of labor, he should be allowed to express himself upon the respectability of the cultivation of the soil:—"Nunc venio ad voluptates agricolarum, *quibus ego incredibiliter delector*. . . . Quid ego irrigationes, quid fossiones agri, repastionesque proferram, quibus fit multo terra fæcundior? . . . Dixi in eo libro quem de rebus rusticis scripsi; . . . nec consetiones modo delectant, sed etiam insitiones; quibus *nihil* invenit agricultura *solestius*."—*De Senect*, § xv. All this reads very finely, and would seem to indicate that this branch of business was exempt from the odium to which others were subject. But two things are forgotten in the glowing picture: first, that Cicero is merely recommending the pleasures of rustic life as a refuge from the *ennui* of old age; and, secondly, that throughout the different changes of the government, the cultivation of the soil—the drudgery, to be plain—was for the most part conducted by slaves, thus rendering it ignominious for men of rank and fortune to turn their attention to production.

Though after the fall of Rome, and the establishment of feudalism, the servitude of the lower class of society was less rigorous, the condition of neither lord nor vassal was such as to lead to wealth. The lord had too much land to cultivate properly even with free labor; and history demonstrates that he who can earn nothing but his living will prove a dear bargain to his employer. In the ages of chivalry and feudalism, therefore, the means which usually operate in the general development of a country's resources were neglected; and, of course, the science of political economy was not likely, under such circumstances, to progress rapidly.

2. The prevalence of wars, and the supposition that military glory was essential to the prosperity of nations.

While on the subject of production, it was shown that the protection of property constitutes one of its most effective aids. No man will aim at affluence who possesses no assurance that he will be protected in his just rights.

"Experience has abundantly shown that these benefits [careful cultivation of the soil, &c.] result from this arrangement. Men will not labor unless they are permitted to reap the fruit of their labors; neither will economy be practiced in the use of those supplies or resources which are not appropriated by individuals. Every one, in his eager-

ness to supply his own wants, becomes reckless of the general good." —*Newman*, chap. ii.

In accordance with these views, all civilized governments, which regard their own perpetuity, make it an object at an early period to invest individual proprietors with the power of disposing of their property in a manner agreeable to their own choice. Beyond question, a man's powers of mind and body are his own; and whenever the honest results of their activity are interfered with, his right of property is violated. When this is done, public and private distress must inevitably follow. No advantages of soil, climate, or intellect, can compensate for the deprivation. Other calamities may be outlived; famine and pestilence may be forgotten: but this wears out the spirit of a people, and renders recovery hopeless. Travelers tell us that in the Ottoman dominions, no property is hereditary but what belongs to the church. All other possessions revert, upon the death of their proprietors, to the sultan. The result is, a total recklessness as to the future, for no one will provide for an unknown successor. This, it is said, is the reason why the Turks are so careless about their houses: "They never construct them of solid or durable materials; and it would be a gratification to them to be assured that they would fall to pieces the moment after they had breathed their last." The violation of the right of property is, in short, a violation of a natural law; and the bitter experience of mankind shows that no law of our being can be infringed with impunity. Nor does the case of the Jews present any exception to the general rule. Recent facts have demonstrated that their boasted wealth has always been greatly exaggerated. When the governments of Europe denied them the privilege of holding any property, or of engaging in agriculture, their only resort was commerce; and having no systematic competition in trading, some of them became wealthy; but the great mass of the Jewish population are no richer than other people.

Now it is admitted on all hands that when a country is engaged in war for a long time, all the evils of insecurity of property are practically realized. Particular descriptions are always more striking than general assertions; and for this purpose we make the following extract from Dr. Arnold's Lectures on Modern History. It presents a thrilling sketch of the blockade of Genoa. After describing the investment on the landside by the Austrians, and the shutting out of all supplies by the British squadron under Lord Keith on the Gulf—both arrangements contemplating the reduction of the French garrison—he proceeds:—

"It is not at once that the inhabitants of a great city accustomed to the daily sight of well-stored shops and an abundant market, begin seriously to realize the idea of scarcity; or that the wealthy classes of society who have never known any other state than one of abundance and luxury, begin seriously to conceive of famine. But the shops were emptied, and the storehouses began to be drawn upon; and no fresh hope of supply appeared. Winter passed away, and spring returned so early and so beautiful on that garden-like coast, sheltered as it is from the north winds by its belt of mountains, and open to the full rays of the southern sun; spring returned, and clothed the hill sides within the lines with its first verdure. But that verdure was no longer the delight of the careless eye of luxury, refreshing the citizens by its loveliness and softness when they rode or walked up thither from the city to enjoy the surpassing beauty of the prospect. The green hill sides were now visited for a very different object. Ladies of the highest rank might be seen cutting up every green plant which it was possible to turn to food, and bearing home the common weeds of our road-sides as a most precious treasure. The French general, Massena, pitied the distresses of the people; but the lives and strength of his garrison seemed to him more important than the lives of the Genoese; and such provisions as remained were reserved in the first place to the French army. Scarcity became utter want, and want became famine. In the most gorgeous palaces of that gorgeous city, no less than in the humblest tenement of its humblest poor, death was busy; not the momentary death of battle or massacre, nor the speedy death of pestilence; but the lingering and most painful death of famine. Infants died before their parents' eyes; husbands and wives lay down to expire together. A man, whom I saw in 1825 at Genoa, told me that his father and two of his brothers had been starved to death in that fatal siege. So it went on, till in the month of June, when Napoleon had already descended into the Plains of Lombardy, the misery became unendurable, and Massena surrendered. But before he did so, twenty thousand innocent persons, old and young, women and children, had died by the most horrible of all deaths which humanity can endure. Other horrors which occurred during this blockade I pass over; the agonizing death of twenty thousand innocent and helpless persons requires nothing to be added to it."—*Lect. IV.*

We have here a sight of war in one of its most terrific aspects; but awful and harrowing as it is, it falls far short of reality. When the peace of nations is disturbed, military law will necessarily prevail more or less; and though "the French general may pity the

distresses of the people," still "the lives and strength of his garrison seem to him of more importance than the lives of the Genoese;" and if either party starves, it must be the latter. And the worst of it is, the citizens can have no choice but starvation; for they are shut in by the effort to shut the enemy out, so that the people are, after all, subject to the army. Recently, we are aware, the conduct of war is not so brutal and cold-blooded. Lord Napier says, there is as great a difference between the modern and ancient soldier as between the sportsman and the butcher. The English army while advancing into France, in 1814, respected persons and property, and paid for every article of food; and it is some satisfaction to know that our own troops have done the same during our difficulties with Mexico. And yet with all these improvements, there must, nevertheless, prevail during the existence of hostilities, especially near the theatre of conflict, a state of fearfulness and insecurity, which cannot help preventing the proper and natural development of a country's resources; so that, while Dr. Arnold congratulates himself and the English nation that "Nelson was spared from commanding at the horrible blockade of Genoa," there is yet room to fear that in his capacity as a naval officer, he was the instrument of producing misery and wretchedness beyond the immediate effects of actual conflict. One thing at least is certain: the spirit of military glory, however much it may serve to inflate national vanity, never fails to be injurious in the long run; and every political economist would gladly say with Bielfeld, one of the ministers of Frederick the Great: "If I were to write a dictionary I would not allow the word *war* to occur in it."

3. The spirit of philosophy which prevailed in ancient time.

The Christian religion has been stigmatized as hostile to the cultivation of the arts and conveniences of life. Of the truth of such a charge, every person conversant with the subject is enabled to judge. For ourselves, we regard it as obviously false. Compare the social condition of any nation where Christianity has been adopted in its theory and practice, and what is the conclusion? Not, certainly, that revelation tends to the hinderance of civilization and refinement. A Christian is "the highest style of man;" and we are constrained to view the system as contemplating the restoration of the entire man—physical, intellectual, and moral. His capacities in these respects were perfect prior to the fall; they operated without interruption or collision; and were intended so to operate in harmonious action for ever. Moral evil found its way to earth; sin broke up the primordial union; and, in its stead, substituted misrule and antagonism. And while constitu-

tions and systems purely human have uniformly failed to counteract the dreadful effects, and must for ever fail, Christianity proposes to accomplish the work; and, from its nature and source, it must ultimately triumph. "For, for this cause was Christ manifested in the world, that he might destroy sin"—and when the cause ceases, the effects will necessarily be at an end.

But in addition to the falseness of the charge, it can be fairly and successfully retorted. The moralists of Greece looked upon the refined mode of living as an evil of no ordinary magnitude; and legislators allowed their systems to be molded by the same sentiment. Lycurgus, for example, banished commerce from Sparta, and interdicted the use of any but iron currency. He established an equal distribution of the lands; and required every citizen to eat at a public table, where the conversation was marked as much by gloomy gravity as instructiveness. Personal liberty even was violated; for parents were not allowed to train their own children, but had to give them up to the disposal and education of the state. And although in other states less summary measures obtained, still the accumulation of property was dreaded as being subversive of those warlike and self-denying virtues which they so much admired.

4. Even after political economy began to be cultivated, its progress was slow, on account of the peculiar prejudices of the times. Though resting on a few general principles, the science, nevertheless, deals largely in facts; and these, to minds fond of generalization, were not likely to be palatable. With some persons, nothing is so agreeable as a high order of classification. It is a vast saving of trouble. It supersedes the necessity of patient analysis; and though it may lead to error and inconsistency, it is never abandoned without a struggle. It must be tolerated like a "splendid sinner," for its very "captivating powers." Every one must observe, however, that if this whim be gratified, all science must suffer. If rules are to be first framed, and then applied to facts, experimental philosophy is a wretched misnomer. The sweeping generalizations which are unable to discover any difference in the several parts of a work which co-operate toward forming a whole, can never arrive at a clear exposition of the means by which the final result is reached.

We must add, that, besides this prejudice, the whole subject was discarded from the public schools.

"At the establishment of the universities, the clergy were almost the exclusive depositaries of the little knowledge then in existence. It was natural, therefore, that their peculiar feelings and pursuits

should have a marked influence on the plans of education they were employed to frame. Grammar, rhetoric, logic, school divinity, and civil law, comprised the whole course of study. To have appointed professors to explain the principles of commerce, and the means by which labor might be rendered most effective, would have been considered as equally superfluous and degrading to the dignity of science. The ancient prejudices against commerce, manufactures, and luxury, retained a powerful influence in the middle ages. None were possessed of any clear ideas concerning the true source of national wealth, happiness, and prosperity."—*M'Culloch's Principles*, part i.

How different the present state of the science! Before us lies a volume of catalogues from the principal institutions of learning in our country; and in every one of them political economy holds a place in the junior or senior studies: while in the old world it has ceased to be a novelty. As long ago as 1821, Mr. Say announced its advancement in the following enthusiastic strain:—

"It is now taught wherever knowledge is cherished. In the universities of Germany, Scotland, Spain, Italy, and in the north, professorships of political economy are already established; henceforth this study will be prosecuted among them with all the advantages of a regular and systematic science. While the University of Oxford pursues her old and beaten course, Cambridge, within a few years, has established a chair for the development of this new science. Particular courses are delivered at Geneva, and many other places; the merchants of Barcelona have at their own expense founded a professorship on political economy. The study is now considered as an essential branch of the education of princes; and all who are worthy of that high distinction blush at being ignorant of its principles. The emperor of Russia has been desirous that his brothers, the grand dukes Nicholas and Michael, should attend a course of lectures under the direction of M. Storch. Finally, the government of France has done itself lasting honor by creating the first professorship of political economy in this kingdom, sanctioned by public authority."

His sanguine prediction has been fully realized. The principles which lead to public prosperity have everywhere been investigated; and the ship of state is now no longer left without chart or compass to the mercy of every adverse wave and wind. The sources of wealth have been disclosed; the elements of national advancement have been shown to be invariable quantities in the great problem of human activity; and in our own representative government especially, each citizen, feeling the obligation to qualify himself to deliberate on public affairs, and to do his little, but not unimportant, share in promoting the public welfare, is availing himself of the teachings of that science which, of all others, can best enable him to arrive at solid conclusions.

Carlisle, March 24, 1847.

Art. IV.—*Wesley and his Biographers.*

"In labors more abundant."—*Paul.*
"Lord, let me not live to be useless."—*Wesley.*

It is not yet a century and a half since John Wesley was born. It is but little more than half a century since he closed his eventful and useful life. Extensively known and read while living, he has not been forgotten since his death. His name is on every tongue, and is wafted by every breeze. And, as year after year passes away, his history elicits new inquiry respecting his doctrine and manner of life; and every particular, however minute, or apparently unimportant in itself, is sought after with the greatest avidity, both by friends and foes. His remarkable career and almost superhuman labors astonish the thinking; and the results of those labors are cause for devout thanksgiving with every truly pious individual.

Mr. Wesley was born at Epworth, in Lincolnshire, on the 17th of June, 1703; in 1720 he entered Christ's Church, Oxford; in 1725 he was ordained a deacon by Bishop Potter; in 1726 he was elected fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford; in 1727 he took his degree of master of arts; in 1728 he was ordained a priest by Bishop Potter; in 1729 the name of Methodist was first applied to his brother Charles; in 1735 he went as a missionary to Georgia; in 1738 he returned to England; in 1739 he formed the first "United Society." From this formation, the Methodist Church, wherever it exists, has sprung. On the 2d of March, 1791, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, and sixty-sixth of his ministry, Mr. Wesley died, "in sure and certain hope of eternal life, through the atonement and mediation of a crucified Saviour."

In whatever respect we consider Mr. Wesley's character, it presents to us something remarkably striking. There is, indeed, in its formation a happy union of what constitutes the good, the useful, and the great. Where all the powers or faculties of the mind are uniformly developed, it is difficult to point out in which superior excellence is displayed. Perhaps in the art of governing in the church, as an elder, he excels. In considering his character, however, and his extraordinary labors, and the success of those labors, we are constantly reminded of an ever-present and ever-watchful Providence, surrounding, and guiding, and giving a controlling influence to his actions.

Wesley was one of those men raised up in the church to do an important and special work. Religious communities, as well as

civil governments, degenerate; and a decided and powerful movement is necessary to bring them back to the principles and practice of the gospel. To do this, as the history of the church clearly shows, something out of the ordinary course of operation is required. Without some extraordinary measures, it is difficult, if, indeed, it is not impossible, to arouse the dormant sensibilities of mankind, and startle them from the slumber of ages.

Every reformer, whether in the church or state, must expect to be charged with *rashness* by those of more prudent and fearful mind. The very men, indeed, who concede that a change is highly important, but who have not energy and firmness of character enough to stem the current of popular sentiment, nor fortitude to endure the obloquy which an eccentric course would bring upon them, are the first, frequently, to raise the cry of ultraism, enthusiasm, and ambition, against those who have. And the measures which an enlightened posterity will approve as wise and necessary, will, by many of this class of persons, be regarded as ill judged and uncalled for. In the estimation of these, Luther was an ambitious youth seeking for distinction, rather than to advance the cause of religion in the world: Cromwell was a hypocritical wretch, rash and unrelenting, and caring for nothing, so he might accomplish his fiendish purposes: and Wesley, in the same strain, and from the same motives—envy and jealousy for the most part—has received as large a share of reproach and abuse as has fallen to the lot of any other individual.

Portraitures of Wesley and Methodism, and works on that subject, from the penny tract to the volume of high pretension, have appeared at the rate of about four productions a year, since the organization of the first society in 1739. These have emanated from Church and dissenting priests, from mitred heads and laic hands; and also from a class, *sui generis*, of odds and ends, embracing seceders, formalists in religion, and opposers of all Christianity. Some of these productions are clever caricatures; others abound in low wit and obscene detail, and are couched in the ordinary parlance of Christopher Sly. And of most of them it may be said, "What time they wax warm, they vanish away."

Since Mr. Wesley's death, besides numerous sketches of his character, drawn by different individuals, there have appeared six imposing "Lives" of him. These we design in the present article briefly to notice. And if it should appear to our reader that we are not disposed to extenuate their faults, we trust it will be equally apparent to him that we do not set down aught in malice.

The first Life of Mr. Wesley was written by Rev. John Hampson, Jr.; it made its appearance, in 3 vols. 12mo., in 1791. It was the design of Mr. Hampson to publish his work while Mr. Wesley was living. This was not done, however; and the memoir was not given to the public till its subject was beyond the reach of its influence.

The father of the author of this work, Mr. John Hampson, Senr., became one of Mr. Wesley's assistants in 1755, and continued with him for thirty years, when, taking offense, he left his connection. John Hampson, Jr., entered the traveling ministry in 1777, and left it with his father in 1785.—*Myles's History of the Methodists.*

Such was the course pursued by Mr. Hampson, Senr., that though he continued in the traveling ministry with Mr. Wesley, he seems never to have stood high in his estimation. The son was introduced to the conference by his father; and his, says Mr. Moore, was the first instance of a preacher's irregular admittance into the connection. Whatever cause Mr. Wesley had to be dissatisfied with the father, "in the issue he had still less cause," says the same writer, "for satisfaction in the son."

In filling up the deed of declaration, by which the right to appoint preachers to occupy the pulpits in the chapels throughout the Wesleyan connection was secured to the conference, legally composed of one hundred members, the Hampsons' names were omitted. This so offended them that they endeavored to make a party against the deed. That attempt failed, however; and having made an apology at the following conference, Mr. Wesley, through the intercession of Mr. Fletcher, consented to appoint them again to circuits. But before the end of the year they left their work; the father to superintend a school in the county of Kent, the son with a view to enter the ministry of the English Church. They both addressed letters of resignation to Mr. Wesley, which were read to him by Mr. Henry Moore. "The father," says Mr. Moore, "wrote under a strong feeling of resentment, and displayed many of his old principles. The young man wrote with more mildness, and expressed some grateful acknowledgments of the many benefits which he had received; but it was very apparent that he thoroughly participated in the irritation of the father. Quite enough was said by both about the arbitrary power exercised by Mr. Wesley; who took little notice of these letters at first, only saying to me, 'You see the strength of the cause.' But he was afterward much moved, when he considered the mischief that might come, and said with some warmth, 'I have been too tender of these men.

You should have opposed my receiving them again. You know I halt on that foot.'"—*Moore's Life of Wesley*, pp. 6, 7.

Such were the circumstances in which a Life of Mr. Wesley was undertaken by Mr. Hampson. That this Life would be friendly, or impartial, toward Mr. Wesley, was not in the least expected. As Mr. Hampson was about to enter the ministry of "the Church," it was necessary that he should furnish satisfactory evidence, by defaming Mr. Wesley and ridiculing Methodism, that he was no longer tainted with the dangerous infection.

Mr. Hampson was indebted to Mr. Wesley for his education, which he received at the school in Kingswood. His standing and position in society he owed to Methodism. And yet, as Mr. Southey remarks, he had not the heart to do his early patron justice. Wanting, indeed, was he in heart, as his ingratitude clearly shows. And it is no marvel, when all the circumstances in his case are considered, that Mr. Wesley should have concluded that he had been too tender of the man. But how strikingly and beautifully does the leniency of Mr. Wesley contrast with Mr. Hampson's charge, pertinaciously made even in his letter of resignation, of arbitrary power!

Designing to publish his work during Mr. Wesley's life, Mr. Hampson judged, as it would seem, some apology necessary for so strange a procedure under the circumstances. Hence, in his Preface, he says:—"For some reasons of which it is not necessary to inform our readers, as well as others which it may be proper to mention, the author had long determined at a fit opportunity to write the Life of Mr. Wesley. It was more than probable such a Life would not be overlooked. Some one would be certain to undertake it: and considering the color of his most intimate connections, and the unlimited deference with which, in this circle, it has been the fashion to regard him, a danger was apprehended lest the public should be misinformed, either by the suppression of some important facts, or by a partial and inaccurate relation.

"This apprehension was a powerful incentive to the present work; and occasioned an adventure not wholly destitute of difficulty or of danger. There must necessarily be a degree of difficulty in the delineation of characters replete with light and shade; distinguished by great virtues, and sullied by strange peculiarities.

"The only circumstance which seems to demand an apology, is the publication of these Memoirs during Mr. Wesley's life. Were he a mere private gentleman, whatever might be his distinction in the republic of letters, such an apology might be necessary. But his case is peculiar. He has been for more than half a century, in

the most extensive import of the word, a public character. It is impossible to make him more so than he has rendered himself."

Mr. Hampson was so much concerned lest the "public" should be misinformed respecting Mr. Wesley's character—lest some important facts should be repressed, or partially and inaccurately related by his friends—that he was willing, out of devotion to the public good, to disregard the decencies and proprieties of life. A Life of Mr. Wesley, while its subject is still living, and without his consent, or knowledge even, and which reflects upon his moral character, is to be thrust upon the community by one no way connected with him, and but poorly qualified for the self-imposed task.

Mr. Hampson not only discovers strange peculiarities in Mr. Wesley, which "sullied" his character; but in America "his rectitude of conduct," he says, "is not so clear as might be wished."—Vol. i, p. 192. Either Mr. Hampson was profoundly ignorant of the circumstances connected with Mr. Wesley's residence in America, or, in this base innuendo, he was actuated by "malice aforethought." The statement is a gross slander. With ministerial dignity, with manly prudence, and with Christian fortitude, Mr. Wesley conducted himself in his severe trials; and his character, after passing the fiery ordeal, so far from not being morally "clear as might be wished," shines as gold that is purified.

Mr. Hampson's apology for mobs belongs to another age; and the seriousness with which he relates the reported follies of some of Mr. Wesley's preachers—leaving off the use of tea and coffee, living on vegetables, and sleeping on boards, in imitation of him—borders on the ridiculous. But these and other kindred things, together with the vanity of our author, ought not at this day to be disturbed. Indeed, we have no disposition, and it is not our design, to follow Mr. Hampson in his Memoirs of Mr. Wesley. His work, except for its subject, would have dropped dead from the press, and had never been known beyond the limits of Sunderland As a documentary Life, it has no value; its incidents, manufactured for the occasion, are of a coarse character; and its criticisms are of the most petty kind.

The next Life of Mr. Wesley was written by Dr. Coke and Mr. Moore; it is an octavo volume of six hundred and forty-two pages, and was published in 1792. This biography was written and published under peculiar circumstances. Mr. Wesley had bequeathed, in trust, his papers to Dr. Coke, Dr. Whitehead, and Mr. Moore, to be burned or published as they should see good.

A misunderstanding, on which we shall remark by and by, arose between Dr. Whitehead, who had been appointed to compile a Life of Mr. Wesley, and the conference: after which it was deemed best, as it had already been announced, that a Life should be prepared forthwith by Dr. Coke and Mr. Moore. This was undertaken; and before the next conference the work was published, and an edition of *ten thousand copies* sold. Another edition had been published, and was being sold when the conference assembled.—*Myles*, p. 213.

Dr. Coke was a clergyman of the Church of England, and became connected with Mr. Wesley in 1776. Their first interview was at Taunton, on the 13th of August of that year. Mr. Wesley says: "Here I found a clergyman, Dr. Coke, late gentleman commoner of Jesus College in Oxford, who had come twenty miles on purpose. I had much conversation with him; and a union then began which I trust shall never end."—*Works*, vol. iv, p. 459. His talents, and his fortune, which was considerable, he devoted to the service of God. Into Mr. Wesley's measures for the spread of the gospel he entered with zeal; he stood high in his favor, and shared largely in his confidence. Southey says: "No other of the active members of the connection was possessed of equal fortune and rank in society; and all that he had, his fortune, to every shilling, and his life, to every minute that could be employed in active exertions, were devoted to its interests."—*Life of Wesley*, vol. ii, p. 224.

Mr. Henry Moore entered the traveling connection in 1779. He, too, stood high in the estimation of Mr. Wesley, and was intimate with him till death closed their earthly intercourse.

From their intimacy with him, and the unreserved manner in which he communicated with them, Dr. Coke and Mr. Moore were, so far, well qualified to do justice to the character and fair fame of Mr. Wesley. Their work was prepared for the press in great haste, of which it furnishes sufficient evidence. They give a plain, unadorned relation, of the principal events in the life of Mr. Wesley, and the rise and spread of Methodism, both in Europe and America.

In the "Dedication" of their work "to the preachers of the gospel, late in connection with the Rev. John Wesley," the authors remark:—"Our aim in compiling this account of the life of our honored friend, and of that great revival of religion in which he was so eminently engaged for more than half a century, has been, first, that mankind at large may know what he was, and what he did, or rather what God has done by him. And, secondly, that all

those who are his sons in the gospel may have continually before them, how faithfully, zealously, and prudently, he labored; and may thereby be more abundantly stimulated to be followers of him, as he was of Christ."

They flatter themselves that there is nothing material respecting Mr. Wesley, which they have not recorded. "We scruple not to say," their Preface runs, "there is nothing material respecting him that is not given in this volume. All his private papers were open to our inspection for several years. He himself also informed us of many important passages of his life, which he never inserted in his journals, and are known to few but ourselves. Some of these it would have been dangerous or uncharitable for him to have published to the world. But we are under no such difficulty. The persons concerned are now in eternity, and their characters very little known to the present generation."

This work has been superseded by a new Life, by Mr. Moore, so that it is now out of print. It is important, however, as a connecting link in the history of the past.

The third Life of Mr. Wesley in order is that by Dr. John Whitehead. As this work has occasioned much controversy, and is the great text-book of those, who, for various purposes, and from different motives, wish to hold up to the world Mr. Wesley and Methodism in an odious light, an extended notice of it and its author will not be out of place.

Dr. Whitehead entered the traveling connection in 1764, and located in 1769.—*Myles.* He then settled in business in Bristol; and subsequently kept a school in the vicinity of London, where he also studied medicine. He became tutor to some young gentlemen, and traveled on the continent; during which time he received a diploma as doctor of medicine, from one of the German universities. On his return to England, having made the acquaintance of some influential members of the society of Friends, he was induced to become a Quaker. By the aid of his new associates, he was appointed a physician to the London Dispensary. In a few years he again joined the Methodists, and was a local preacher in London at the time of Mr. Wesley's death.

When Dr. Whitehead returned to the Methodist connection, "he was received by Mr. Wesley," says *Mr. Myles*, "with his usual kindness." In his will Mr. Wesley bequeathed to him, in connection with Dr. Coke and Mr. Henry Moore, all his manuscripts, to be burned or published as they should see good.

It having been determined, after Mr. Wesley's death, to publish

a biography of him, and Dr. Coke and Mr. Moore being fully engaged in the work as itinerants, it was proposed that Dr. Whitehead should compile it. To this "several objections were made, chiefly on account of his known versatility, and the short time he had been in the connection since his last admission." These objections, however, were obviated by Mr. Rogers, the superintendent in London, and who was one of the doctor's particular friends. It was then agreed that the doctor should write the Life; and, at his earnest request, and with the consent of Dr. Coke and Mr. Moore, Mr. Rogers delivered into his care Mr. Wesley's manuscripts, that he might at his leisure select such as were needful for his work; the whole to be afterward examined. Dr. Whitehead proposed to Mr. Rogers that he should receive one hundred pounds for his trouble and loss of time; this sum, the executors, at the instance of Mr. Rogers, raised to one hundred guineas, as being a handsomer sum.—*Myles*, pp. 195, 204. "To this proposal," says Moore, "Dr. Whitehead cheerfully acceded; and it was unanimously adopted as the resolution of the meeting. The manuscripts were also deposited with him, under an express stipulation that they should be examined according to the will of the testator, previously to any of them being published. At the following conference this agreement was confirmed in every particular, and Dr. Whitehead was appointed a member of the book committee in London."—*Life of Wesley*, p. 8.

After having entered into this engagement, in an evil moment one of his friends suggested to the doctor that by retaining, as he had it now in his power to do, the copyright of the intended biography, he might realize *two thousand pounds*. This suggestion acted with fearful potency on his "versatility;" and the poet's "trash" was too strong for the doctor's virtue. Money! Two thousand pounds! "The temptation to seize such a prize for himself," says Mr. Curry, the American editor of Southey's Life of Wesley, "proved too strong for the doctor's integrity. He, therefore, determined to make the work his own property. This produced an alienation of feeling between himself and his former friends; and having the rod in his own hands, he did not fail to apply it, thus making his Life of Wesley a scourge to both him and his followers. Having sold at once his Methodism and his conscience, he retained no love for the former, and but little regard for the latter. It could scarcely be expected, under such circumstances, that there would be either the heart or the will to do justice to the subject undertaken."—Vol. i, p. 406.

Myles, who wrote at the time these things transpired, and who

was well acquainted with the parties and circumstances, has given us a succinct history of the course pursued by Dr. Whitehead and the conference. After referring to the agreement of the parties for the compilation of a Life of Mr. Wesley, he says:—

"Dr. Whitehead, however, soon after the conference, to the astonishment of all concerned, declared his intention of publishing the 'Life' as an *independent* man. He also declared that he would make such use of the manuscripts of Mr. Wesley, with which he had been intrusted, as he *himself* should think proper, *and that he would not suffer them to be examined as Mr. Wesley had ordered in his will, previous to the publication*, unless the two other trustees of these manuscripts would enter into an engagement that he should retain in his hands all those papers which *he* should judge to be necessary for the work. He insisted, also, that the copyright of the book should belong to him; and that if it should be published from the Book Room, he would have half the clear profits.

"As the doctor had engaged to compile the Life for the Book Room, (that is, for the charity to which Mr. Wesley had bequeathed all his literary property,) the committee expostulated with him on his unfaithfulness, and the extravagance of his new demands. Their expostulations were, however, in vain. They had acted with great simplicity toward the doctor. Having a high opinion of his integrity, and attachment to the cause in which they were all engaged, they had given all the necessary materials into his hands, and so were completely in his power. He was fully sensible of this advantage, and persevered in those demands, with which he knew the committee could not comply."—*Chronological History*, p. 212.

He then adverts to the efforts that were made to persuade the doctor to regard the "will" of the dead, and act honestly and more honorably with the living; all of which, however, was in vain. In the mean time, Coke and Moore's Life came from the press, and ten thousand copies were immediately sold. The doctor, as it would seem, began to think now that the two thousand pounds—the price of his integrity—like the maid's fortunes, might be feasted on in the imagination, but never realized. He now makes various propositions affecting himself and his work. The following is the final one, with its results:—

"'All the manuscripts of Mr. Wesley shall be *fairly* and *impartially* examined by Dr. Coke, Mr. Moore, and Dr. Whitehead. Such papers as they shall unanimously deem unfit for publication shall be burned immediately; but of the remainder, Dr. Whitehead shall be at liberty to select such as he thinks necessary for

his work; and the remainder to be given into the hands of Dr. Coke and Mr. Moore.'

"Such was the doctor's proposal, even in this stage of the business. After many declarations that he was willing, and had often proposed, to enter into an examination of Mr. Wesley's papers, at length it fully appeared what kind of an examination he would consent to, namely, that his single negative should preserve any paper from destruction; and his single affirmative enable him to use any paper in such a way as he himself should think proper; and this the doctor called a fair and impartial examination!

"As there could be no hesitation, among upright men, upon such a proposal as this, a reply was immediately sent, signed by the president and secretary, pointing out the injustice and total want of ingenuousness, as well as the unfaithfulness to the deceased, which was manifest in the proposal respecting the examination of the manuscripts; and again declaring, in substance, that while he refused to fulfill his duty uprightly, as a trustee of Mr. Wesley's papers, they could have nothing to do with him in any other character. To this the conference received no reply. The conference were thus obliged, as the committee had been before, to leave the doctor to pursue his own way, contenting themselves with bearing their testimony against an evil which they could not prevent."—*Myles's History*, pp. 214, 215.

Such is the history of Dr. Whitehead in connection with the biography of Mr. Wesley. From these circumstances, a little knowledge of human nature, in man's fallen state, will enable us to infer pretty correctly respecting the character of the "Life."

Whatever character Dr. Whitehead may have borne, we do not on that account discard his work. Facts recorded by him respecting Mr. Wesley, and those associated with him, are as essentially true as though they were stated by any other person. But the doctor does not always state the facts; and, frequently, when he does, he leaves out much that is essential to a right understanding of them: and, besides—as if fearful that his distorted view of the subject will not accomplish all he designs—he draws from these incorrect statements most strange and unauthorized conclusions. Though a dissenter himself, he endeavors to court popular favor from the Church party, by exalting Charles Wesley at the expense of his brother John. The authority which Charles exercised at times, he applauds, while he condemns the exercise of less authority by John, as an assumption of power. He is compelled to admit Mr. Wesley's "tolerant principles," (vol. ii, p. 188,) and the next moment, forgetting it may be what he had written, he charges

him with possessing a determination to be "Cæsar or nothing."—Vol. ii, p. 167.

His charge against the preachers, of animosities, jealousies, corruption, and chicanery, worse than that even of political demagogues, has long since fallen back upon himself. He wrote for party purposes, and, of course, must make out a case, in order to sustain himself in his unfortunate position. The language of Mr. Curry, before quoted, is severe, but none too much so: having sold his Methodism and his conscience, he had not the heart nor the will to do justice to the subject undertaken.

It is due to those who seek after truth on this subject, to know that Dr. Whitehead, after compiling his Life of Wesley, though he returned the bulk of the papers to Mr. George Story, the book steward, *retained some valuable ones in his possession which were never returned.—Life of Henry Moore*, pp. 179, 208. "An honest man," says the poet, "is the noblest work of God."

Controversy biases the judgment; party requirements deprive a man of his own opinions; and gold dust will put out his eyes. Let us compare Dr. Whitehead, free from all these influences, with Dr. Whitehead, led captive by them.

After noticing the ordinations by Mr. Wesley, he says:—"The persons whom Mr. Wesley ordained have no more right to exercise the ministerial functions than they had before he laid hands upon them.

"A scheme of ordination so full of confusion and absurdity, as that among the Methodists, can never surely filiate itself on Mr. Wesley: it must have proceeded from some mere *chaotic* brain, where wild confusion reigns. Nor can I easily believe that Mr. Wesley would ever have adopted so misshapen a brat, had not his clear perception of things been rendered feeble and dim by flattery, persuasion, and age."—Vol. ii, pp. 269, 270.

Yet this same Dr. Whitehead, after his return to the Methodist connection, *solicited* ordination from Mr. Wesley's hands! And when Mr. Wesley, knowing his "versatility," would not trust him with so important an office, "his disappointment was extreme."—*Moore's Life of Wesley*, p. 9.

Again: when Dr. Whitehead, at the instance of the trustees of the City Road Chapel, preached a funeral sermon for Mr. Wesley, he said:—"If we consider his qualifications for inquiring after truth, we shall find that he possessed every requisite to examine a subject that we could expect or wish a man to have—a strong natural understanding, highly cultivated, and well-stored with the knowledge of languages, and of the various arts and sciences; he

had a reverence for God; he was conscientious in all his ways; and intent upon discovering the truth in everything that became the subject of his inquiries. . . . Cautious in his inquiries, he sought truth from the love of it; and whenever he found it, had firmness to embrace it, and publicly to avow it. These are evidences of a strong and liberal mind, possessed of every requisite to prosecute inquiries after truth. . . . So far was he from following a heated imagination, or taking up opinions as an enthusiast, that he maintained we ought to use our understanding, compare one thing with another, and draw just conclusions from such comparisons, as well in matters of religion as in other things."

But this same Dr. Whitehead, who, to obtain the "*money*," must write as the noted "committee,"* constituted to "advise, support, and defend him," should dictate, informs the readers of his biography, that Mr. Wesley, who was so "cautious," and who gave such "evidence of a strong and liberal mind;" who was "far from following a heated imagination, or taking up opinions as an enthusiast;" and who "possessed *every* requisite to prosecute inquiries after truth;" was "weak:" that he held "metaphysical science in low estimation;" was "often mistaken;" easily duped by others, not "duly considering whether they had sufficient ability and caution to give a true judgment of the things concerning which they bore testimony;" that he was "credulous," and "*believed* most of the stories he heard concerning witchcraft and apparitions."—Vol. ii, p. 189, *et al.*

Driven to the shift, how many shapes man can assume! In this case, the recklessness manifested in these strange contradictions of Dr. Whitehead is only equaled by his subsequent sycophancy. After having bespattered the character of the illustrious dead—violated trusts reposed in him by the dying—done his utmost to scandalize the chief ministers of the Wesleyan Church—and indulged in crocodile tears over an alledged departure of Methodism from its "original" calling—he fawns around Mr. Pawson, and begs to be admitted into the society again, and to be restored to his place as a local preacher!

Before dismissing Dr. Whitehead and his biography of Wesley,

* Says Mr. Pawson, the advocate and friend of Whitehead, in a letter, dated London, May 14, 1798, sent to Mr. Moore, speaking of a visit which, in connection with some other brethren, he made the doctor: "I found the doctor in a difficult situation; he was not at liberty to make what concessions he thought good, his *committee being equally concerned with himself, and they would not suffer him to criminate them.*"—*Life of Moore*, p. 187.

we will indulge in a remark or two upon the "Introduction" of the recent American edition of his work by Rev. T. H. Stockton, pastor of the Methodist Protestant Church, Philadelphia. Defective and disingenuous as Dr. Whitehead's Life is, this introduction, in the latter respect, surpasses it. It is difficult to conceive what prompted Mr. Stockton to pursue the course he has in the present instance. We are aware of the circumstances in regard to the Methodist Episcopal Church in which he has been reared: and it would appear as though the views and feelings of the sire had descended to the son. Was it necessary to justify the defection and secession which placed Mr. Stockton in his present position, to calumniate the character, and cast odium upon the name, of some of the best of men, and upon the British Conference? This Mr. Stockton has done. In his zeal to defend Dr. Whitehead, and, by consequence, those, whether Puseyites or latitudinarians, who endeavor, through and by him, to injure Methodism, and wrongly to impress the public mind respecting her usages and polity, he has been led into strange errors, and to make most glaring misstatements.

In speaking of Dr. Whitehead's work, Mr. Stockton says:—"Its accuracy, it is presumed, will not be denied. . . . Indeed, as far as we have seen, his opponents never denied the authenticity of his materials, or the *fairness* with which he exhibited them; but censured him merely for keeping and using them against their will, and in violation, as they assert, of his obligations."

It would certainly be reflecting too much upon the *understanding* of Mr. Stockton to suppose, even, that he did not know that the friends of Mr. Wesley had other objections to Whitehead and his work than his merely keeping and using, in violation of his obligations, the manuscripts of Mr. Wesley. Had he never seen Dr. Clarke's letter to Mr. Moore, in which he refers to the "manuscripts," to Whitehead's connection with *Kilham*, and to his "*scandalous reflections*" upon the preachers?

Mr. Stockton gravely informs us that Dr. Whitehead's "temporary union with the Friends"—this union continued till the influence of Robert Barclay, and other influential Quakers, obtained his appointment at the London Dispensary—"his request for ordination, and his asserted expulsion, ought to receive qualifications which would invest him with honor rather than reproach." No doubt! And the same qualifications would invest the secessionists of 1828 with honor! And, besides, it is in accordance with the Scriptural declaration, "Men will praise thee when thou doest

well for thyself." Let me become a Quaker—so this reasoning runs—or a secessionist, if I can thereby obtain an important appointment, gain a desirable position, or acquire a little notoriety. Such a course would be rather a reproach to me, to be sure, but the circumstances will so qualify my actions that they will "invest me with honor!"

There are a number of things in this "Introduction" which we had designed to notice—the use made of the "British Critic," the "Analytical Review," "Kilham's Life," and the charge of "personal and official improprieties," made against Dr. Coke, Mr. Moore, and their associates—but we cannot do it now without extending this article to an objectionable length. In our notice of Moore's Life of Wesley we shall refer to two or three particulars in this Introduction, directly affecting its author.

Robert Southey, Esq., LL. D., Poet Laureate, is Mr. Wesley's next biographer. It is with Mr. Southey, as the biographer of Mr. Wesley, that we have to do. His poetry we have never read; and if we had, we should have no great confidence in our judgment respecting its excellences. The critics, however, bating some defects, which are seen more or less in all human productions, say it is good.

Mr. Southey has carefully gathered up the materials for his work. The style in which he has written this biography is always pleasing, frequently captivating. It is thought by some to be the best of his prose productions; others give that praise to his Life of Nelson. There is a fascination in his art at narrating which makes us read on, even when we are vexed with his sophisms, his unfair statements, his erroneous conclusions, his biting sarcasm, and his palpable contradictions. We pore over pages of his work with much pleasure, and admire his apparent candor, when, suddenly, we are arrested by a statement so glaring, that we wonder how any man of ordinary discernment could make such a blunder. Mr. Wesley, at one time, is all excellence both in intellect and heart; at another time, he is supercilious and ambitious. He is a meek, holy man of God, contending for the faith which was once delivered to the saints, when we are immediately informed that he is an enthusiast. Methodism is declared to have done much good in the world; but, in summing up, it is questionable whether it has done more good than harm. It is *vital Christianity*, causing the profane man to pray—the inebriate to forsake his cups—the openly and abominably wicked to turn from their evil ways—reforming society—making the waste places as the garden of the Lord:

when, lo! its disguise is thrown off, and we are assured it is only a "*mental disease!*" "The Wesley of Mr. Southey," says Richard Watson, "is not, in several most important characteristics, Mr. Wesley himself; and the picture of Methodism which he has drawn is incorrect, both in tone and composition."—*Observations*, &c.

It was a strange notion that led Southey to become the biographer of Wesley. But he seems to have had an itching to intermeddle with whatever struck his fancy in literature or science, in religion or politics. Without any of those stirring emotions within, which operated on the mind of Wesley, and prompted him to press on in his course, through obloquy and reproach, from the learned and the ignorant, from the gentry and the mob, from the self-possessed prelate and the carnal professor of religion; with only a partial knowledge of the theological questions studied and discussed by Mr. Wesley every day of his life; little versed in church polity, a subject on which Mr. Wesley has had few, if any, equals since the apostolic times; a stranger to experimental Christianity, and, as we should infer from his language, a disbeliever in it: notwithstanding all this, he sits down to write a "Life" of Wesley. Mr. Southey could have but little, if any, conception of the circumstances in which Mr. Wesley conceived himself to be placed by Providence. He could have no sympathy with him in his godlike, self-sacrificing work. The path which he trod, the cast of his mind, his modes of thought, his literary pursuits, and the object he had in view, completely unfitted him for the task which he had imposed upon himself.

Mr. Southey might have deemed it necessary to add to his fame, that a Life of one of the "founders" should be among the productions of his pen; or that a variety of works, on altogether dissimilar subjects, would better comport with his real character. Says Byron:—

> "He had written praises of a *regicide*;
> He had written praises of all *kings* whatever;
> He had written *for republics* far and wide,
> And then *against* them bitterer than ever:
> For pantisocracy he once had cried
> Aloud, a scheme less moral than 'twas clever;
> Then grew a hearty anti-jacobin—
> Had turn'd his *coat*—and would have turn'd his *skin*."

And why not add to all the rest a Life of John Wesley? Wat Tyler, laudations of George the Fourth, and a biography of Wesley!

But "John Wesley," says the great Scotch reviewer, "was a subject that required all the qualities of a philosophical historian. In Mr. Southey's work on this subject, he has, on the whole, failed. Yet there are charming specimens of the art of narration in it. The Life of Wesley will probably live. Defective as it is, it contains the only popular account of a most remarkable moral revolution, and of a man whose eloquence and logical acuteness might have rendered him eminent in literature; whose genius for government was not inferior to that of Richelieu; and who, whatever his errors may have been, devoted all his powers, in defiance of obloquy and derision, to what he sincerely considered as the highest good of his species."

From the commencement of his extraordinary career, Mr. Wesley had never swerved from the right. In his course there was no vacillation. Unlike in this respect, as, indeed, in almost all others, was his biographer. "He that changes his party," says Johnson, "by his *interest*, loves himself rather than *truth*." And Southey, having changed from light to darkness, and sacrificed truth and conscience at the shrine of pounds, shillings, and pence; having courted the favor of the great, and received the reward of so doing; was not the man to write a correct life of one of the greatest reformers in the Christian church; and who, fearless of consequences to his reputation or fortune, followed *truth* wherever she led the way.

But Southey was not only an ultra tory in politics; in religion, what he had, he was high church. "Nothing," he says, in his Colloquies on Society, "is more certain than that religion is the basis upon which civil government rests; that from religion power derives its authority, laws their efficacy, and both their zeal and sanction; and it is necessary that this religion *be established for the security of the state, and for the welfare of the people*, who would otherwise be moved to and fro with every wind of doctrine. . . . The state that neglects this, prepares its own destruction; and they who train them up in any other way are undermining it. All of which are, nevertheless, denied by our professors of the arts babblative and scribblative, some in the *audacity* of *evil designs*, and others in the glorious assurance of impenetrable ignorance."

Hence, all dissenters are "undermining the state"—are its enemies—especially "those who train up the people in this way." Those who deny the above unfounded positions, and exploded notions, do it, in the estimation of our quondam republican, in the "audacity of evil designs," or in the "glorious assurance of im-

penetrable ignorance." Mr. Wesley, therefore, in pursuing his course, had evil designs toward the church and state, or was grossly ignorant. The latter, no one will pretend; and the former is not true: the error is in *Mr. Southey's* philosophy of government; and this has led him into a still greater error respecting the result of Mr. Wesley's labors. "In proportion as Methodism obtained ground among the educated classes, its direct effects," he says, "were evil. It narrowed their views and feelings; burdened them with forms; restricted them from recreations, which keep the mind in health; discouraged, if it did not absolutely prohibit, accomplishments that give a grace to life; separated them from general society; substituted a sectarian in place of a catholic spirit; and, by alienating them from the national church, *weakened the strongest cement of social order*, and *loosened the ties whereby men are bound to their native land*."—Vol. ii, p. 304. The above is a specimen of Southey's facts and philosophy. The *history* of Methodism demonstrates the falsity of every assertion in the extract.

Rightly understood, the enthusiasm and fanatical zeal, which Mr. Southey thinks he discovers in Mr. Wesley, will, in the estimation of the evangelical portion of his readers, reflect honor upon him rather than reproach. He more fully than the great body, even of professing Christians, believed and practiced as the gospel requires. He was a realization of what the poet Young wished to describe,—

"A man on earth devoted to the skies."

No doubt many of Southey's statements have produced on the public mind a different impression from what he expected. "In many cases," says his American editor, "where it was the evident purpose of the biographer to exhibit his subject in an unfavorable light, his statements of the facts upon which his judgment was based are equivalent to the highest praise. A changed state of public opinion, unanticipated by Mr. Southey—changed, probably, in no small degree, by causes which he saw dimly, but did not understand—has transformed his sarcasms and satires into substantial panegyrics."—*Preface*, p. 6.

The insinuations, the baseless and wicked insinuations, which abound in Southey, are altogether unworthy the man. At times he writes in a spirit of independence, when his judgment, unwarped by party influence and sectarian prejudice, seems to have full play, but he soon falls back again into his former mode, and writes with a hollow heart, and a disregard for truth, of the things which he

knows not. "Zeal," he says, "was the only qualification" which Mr. Wesley required in his preachers.—Vol. i, p. 397. And yet, on the next page, he says Mr. Wesley strongly impressed upon their minds the *necessity* of reading to improve themselves: and that he repelled the charge of ignorance.

But it were altogether useless to follow Southey in his contradictory statements, in his strange inconsistencies, in his philosophical notions of Christianity, in his comments and predictions: it would be only traveling in a circle. So far as Mr. Wesley is concerned, notwithstanding the acknowledgment of his greatness, goodness, and usefulness, you start with Southey at enthusiasm, and come round to ambition; starting at ambition, you come out at enthusiasm. It is with him, as with the traveling lady, who, apprehensive that she might forget some of her baggage, ever and anon, through the whole of her journey, to the amusement and annoyance of her fellow-travelers, repeated, "Great trunk, little trunk, bundle, and band-box!"

With Mr. Southey, as Macauley pertinently remarks, "what he calls his opinions, are, in fact, merely his tastes." And though, in the style of its composition, his Life of Wesley is the best and most popular that has ever been written, the influence of his "tastes," on a certain class of readers, must make it the worst. His sneers at the "disease," the "fits," the "zeal," the "enthusiasm," of Methodism, are directly aimed at vital Christianity, under whatever name it may exist. In the hands of many, these volumes will only foster that irreverence for Christianity, which, alas! too frequently lurks in the depraved human heart. "O, dear and honored Southey!" exclaims his brother-in-law, Coleridge, "this book is unsafe for all of unsettled minds. How many admirable young men do I know, or have seen, whose minds would be a shuttlecock between the battledores, which the bi-partite author keeps in motion! The same facts and incidents as those recorded in Scripture, and told in the same words—and the workers, alas! in the next page, these are enthusiasts, fanatics; but could this have been avoided, salva veritate? Answer. The *manner*, the *way*, might have been avoided."

It is contended, in vindication of Southey, that the errors and misstatements in his Life of Wesley were undesigned. This may be; though from their character, and the "manner," and the "way," as Coleridge says, in which he expresses himself, we should hardly conceive it, in all cases, to be possible. But admit it—the admission may be of service to the author's heart, but it is a sorry conclusion for his head. He had, says a writer previously

quoted, "two faculties which were never, we believe, vouchsafed in measure so copious to any human being; the faculty of believing without a reason, and the faculty of hating without a provocation."

This "Life" was thoroughly reviewed by the late Richard Watson. His "Observations," formerly published at the Book Room, New-York, are a valuable addition to Methodist literature, and fully vindicate Mr. Wesley and Methodism from the charges brought against them by Mr. Southey. The logical and acute mind of the reviewer, well versed, too, in the history and peculiarities of Methodism, enabled him to correct the errors of his author; and at times he puts on the lash so well and deservedly, that even Southey, though "he might not apprehend an argument," could not help feeling the string.

Mr. Southey saw and acknowledged the errors, some of them at least, of his Life of Wesley; and, before he was disabled by paralysis, was preparing a third edition, in which he designed to correct all that had been pointed out by others, or discovered by himself. This he did not do, however; and after his death, the work came out under the auspices of his son, C. C. Southey, curate of Cockermouth. That Mr. Southey's views respecting Mr. Wesley were greatly modified, is evident from his own acknowledgment. In 1835 he addressed a letter to James Nicholls, Esq., of London, as follows:—

"Kenbick, Aug. 17, 1835.

"Dear Sir,—I am much obliged to you for your kind offer to lend me such books as may render my Life of Wesley less incomplete.

"The edition of his Works, (1809–13,) in seventeen volumes, I have. I will, therefore, only trouble you for those volumes that contain Mr. Benson's Life, and the additional letters; and also for Beal's Early History of the Wesleys, which I had never before heard of.

"Adam Clarke's Memoirs of the Family, I have, and mean to make use of it. Indeed, if you tell me, when you have inspected his additional matter, that his second volume will, in your opinion, be worth waiting for, I shall much rather wait for it, than lose the opportunity of making my new edition as correct as I can.

"My intention is to incorporate in it whatever new information has been brought forward by subsequent biographers, and, of course, to correct every error that has been pointed out, or that I myself can discover. Mr. Alexander Knox *has convinced me that I was mistaken in supposing that ambition entered largely into*

Mr. Wesley's actuating impulses. Upon this subject, he wrote me a long and most admirable paper, and gave me permission to affix it to my own work, whenever it might be reprinted. This I shall do, and *make such alterations in the book as are required in consequence.* The Wesleyan leaders never committed a greater mistake than when they treated me as an enemy."

The next year after this letter was written, Mr. Southey was at Penzance, when he was introduced to Joseph Carne, Esq., F.R.S., who accompanied him to some interesting objects in that place and vicinity.

"In walking through Chapel-street," says Mr. C., "we passed a large place of worship, and on my informing him, in answer to his inquiry, that it was the Wesleyan chapel, (I believe he knew I was a Wesleyan,) he observed, 'The Wesleyans, I believe, are numerous in Cornwall.' I merely answered in the affirmative; and he continued, 'I am about to publish a new edition of my Life of Wesley. Some time after the first edition was published, I met with two copies in which the persons to whom they belonged had written remarks. One of these persons was Coleridge, the other was Henry Moore; two very dissimilar characters,' he said, smiling, 'and I have made some use of the remarks of both. I had also,' he added, 'a long correspondence with Alexander Knox, who labored to convince me that I had formed a wrong estimate of Mr. Wesley's character, in supposing him to have been actuated by ambitious motives; *and I now believe that he was right, and in my new edition I shall acknowledge it.*"

Now after this frank acknowledgment on the part of Mr. Southey, how is it that C. C. Southey, in the edition which his father was making preparation to publish, says nothing respecting it? Was Mr. Southey, the younger, apprehensive that the reputation of his father would be injuriously affected by these concessions? Had his church prejudices anything to do with the suppression of what justice to the injured dead, and a large Christian communion, demanded should be made known?

But this is not all. Mr. C. C. Southey, in his Preface, speaks of a few alterations and insertions made by his father, as was his custom in his own copy of his works, of the new features he had added to it, and then leaves the reader to infer that no change in the opinion of his father respecting Mr. Wesley had taken place! This is not the most reputable in the editor; and, to say nothing of the subjects of the work, *it is an act of injustice to the author himself.*

The recent edition of Southey's Life of Wesley, published by

the Harpers, in two volumes, 12mo., contains, in addition to the notes by S. T. Coleridge, and the critique on Mr. Wesley's life and character by Alexander Knox, the greater part of Mr. Watson's "Observations," and numerous terse and spirited notes by the American editor, the Rev. D. Curry.

The "notes" of Mr. Coleridge are of no special value. Some of them are curious; others are merely sublimated transcendentalism; while others still exhibit more of a fiendish spirit than anything else. He agrees with Mr. Southey to condemn Mr. Wesley; but he condemns him on different counts in the indictment. As it was in a certain case, in days of old, their "witness agrees not together."

Mr. Southey says that Mr. Wesley "surely loved God with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his strength." "High, yea, an awful eulogy," says Coleridge, "perilously high, as applied to any mortal; but strangely inconsistent with Southey's own clear and discriminating character of Wesley's mind, both in its present state and generally. Rooted ambition, restless appetite of power and primacy, with a vindictive spirit, breaking out into slanders against those who interfered with his ruling passion, and a logical shadow fight with notions and words, sustained by the fervor of the game, with an entire absence and unsusceptibility of ideas and tranquil depths of being—in short, my, my, myself, in a series of disguises and self-delusions. Such is the sum of Southey's statements: and are these compatible with the same Wesley, at the same time assuredly loving God with *all* his heart, and with *all* his soul, and with *all* his strength? If it were right and possible for a man to love himself in God—yet can he love God in himself otherwise than by making his-self his God?"

Upon this the American editor archly remarks:—"Southey's *inconsistency* is only less than Coleridge's *malignity;* the one is *human,* the other neither human nor divine."

The above extract exhibits Coleridge's spirit; the following is a specimen of his logic:—

"Mr. Wesley was fitted for his calling; but of whom was this calling? of God? I *cannot* say, Yes! I *dare* not, *will* not, say, or even think, No! That Arminian Methodism contains many true Christians, God forbid that I should doubt! That it ever made, or tends to make, a Christian, I *do* doubt; though, that it has been the occasion, and even cause, of turning thousands from their evil deeds, and that it has made, and tends to make, bad and mischievous men peaceable, and profitable neighbors and citizens, I delight in avowing."

The critique of Mr. Knox is very different from the notes by Coleridge. Long acquainted with Mr. Wesley, and knowing his manner of life, he shows very conclusively that *ambition* did not enter into his designs. And, it appears from his acknowledgment, that Mr. Southey was convinced that, on this point, he was in error respecting Mr. Wesley's character. Coming from one who knew Mr. Wesley intimately, the following extract contains a beautiful eulogy on his character; and strongly contrasts with Southey's oft-repeated charges of pride and ambition. "I must declare," says Mr. Knox, "that the slightest suspicion of pride, ambition, selfishness, in any shape or form, or personal gratification of whatever kind, stimulating Mr. Wesley in any instance, or mixing in any measure with the movements of his life, never once entered into my mind. That such charges were made by his opponents, I could not be ignorant. But my deep impression was, and it certainly remains unimpaired, that since the days of the apostles there has not been a human being more thoroughly exempt from all *those* frailties of human nature than John Wesley."

In reference to Mr. Southey's charge of enthusiasm against Mr. Wesley, Mr. Knox says,—"He was an enthusiast of no vulgar kind: as Nelson was an enthusiast for his country, so was John Wesley for religion."

Mr. Knox, it should be borne in mind, though in early life a Methodist, was now in the English Church. Separation from the church he opposed; and there are passages in this essay which show his peculiar feelings on that subject: and his reflections upon those who, he supposed, both before and after Mr. Wesley's death, favored such separation, are far from being kind. With all his friendship for Mr. Wesley, and his zealous defense of him against the charge of pride and ambition, he does him great injustice on other points. And the errors into which he has fallen are not more strange than palpable.

Mr. Curry's "notes" are of service to the cause of truth: but it is like trying to cleanse the stream while the fountain is still filled with poison. *Southeyism* is so fully stamped upon this Life of Wesley, and interwoven in its very texture, that these notes, numerous and judicious as they are, will hardly counteract its influence.

The fifth and next Life of Mr. Wesley appeared, the first volume in 1824, the second in 1825, written by Rev. Henry Moore, only surviving trustee of Mr. Wesley's manuscripts, then in the *seventy-fourth year* of his age.

After the publication of the Life of Wesley by Coke and Moore, Whitehead's and Southey's works were published. These met with considerable circulation, the latter especially. And in the mean time, too, the manuscripts of Wesley, those that were not retained by Whitehead, nor burned by Pawson, came into Mr. Moore's hands. "Among them," he says, "are several documents which are highly useful, and which have never been published." He thought, also, that there were portions of Whitehead's Life that ought to be answered by a true and impartial history of all the circumstances and facts alluded to by that biographer. And the recent publication of Mr. Southey's work induced him to enter without further delay upon the compilation of a complete Life of his departed friend. He says,—

"A Life of Mr. Wesley, as full as possible, without being tedious, seems now to be a desideratum, especially since the strange Memoir lately published by Robert Southey, Esq., Poet Laureate. Concerning that production, it may be thought that little need be said, as it has been an ample subject of animadversion in various publications, and has been ably reviewed by Mr. Watson. It has, indeed, been generally acknowledged, by competent judges of religious biography, that the names of Wesley and Southey were never designed to be joined together in the same sentence."—*Preface*, p. x.

Again:—"My duty lies plain before me. Mr. Wesley needs no panegyrist; and, indeed, for such an office I should be utterly incompetent. 'His witness is in heaven, and his record is on high.' But to rescue the character of such a man, and such labors, from interested, prejudiced, or ignorant declaimers, is worth some pains. I must again state the plain facts; connecting and elucidating them, so as to give a clear view of the man, and of the work in which he was so long engaged. It is especially my duty to do this, since inquiry is much more excited; and being now in possession of ample materials, were I not to do it, I should be involved in the guilt of unfaithfulness both to the dead and the living."—*Ibid.*, p. xiii.

Mr. Moore was a particular friend of Mr. Wesley; and it is not impossible but that the partiality of friendship led him to overestimate his excellences, and depreciate his errors; but we have not, in his work, discovered either. Mr. Southey says he had not "freedom or strength of intellect to discover wherein Mr. Wesley was erroneous." To this Mr. Moore replies:—"When Mr. Fletcher, who was certainly one of the first men of his day, Mr Southey's great and almost impeccable favorite, did not, after a

long and close intimacy, discover wherein Mr. Wesley, whom he always called 'father,' was erroneous, it is no wonder that the evil was hidden from his common friends: and I confess that I have neither the *heart* nor the *head* that could make the discovery." "Even now," he continues, "my state is so deplorable, that a wish to maintain and propagate those errors which Mr. Southey has discovered—to maintain that '*foolishness of preaching*' and '*believing*,' without which there can be no life, power, or peace—is, I acknowledge, the chief cause of my again bringing before the public memoirs of the apostolic Wesley."

Mr. Moore's Life of Wesley has been regarded as a standard work. It furnishes a great amount of important information respecting Mr. Wesley, and the rise and spread of Methodism. It, however, lacks spirit and vivacity. There is so much of incident in the life of Wesley, that a skillful biographer is at no loss for those materials which instruct, interest, and charm; and which, when drawn out into well-arranged and consecutive narrative, can never fail to please. Moore's work, though in the main we agree with the author in his opinions respecting Mr. Wesley, we read from a sense of duty—from a desire to acquire knowledge of his subject: Southey's, though we disagree with him at every turn, we read from a sense of pleasure.

Mr. Stockton, to whom we referred on a previous page, has charged Mr. Moore, first, as being the "abuser, *par excellence*, of Dr. Whitehead." Secondly, as plagiarizing extensively from his work; so that out of Whitehead's six hundred pages, only one hundred and thirty-three are clear from Moore's purloining.

As it respects the first, Mr. Stockton is greatly in error: *Mr. Moore is the assailed party.* In his Life of Wesley, written in association with Dr. Coke, notwithstanding the unwarranted course pursued by Dr. Whitehead, he says not a word respecting the controversy. He does not so much as inform the public of the circumstances under which, deprived of the manuscripts of Mr. Wesley which belonged to them, he and Dr. Coke had compiled their work. But when Dr. Whitehead's work appeared, a one-sided statement of the affair was given in the "advertisement"—a statement well-calculated to mislead the uninformed, and to prejudice narrow and bigoted minds.

Doubtless, Mr. Moore erred in the course he pursued respecting Dr. Whitehead. He should, in his first work, have given to the public the facts in the case. Had he done this, the controversy would have been greatly shortened. But Mr. Moore was actuated by milder feelings; and his error—or crime, if that suit Mr. Stock-

ton better—was his dealing altogether too mercifully with Dr. Whitehead. The "lightning and thunder," which Mr. Stockton thinks will break unexpectedly upon many, are merely fitful coruscations of electricity from his own overcharged mind. They may glitter and *snap* for the moment, but are perfectly harmless.

The second charge made against Mr. Moore is that of extensive plagiarism. We have carefully examined the two "Lives," and compared them, and we come to a different conclusion from Mr. Stockton.

The documents which Mr. Moore copies are, to be sure, the same as those published by Dr. Whitehead. But he obtained them from the same source that Dr. Whitehead did—from Mr. Wesley's manuscripts, his printed journals and works. There is no more plagiarism or purloining in his case, in this respect, than there is in Dr. Whitehead's. The *Analytical Review* made the same charge against Coke and Moore, with respect to Hampson. But Dr. A. Clarke, in reply and defense, showed that "each party had alike borrowed from the printed works of Mr. Wesley, and had an equal right to those public sources of information and reference." His "reply set the question for ever at rest."—*Life of Moore*, p. 124. The same argument, and with the same force, applies here.

At the time Mr. Moore compiled his second Life, he was the only surviving trustee of Mr. Wesley's manuscripts; and, by virtue of his appointment, he had a right to claim and use them. Thus he contends himself. He says:—"Wherever they are found, they belong to me; and those which have been published, either by Dr. Whitehead or any other person, are my property, which I shall freely use according to my best judgment."

But we admit frankly, and, we confess, with some mortification too, that Mr. Moore has not given Dr. Whitehead credit for much that is due. While we do not admit that he is a plagiarist by the publication of the documents, any and all, from Wesley's journals, works, or manuscripts, we do admit, that, in copying Whitehead's *composition*, as he has done in many instances, he exceedingly erred. Mr. Stockton shall never find us the apologists for plagiarism, whether it be in *sermons*, histories, biographies, or other works, any more than himself. We fully subscribe to the sentiment of D'Aubigne, that, "of all property that a man can possess, there is none so essentially his own as the labors of his mind."

In earlier days, when the press did not exercise such severe literary censorship as at present, purloining was a common theft. And we remark—not as a justification of Mr. Moore; for that is a

mode of argument that we do not adopt—that Dr. Whitehead is guilty of the "pious fraud" charged by Mr. Stockton upon Mr. Moore. The account of Mr. Wesley's illness and death, to which Dr. Whitehead and the other biographers of Wesley are indebted for most they have given us of his last moments, was furnished in a pamphlet by Miss Nitchie, afterward Mrs. Mortimer, who was with him in his last hours, and who, he wished, should close his eyes in death. Her biographer very properly notices it as a singular omission, that none of them have given her credit for it.

Mr. Moore's Life of Wesley will ever be valuable as a book of reference. It contains many important documents which illustrate the history of the founder of Methodism; and is the production of one of his strong and faithful friends.

The sixth and last Life of Wesley which we notice is that by Richard Watson: London, 1831. Mr. Watson prepared this Memoir for general readers more particularly than for the student who wishes for full and documentary details respecting the life and labors of his subject. He says:—

"Various Lives or Memoirs of the founder of Methodism have already been laid before the public. But it has been frequently remarked that such of these as contain the most approved accounts of Mr. Wesley, have been carried out to a length which obstructs their circulation, by the intermixture of details comparatively uninteresting beyond the immediate circle of Wesleyan Methodism. The present Life, therefore, without any design to supersede larger publications, has been prepared with more special reference to general readers. But as it is contracted within moderate limits chiefly by the exclusion of extraneous matter, it will, it is hoped, be found sufficiently comprehensive to give the reader an adequate view of the life, labors, and opinions, of the eminent individual who is its subject; and to afford the means of correcting the most material errors and misrepresentations which have had currency respecting him. On several points the author has had the advantage of consulting unpublished papers, not known to preceding biographers, and which have enabled him to place some particulars in a more satisfactory light."

In this Memoir by Mr. Watson, the only Life of Wesley, we believe, now on sale at the Book Room, the charges brought against Mr. Wesley, and repeated over and over again by Southey and others, of credulousness, enthusiasm, and ambition, are satisfactorily disposed of; and many points in his history, mystified or obscured by others, are presented in their proper light. Undoubt-

edly this Life is a good one; and the author has accomplished what he undertook—the compilation of a brief narrative of Mr. Wesley for general circulation.

The friends of Mr. Wesley and lovers of Methodism will ever regret that Dr. Clarke was not able to comply with the request of the British Conference to write a Life of Wesley. Had that been done, the name of Wesley would have been wrested from much obloquy and reproach cast upon it either by ignorant or designing men. The name of Wesley was, with Dr. Clarke, sacred. "I rejoice in it," says he, "more than in my own." And so late as December, 1831, nine months only before his death, and seven months after Mr. Watson had prepared his work, he remarks:—"When Adam Clarke is no more among men, perhaps the world, or rather the church, may find that John Wesley is not left without a proper notice of the rare excellences in his life, by one whom he affectionately loved; and who valued him more than he does any archangel of God." But death frustrated his plan, and what he contemplated he never accomplished.

By far the most interesting "Life" of Wesley that has ever appeared is contained in his own journals. We have in these an account of his daily employment, his travels, his preaching, his intercourse with the people, and of his reading; we have criticisms on books, and notices of persons, places, and many curious things; conversations with his friends, remarkable incidents, and strange historical narratives: the whole covering more than *fifty years* of his life, couched in his own inimitably simple and chaste language.

Mr. Watson says:—"His journals present a picture of unwearied exertion, such as was perhaps never before exhibited; and in themselves they form ample volumes of great interest, not only as a record of his astonishing and successful labors, but from their miscellaneous and almost uniformly instructive character. Now he is seen braving the storms and tempests in his journey, fearless of the snows of winter and the heats of summer: then, with a deep susceptibility of all that is beautiful and grand in nature, recording the pleasures produced by a smiling landscape, or by mountain scenery:—here turning aside to view some curious object of nature; there some splendid mansion of the great: showing at the same time in his pious, and often elegant, though brief, reflections, with what skill he made all things contribute to devotion and cheerfulness. Again, we trace him in his proper work, preaching in crowded chapels, or to multitudes collected in the most public resorts in towns, or in the most picturesque places in their vicinity.

Now he is seen by the side of the sick and dying, and then, surrounded with his societies, uttering his pastoral advices. An interesting and instructive letter frequently occurs; then a jet of playful and good-humored wit upon his persecutors, or the stupidity of his carnal hearers; occasionally, in spite of the philosophers, an apparition story is given as he heard it, and of which his readers are left to judge; and often we meet with a grateful record of providential escapes, from the falls of his horses, or from the violence of mobs. Notices of books also appear, which are often exceedingly just and striking; always short and characteristic; and as he read much on his journeys, they are very frequent."—*Life of Wesley*, p. 206.

The "Lives" of Wesley, his journals and works, and the "portraitures" of Methodism, drawn by friends and enemies, by adherents to it, and apostates from it, show Mr. Wesley to have been one of the most remarkable men that ever lived. He was versed in the sciences, an excellent linguist, deeply read in history and divinity, unsurpassed as a logician, a master polemic, a holy man, an indefatigable minister of the gospel, and a Scriptural bishop in the church of Christ; feeding the flock of God with pure knowledge, and exercising over them a wholesome Scriptural government. Reproached by the opposers of true piety, and by the bigots of the various "orders of faith," he steadily pursues his course. Those who opposed the spread of truth, and threw themselves in the way of its chosen advocate, dwindle down into comparative insignificance and obscurity; while he, with an equanimity of temperament peculiarly his own, with a zeal that no circumstances could dampen, with a faith that for sixty years is never known to fail or grow weak, and with humble reliance on God, is seen, far in the advance, still pressing on in his glorious career, only intent on fulfilling the high behests of Heaven. The snarling and barking of a multitude of curs, set on, in some instances, by those whose office it was to teach religion, but whose actions showed them to be instigators and defenders of mobs, do not for a moment arrest his progress. Forsaken by some who professed to be his friends, when they saw that he was not corrupt, and that he could not be corrupted; charged with enthusiasm, credulity, and ambition; and, indeed, whatever else is vile, he falters not. The trial of his faith, being much more precious than gold tried in the fire, is found, in his case, to be unto praise and honor. Nearly *eighty-eight years* God prolongs his life, and for more than *sixty-five years* he labors in the ministry. Charged with amassing a fortune, he, after having

made many rich, dies poor. Six poor men carry his body to the grave, and his spirit goes to God who gave it.

Mr. Wesley counted not his life dear unto himself, so that he might accomplish the work he believed God had called him to perform. He was at all times ready to preach, ready to pray, ready to do good in all possible ways, and ready to die. His church polity has stood the test of experiment. He clearly discerned the true policy lying between the high claims of prelacy on the one hand, and the equally unsupported dogmas of congregationalism on the other. And after all the discussion on this subject, its Scriptural character and wholesome tendency become daily more manifest. In the various benevolent and Christian enterprises, which are the glory of the present century, he had already zealously engaged, when the mass of Christendom first waked up to their importance. On the subject of *temperance* he was nearly one hundred years in advance of his times. He published his "Thoughts on *Slavery*" thirteen years before the formation of the "Abolition Committee" in England. The system of *colporteurage*, which is to bless and enlighten many dark portions of our earth, was adopted by him long before the "moderns" dreamed of it. What the "societies" are now doing, in furnishing small and cheap *publications*, adapted to general circulation, he did three quarters of a century ago. The *missionary* enterprise, which is sending the gospel to every part of the globe, he entered into in the advance of most others, and wisely adopted a system of itinerancy which continues to spread Scriptural holiness over the lands. In *educational* interests he early embarked, and his name will ever be associated with those who have founded schools and established institutions of learning.

But Mr. Wesley, it is said, had great defects. Well, what were they? Failings, such as necessarily attach to men in his lapsed state, he certainly had. And none can be more conscious of this than he was himself. The language of his heart and lips was,—

> "*I* the *chief* of sinners am;
> But Jesus died for me."

More than these he had not. And it is not a little marvelous, when we consider the relation which he sustained to the church, the society into which he was constantly thrown, the different tempers and dispositions with which he had to deal, the multiplicity of his engagements, the numerous ungentlemanly and unchristian attacks made upon him—not sparing his moral character, and questioning the purity of his motives—and the influence which his

friends might try to exert over him, that he should have committed so few errors, or exhibited so few failings.

It is ardently hoped that a Life of Wesley may yet be furnished by some of his admirers and gifted sons, doing full justice to his character and labors. To do this, he "must be viewed," says Dr. Clarke, "as a scholar, poet, logician, critic, philosopher, politician, legislator, divine, public teacher, and a deeply pious, and extensively useful man." The materials for such a work are abundant; and blessings will come upon him that shall accomplish it.

Much of the prejudice which exists against Mr. Wesley has been caused and fostered by those who were under obligations to him, and who were, professedly at least, his friends. John Hampson, Jr., as we have seen, was indebted to him for his early education. John Hampson, Senr., *Myles* informs us, notwithstanding his strange course, was regularly assisted from the preachers' fund as long as he lived. Hervey, whose letters cast so much odium upon Mr. Wesley in Scotland, and among the Calvinists generally, was in the Oxford association. Dr. Whitehead, whose Life of Wesley has been, and still is, a text book with those who asperse his character, was indebted to him and Methodism for most if not all his standing in society. And Nightingale and Lockington, whose statements bear *prima facie* evidence of their falsity, were both apostates from Methodism. Christ was betrayed by one of his disciples; and a man's foes are they of his own household.

Mr. Wesley's reflections, on entering his *eighty-eighth year*, are so befitting, at the close of this article, that we shall transcribe them. He says:—"This day I enter into my eighty-eighth year. For above eighty-six years I found none of the infirmities of old age; my eyes did not wax dim, neither was my natural strength abated; but last August I found almost a sudden change: my eyes were so dim that no glasses would help me, and probably will not return in this world: but I feel no pain from head to foot; only, it seems, nature is exhausted, and, humanly speaking, will sink more and more, till

'The weary springs of life stand still at last.'"

Blessed man of God! Thine is a green old age. *Thou* hast been *faithful*. Thy sons—God grant that they may be worthy of their sire!—honor thy virtues. In thy life and character they read "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report." And with *thee*, *Christ was* ALL IN ALL. H.

Art. V.—*The Pelagian Controversy.**

[*From the French of Guizot.*]

The principal questions that occupied the Christian society of Gaul in the fifth century were, 1. Pelagianism, or the heresy of Pelagius, mainly opposed by St. Augustin; 2. The nature of the soul, agitated in the south of Gaul between the bishop Fauste and the clerk Mamert Claudien; 3. A few points of worship and discipline rather than of doctrine, as the worship of martyrs, the merit of fasts, austerities, celibacy, &c.: these were the object of the writings of Vigilance; 4. The prolongation of the struggle of Christianity against paganism and Judaism, which suggested the

[* The above article forms the fifth Lecture of M. Guizot's "*Histoire de la Civilisation en France*," a work which, in impartiality and depth of research, in philosophical analysis, in its masterly power of generalization, and though last, not least, in its reverence for and sublime faith in religious principles, and in their ultimate triumph, may safely be pronounced without an equal in the European literature of the present century. We have barely space to hint at the great talents and untiring energy which raised the author from the humblest condition to the commanding post of Minister for Foreign Affairs in the cabinet of Louis Philippe. M. Guizot is a Protestant—a member of the Consistory of the Reformed Church, and one of the vice-presidents of the Protestant Bible Society at Paris.

The following notice of the subject of the present translation is from the pen of the late lamented Dr. Arnold, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, and bears the date of 1830:—

"On my way out through France, I was reading Guizot's History of the Progress of Civilization in France, from the earliest times. You know he is now Minister of the Interior, and one of the ablest writers in France. In his book he gives a history of the Pelagian controversy, a most marvelous contrast with the liberals of a former day, or with our Westminster Reviews now. Guizot sides with St. Augustin; but the whole chapter is most worthy of notice: the freedom of the will, so far as to leave a consciousness of guilt when we have not done our duty—the corruption of our nature, which never lets us, in fact,* come up to what we know we ought to do, and the help derived from prayers to God—are stated as incontrovertible philosophical facts, of which every man's experience may convince him; and Guizot blames Pelagius for so exaggerating the notion of human freedom as to lose sight of our need of external assistance. And there is another chapter on the unity of the church, no less remarkable. Now Guizot is professor of history in the University of Paris, and a most eminent liberal; and it seems to me worthy of all notice to observe his language with regard to religion."—*Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold, D. D.*, p. 164, Am. ed.—Translator.]

* If this were our statement we should choose to qualify it with the following:—*Without the sanctifying grace of God.*—Edit.

two dialogues of the monk Evagrus—between the Jew Simon and the Christian Theophilus, and between the Christian Zaccheus and the philosopher Apollonius.

Of these questions, Pelagianism is much the most important; it was the great intellectual matter in the church in the fifth century, as Arianism had been that of the fourth. Its history will form the subject of the present essay.

It is well known that this controversy turns upon the doctrines of free-will and grace—the relations of human liberty with the divine power—the influence of God on the moral activity of man.

At the bare announcement of this question, it will be perceived that it is peculiar neither to the fifth century nor to Christianity. It is a universal problem of all times, all places, which all religions and all philosophies have stated and attempted to solve.

It is, therefore, evidently related to primitive moral facts, universal, and inherent in human nature, and open to observation. I shall first seek for these facts; I shall endeavor to unfold in man in general, independently of all considerations of time, place, or peculiar belief, the natural elements, the primitive matter, so to speak, of the Pelagian controversy. I shall bring these facts to the light, without addition or retrenchment, without discussion, intent only to verify and describe them.

I shall afterward show what questions naturally arise from the facts—what difficulties, what controversies they may occasion—always independently of every particular circumstance of time, place, or social condition.

This done, and, if I may so express myself, the general, theoretic side of the question once well established, I shall ascertain under what special point of view these moral facts were considered in the fifth century, by the defenders of the various opinions in debate.

Finally, after explaining from what sources and under what auspices Pelagianism originated, I shall relate its history; I shall attempt to trace, in their relations and progress, the principal ideas to which it gave birth, in order to a thorough knowledge of the condition of men's minds at the moment when this great controversy arose—how it influenced them, and at what point it left them.

To the examination of the moral facts with which the question is connected, I ask a strict and special attention. To perceive and express them with precision is difficult; and I am desirous that they should lack neither clearness nor certainty.

The first, that which lies at the foundation of all the controversy, is liberty—free-will—the human will. In order to an exact

comprehension of this fact, it must be separated from every foreign element, and reduced strictly to itself. It is, I believe, for want of this care that it has been so often imperfectly understood; we have not placed ourselves in full view of the fact of liberty, and of that alone; it has been seen and described pell-mell, so to speak, with other facts that lie very near it in the moral life, but which differ from it not the less essentially. For example: human liberty has been made to consist in the power of deliberating and choosing between the motives of action; deliberation, and the judgment which follows it, have been considered the essence of free-will. This is an error. These are acts of the understanding, and not of the will; it is before the understanding that the different motives of action—interests, passions, opinions, or others—appear; it considers, compares, values, weighs, and finally judges them. This is a preparatory labor that precedes the act of willing, but in nowise constitutes it. When the deliberation has taken place —when the man has taken full cognizance of the motives that present themselves to him, and of their value—then arises a new and totally different fact, the fact of free-will; the man takes a resolution, that is to say, he commences a series of facts which have their origin in himself, of which he regards himself as the author, which exist because he wills it, which would not exist if he did not will it, and which would be different if he willed to produce them otherwise. Banish all recollection of mental deliberation—of known and appreciated motives; concentrate your thought, and that of the man who takes a resolution, on the moment in which he takes it—in which he says, "I will; I will do"—and ask yourself, ask him, if he could not will and do otherwise. Assuredly both you and he will reply, "Yes." Here is revealed the fact of free-will; it resides entire in the resolution taken by the man after deliberation; the resolution is the proper act of the man, which subsists by him, and by him alone; a simple act, independent of all the facts that precede or accompany it; identical in circumstances the most diverse; always the same, whatever may be its motives or results.

The man perceives the act when he originates it; he knows himself free; he is conscious of his liberty. Consciousness is that faculty possessed by man of contemplating what passes within him, of observing his own existence, of being, so to speak, a spectator of himself. Whatever facts transpire in the man, it is by the fact of consciousness that they are revealed to him; consciousness, like thought and sensation, attests his liberty; man sees and knows himself free, as he sees and knows himself a sentient, re-

flecting, and judging being. The attempt has been often, and is still made, to establish between these different facts an indefinable inequality of clearness and certainty; objections are made to what is called the design of introducing into science strange and obscure facts—the facts of consciousness. Sensation, perception, it is said, are clear and established; but the facts of consciousness, where are they? what are they? I think it unnecessary to insist long upon this point. Sensation and perception, like liberty, are facts of consciousness; man perceives them in the same manner, and with the same degree of clearness and certainty. He may give his attention to certain acts of consciousness rather than to certain others, and forget or mistake those which he does not observe; the opinion to which I am now alluding proves it; but when he observes himself completely, when he is present at the entire spectacle of his interior life, he has little difficulty in convincing himself that all the scenes pass on the same stage, and are known to him through the same medium.

I desire that the fact of human liberty, thus reduced to its proper and distinctive nature, may be impressed on the mind; for its confusion with contiguous but dissimilar facts has been one of the principal causes of trouble and debate in the great controversy we are about to examine.

A second fact, equally natural, equally universal, has played an important part in this controversy.

At the same time that man feels himself free, and is conscious of the power of commencing, by his will alone, a series of facts, he is also conscious that his will is under the control of a certain law, which takes different names, according to the circumstances in which it is applied, as—moral law, reason, good sense, &c. He is free; but, in his own opinion, his liberty is not arbitrary; he may use it in a foolish, unjust, or culpable manner; but every time he uses it a certain law must preside. The observance of this law is his duty—the task of his liberty.

He soon perceives that he never fully performs this task; that he never acts perfectly according to reason—according to the moral law; that, always free, that is, morally capable of conforming to the law, he does not, in fact, accomplish all that he should, or even all that he can. On every occasion, when he strictly interrogates himself, and answers sincerely, he is forced to say, "I might if I had willed;" but his will has been slothful and cowardly; he has gone to the extent neither of his duty nor of his power.

This is an evident fact, to which every one can bear witness; there is even this singularity about it, that the consciousness of

this feebleness of the will becomes often more clear and impressive, the more the moral nature is developed and perfected. The best men, that is, those who have exerted and exhibited the greatest strength, who have succeeded best in conforming their will to reason and the moral law, are often most forcibly struck with its insufficiency, most deeply convinced of this great inequality between the conduct of man and his task, between liberty and its law.

Hence arises a feeling which, under different forms, is found in all men—the feeling of the necessity of an exterior help—of a support to the human will—of a strength that may be added to its strength, and sustain it in time of need. This support, this beneficent aid, man everywhere seeks—in the encouragements of friendship, in the counsels of wisdom, in the example and approbation of his fellows, in the fear of blame. There is no one who cannot every day cite, in his own conduct, a thousand proofs of this movement of the soul, eager to find without itself an aid to its liberty, which it feels to be at the same time real and insufficient. And as the visible world, human society, respond not always to his desire,—as they are tainted with the same insufficiency, which reveals itself in its turn,—the soul goes beyond the visible world, above human relations, to seek the support it needs: the religious sentiment is developed; man addresses himself to God, and invokes his assistance. Prayer is the most elevated, but not the only form, under which this universal sentiment of the feebleness of the human will, this recourse to an exterior and confederate force, is manifested.

And such is the nature of man, that when he sincerely asks this support he obtains it; the seeking nearly suffices to find it. Whoever, feeling his will feeble, sincerely invokes the encouragements of a friend, the influence of wise counsels, the support of public opinion, or addresses himself to God by prayer, instantly feels his will fortified and sustained in a certain measure, and for a certain time. This is a fact of daily experience, and one which may be easily verified.

There is also a third fact whose importance cannot be mistaken; I mean the influence of circumstances independent of man on the human will,—the empire of the exterior world over liberty. No one disputes the fact; but an exact conception of it is important, for, if I am not deceived, it is, in general, imperfectly understood.

I have shown the distinction between liberty and the deliberation—the work of the understanding—that precedes it. Now the circumstances independent of man—the place or time of his birth,

habits, manners, education, events, whatever they may be—have no influence on the act of liberty, such as I have attempted to describe it; it is not touched or modified by them, but remains always identical and complete, whatever may be the motives that excite it. It is on these motives—in the sphere in which the understanding is employed—that exterior circumstances exercise and exhaust their power. The age in which life is passed, the country, the society, vary to infinity the elements of deliberation that precede the act of the will. In consequence of this variation, certain facts, certain ideas, certain sentiments, are, in this intellectual labor, present or absent, near or distant, powerful or feeble; and the result of the deliberation, that is to say, the judgment pronounced on the motives, is greatly affected by them. But the act of the will that follows remains essentially the same; it is only indirectly, and because of the diversity of the elements introduced into the deliberation, that the conduct of man undergoes this influence of the exterior world. An example, I trust, will fully explain my meaning. The savage, faithful to the manners of his tribe, reluctantly, but in fulfillment of his duty, kills his old and infirm father; the European, on the contrary, nourishes and protects his parent, and devotes himself to the comfort and soothing of his old age and infirmities. Nothing, surely, is more unlike than the ideas which, in the two cases, accompany the deliberation that precedes the action, and the results that attend it; nothing is more unequal than the legitimacy, the moral value of the two actions in themselves; but the resolution itself, the free and personal act of the European and the savage, is it not the same, if performed with the same intention, and with the same degree of effort?

Thus, on the motives and consequences of the free act, the influence of circumstances independent of the will is immense; they constitute the field in which it acts: but the interior fact, placed between deliberation and the exterior act, the fact of liberty, remains the same, and is accomplished in like manner, amid the most diversified elements.

I come now to the fourth and last of the great moral facts indispensable to be well understood in order to comprehend the history of Pelagianism. I might enumerate many others, but they are of minor importance, and evidently originate from those I have already elucidated.

Certain changes, certain moral events, are accomplished and appear in man, the origin of which he is unable to refer to an act of his will, and the author of which he is unable to recognize.

At first sight, perhaps, some persons may be astonished at this

assertion. I shall endeavor to illustrate it in advance, by the example of analogous but more frequently occurring facts, easier to be grasped, which take place in the province of the understanding.

There is no one who has not at some time laboriously sought for some idea, some recollection, and fallen asleep in the search without success, and the next day, on awaking, instantly attained the desired object. There is no scholar who has not at some time begun to study a lesson, gone to bed without mastering it, and in the morning, on rising, learned it almost without an effort. I might cite many other facts of this nature; but I choose these two as the most simple and incontestable.

I draw from them this single conclusion: independently of the voluntary and deliberate activity of the thought, there is effected in the mind of man a certain latent and spontaneous work, a work which we do not direct, and the progress of which we do not observe, but which is yet both real and productive.

There is nothing strange in this; each of us brings with him at birth an intellectual nature proper to himself. By his will, man controls and modifies, perfects or degrades, his moral being, but does not create it; he receives it, and receives it endowed with certain individual dispositions and a spontaneous force. The native diversity of men, in a moral as well as physical point of view, is incontestable. Now as the physical nature of every man is developed spontaneously, and by its own virtue, in like manner, though in a very unequal degree, there is effected in the intellectual nature—excited to action by its relations with the exterior world, or by the will of the man himself—a certain involuntary, unobserved development, and, to make use of a word from which I should not wish any conclusion to be drawn, but which expresses figuratively my idea, a certain work of vegetation which bears fruit naturally.

That which happens in the intellectual order, happens equally in the moral order. Certain facts arise in the interior of the human soul which it does not attribute to itself,—for which it does not account by its own will. On certain days, at certain moments, it finds itself in a moral state different from that in which it had been. It sees not the origin of these changes; it was not conscious of them when they happened, and does not remember to have contributed to them. In other terms, the moral man does not wholly make himself; he feels that causes and powers exterior to himself act on and modify him without his knowledge; in his moral life, as in the whole of his destiny, there is to him something unknown, inexplicable.

To be convinced of this fact, it is not necessary to recur to those great moral revolutions, those sudden and striking changes which the human soul may sometimes experience, but to which the imagination of the narrator adds much, and which it is difficult rightly to appreciate. I believe we need only look within ourselves to discover more than one example of these involuntary modifications; and each of us, on observing his inward life, will easily discern, if I am not deceived, that the vicissitudes, the developments of his moral being, are not all the result either of acts of his will, or of exterior circumstances with which he is acquainted, and which explain them to him.

Such are the principal moral facts connected with the Pelagian controversy. I give them as they are found in human nature—simple, universal, without any mixture of historical events or particular circumstances. It may be instantly seen that from these facts alone, abstracted from every special and accidental element, a multitude of questions may result, and that more than one great controversy may be raised on their account. And, first, their reality may be called in question. They are not all equally exposed to this peril; the fact of human liberty, for example, is more evident, more irresistible than any other; it has, nevertheless, been denied. Everything may be denied; there are no limits to the field of error.

Even in admitting and recognizing these facts, we may be deceived as to the place which each one occupies, or the part that it plays in the moral life; we may estimate inaccurately their extent or importance; we may attach too much or too little weight to liberty, exterior circumstances, feebleness of the will, unknown influences, &c.

We may also attempt to explain these facts, and at the same time differ widely in their interpretation. Does the question, for example, concern those involuntary, unperceived changes that take place in the moral condition of man? It will be said that the mind is inattentive; that it does not remember all that passes within itself; that it has probably forgotten such an act of the will, such a resolution, such an impression, which has produced these consequences, of which it has neither kept the thread nor observed the development. Or, to explain these obscure facts of the moral life, recourse will be had to a direct, special action of God upon the soul—to a permanent relation between the action of God and the activity of man.

Finally, we may attempt to reconcile these facts to each other in a diversity of ways; we may reduce them to a system accord-

ing to such or such a principle, refer them to such or such a general doctrine on the nature and destiny of man and the world, &c. Thus, from a multitude of causes, a thousand questions may arise on the nature alone of the facts with which we are occupied. Taking them by themselves, and in their general aspect, they are a fruitful subject of controversy.

But what if particular, local, transient causes vary the point of view from which we observe them, modify their perception in the mind, influence it in one direction rather than another on their account, bring to light or cast in the shade, magnify or diminish, such or such a fact? Yet this is what always happens: it happened in the fifth century. I have endeavored to ascend to the natural and purely moral origin of the Pelagian controversy; I now proceed to consider its historical origin, a knowledge of which is no less necessary to a full understanding of the subject.

In the bosom of the Christian church, it was impossible that the moral facts I have just described should not be considered from different points of view.

Christianity has been, not a scientific, speculative reform, but an essentially practical revolution. It especially proposed to change the moral condition, to govern the life, of men; and not merely of a few men, but of nations—of the whole human race.

This was a prodigious novelty. The Greek philosophy, at least since the epoch at which its history becomes clear and certain, was essentially scientific—much more applied to the investigation of truth, than to a reform and government of the manners. Two schools only had taken a somewhat different direction: the Stoics and the Neoplatonists formally proposed to exercise a moral influence—to govern the conduct as well as to enlighten the understanding; but their ambition in this direction was limited to a few disciples—to a sort of intellectual aristocracy.

It was, on the contrary, the special and characteristic aim of Christianity to be a moral and universal reform—everywhere to govern, in the name of its doctrines, the will and the life.

Hence the chiefs of the Christian society were influenced by an almost unavoidable tendency. Among the moral facts of which our nature is composed, they were especially to endeavor to bring to light those which are proper to exercise a reforming influence, and are promptly followed by practical effects. Toward these, the attention of the great bishops, the fathers of the church, was particularly directed, for in them they found the means of fulfilling their own mission, and of giving to Christianity an onward impulse.

Moreover, the fulcrum of the moral Christian reform was religion; in religious ideas, in the relations of man with the Divinity, of the present life with the future, lay its strength. It behooved its chiefs, therefore, to prefer, and also to favor, those moral facts whose tendency is religious,—those which border on the religious side of our nature, and are, so to speak, placed on the boundaries of actual duties and future hopes, of morals and religion.

Finally, the wants and the active means of Christianity, to effect a moral reform and govern men, necessarily varied with times and situations; it was necessary to address, so to speak, now one fact in the human soul, now another; to-day a certain disposition, to-morrow a different one. It is evident, for example, that in the first and in the fifth century the task of the chiefs of the religious society was not the same, and could not be performed by the same means. The dominant fact in the first century was the struggle against paganism, the need of overthrowing an order of things odious to the new state of the mind—the work, in a word, of revolution, of war. Incessant appeals were necessary to the spirit of liberty, of examination—to the energetic exercise of the will; this was the moral fact which the Christian society invoked and incited constantly, and on every occasion.

In the fifth century the case was quite different. War had ceased, or nearly so; the victory was gained. The Christian chiefs were especially called to regulate the religious society. The day had come to promulgate its faith, to settle its discipline, to establish it, in short, upon the ruins of that heathen world which it had vanquished. These vicissitudes are repeated in all great moral revolutions; I need not multiply examples. We see that at this epoch there was no longer occasion for incessantly invoking the spirit of liberty; the dispositions favorable to the establishment of rule, order, and the exercise of power, were in their turn to be cultivated and obtain the preference. Apply these considerations to the natural moral facts that gave birth to the Pelagian controversy, and we shall easily discover which among them were those whose development, in the fifth century, the chiefs of the church were especially required to favor.

Still another cause modified the point of view from which they observed our moral nature. The facts relative to human liberty, and the problems occasioned by them, are not isolated; they are attached to other facts, to other problems, still more general and complex,—for example, to the question of the origin of good and evil, to that of the general destiny of man, and of his essential relations with the designs of the Divinity concerning the world.

Now, upon these superior questions, doctrines had been established in the church, parties formed, solutions already given; and when new questions arose, the chiefs of the religious society were obliged to reconcile their ideas with the established faith and general ideas of the church. We see, then, in such a case, how complex was the nature of their situation. Certain facts, certain moral problems, attracted their notice. They might examine and judge them as philosophers, abstractedly from every exterior consideration, from a purely scientific point of view. But they were invested with official power; they were called to govern men, to regulate their actions, to act on their wills. Hence a practical, political necessity, which weighed upon the mind of the philosopher, and inclined it in a certain direction. This was not all: philosophers and politicians, they were also obliged to fulfill the functions of pure logicians, to conform themselves on all occasions to the consequences of certain principles, certain immutable doctrines. They played then, in some sort, three parts, and bore three yokes; they were obliged to consult the nature of things, practical necessity, and logic; and whenever a new question appeared, whenever they were called to take cognizance of moral facts to which they had previously paid little attention, they were obliged to think and act under this triple character—to fulfill this triple mission.

Such was not the condition of all Christians in the religious society; all did not regard themselves as called, on the one hand, to govern the church morally, or, on the other, to follow out, to all its consequences, the system of its doctrines. There could not fail to spring up among them men who permitted themselves to observe and describe such or such moral facts in their own minds, without preoccupying themselves much with their practical influence, or their place and connection in a general system;—men of narrower views and feebler powers than those of the chiefs of the church, but freer in a more circumscribed field, and who, imposing upon themselves a less difficult task, might arrive, upon certain points, at more precise knowledge. Hence the origin of the heresiarchs.

Thus was Pelagianism born. We are now, if I am not deceived, in possession of the great preliminary, and, in some sort, exterior circumstances that were to influence its destiny. We have, 1. The principal natural facts on which the controversy rested; 2. The questions that naturally arise from these facts; 3. The special point of view from which these facts and questions were observed in the fifth century, either by the chiefs of the religious society, or by the active and inquiring minds that arose isolatedly

in its bosom. We may now approach the history of the Pelagian controversy: we have a thread to guide us,—a torch to light our path.

The controversy was first strongly agitated early in the fifth century; not that free-will and the action of God on the human mind had not previously occupied the minds of Christians; the epistles of St. Paul and many other monuments attest the contrary; but the facts had been admitted or denied almost without debate. Toward the end of the fourth century they began to be more cautiously examined, and some of the chiefs of the church already began to be disquieted on their account. "We ought not," said St. Augustin at that time, "to speak much of grace to men who are not yet Christians, or not well-grounded Christians; it is a thorny question which may trouble the faith."

Toward the year 405, a Breton monk, Pelagius, (the name given him by Latin and Greek writers; his national name appears to have been Morgan,) was at Rome. His origin, his moral character, his genius, and his learning, have been the subject of much discussion; and in connection with these various points many injurious things have been said of him, which appear, however, to have been unfounded. Judging from the principal testimonies, and from that of St. Augustin himself, Pelagius was well born, well educated, and grave and pure in his manners. He lived at Rome, and had already arrived at mature age; and without promulgating any precise doctrine, without writing a book, he began to speak much of free-will—to insist on this moral fact,—to give it prominence. Nothing indicates that he attacked any one, or was desirous of controversy; he appears merely to have believed that sufficient importance was not given to human liberty—that too circumscribed a place was assigned to it in the religious doctrines of the times.

These ideas caused no trouble at Rome—little or no debate. Pelagius spoke freely; he was listened to without interruption. His principal disciple was Celestius, a monk like himself—at least it is believed so—but younger, more confident, of a more daring genius, and more resolved to push to extremities the consequences of his opinions.

In 411 Pelagius and Celestius are no longer at Rome: we find them in Africa,—at Hippo and at Carthage. In this latter city Celestius advances his doctrines; a controversy immediately arises between him and the deacon Paulinus, who accuses him to the bishop of heresy. In 412 a council assembles; Celestius is present, and vigorously defends himself; he is excommunicated, and

after vainly attempting an appeal to the bishop of Rome, he passes into Asia, whither Pelagius, as it seems, had preceded him.

Their doctrines spread; the islands of the Mediterranean, Sicily and Rhodes among others, gave them a favorable reception; a little tract by Celestius, entitled *Definitiones*, which many were eager to read, was sent to St. Augustin. Hilary, a Gaul, wrote to him in much anxiety. The bishop of Hippo began to be alarmed; he beheld more than one error and peril in the new ideas.

At first, among the facts relative to the moral activity of man, that of free-will was almost the only one with which Pelagius and Celestius appear to have occupied themselves. St. Augustin agreed with them, and had more than once declared as much; but other facts, in his opinion, were entitled to equal notice; for example, the insufficiency of the human will, the necessity of exterior assistance, and those moral changes that take place in the soul, which it cannot attribute to itself. Pelagius and Celestius seemed to disregard these, which was the first cause of the struggle between them and the bishop of Hippo, whose more comprehensive mind contemplated our moral nature under a greater variety of aspects.

Pelagius, besides, by the almost exclusive importance he gave to free-will, weakened the religious side of the Christian doctrine, in order to fortify, so to speak, the human side. Liberty is the fact of man; he alone appears in it. In the insufficiency of the human will, on the contrary, and in those moral changes which it does not attribute to itself, there is room for divine intervention. Now the reforming power of the church being essentially religious, she could not but lose, in a practical point of view, by a theory which placed in the first rank a fact in which religion had nothing to unfold, and left in the background those in which her empire found a field for its exercise.

Finally, St. Augustin was the chief of the doctors of the church —called, more than any other, to maintain the general system of her faith. Now, the ideas of Pelagius and Celestius seemed to him to contradict some of the fundamental points of the Christian faith, especially the doctrine of original sin and redemption. He attacked them, therefore, from a threefold motive: as a philosopher, because, in his eyes, their science of human nature was narrow and incomplete; as a practical reformer, charged with the government of the church, because, according to him, they impaired its most efficacious means of reform and government; and as a logician, because their ideas did not exactly square with the consequences deduced from the essential principles of the faith.

From this time we see what importance the controversy assumed: philosophy, politics, and religion, the opinions and the interests of St. Augustin, his self-love and his duty, all were engaged. He devoted himself wholly to the work, publishing tracts, writing letters, collecting all the information that reached him from every direction, lavishing refutations and counsels, and displaying in all his writings, in all his demeanor, that mixture of passion and mildness, of authority and sympathy, of expansion of mind and logical rigor, which gave him so rare a power.

Pelagius and Celestius, on their side, did not remain inactive; in the East they had powerful friends. If St. Jerome fulminated against them at Bethlehem, they were zealously protected by John, bishop of Jerusalem. He convoked on their account an assembly of the priests of his church. A disciple of St. Augustin, the Spaniard Orosius, then in Palestine, presented himself before them, and related what had passed in Africa in regard to Pelagius, as well as the errors of which he had been accused. On the recommendation of Bishop John, Pelagius was called. He was asked if he really taught what Augustin had refuted. "What is Augustin to me?" he replied. Several of the members were shocked. Augustin was at that time the most celebrated and respected doctor in the church. A disposition was manifested to eject Pelagius, and even to excommunicate him; but John turned aside the blow, caused Pelagius to be seated, and then interrogated him: "I am Augustin here; thou shalt answer to me." Pelagius spoke Greek; his accuser, Orosius, spoke nothing but Latin; the members of the assembly were unable to understand him, and therefore separated without deciding anything.

Shortly after, in December, 415, an assembly was held at Diospolis, the ancient Lydda, in Palestine, composed of fourteen bishops, and presided over by Eulogius, bishop of Cesarea. Two bishops of Gaul—Hero of Arles, and Lazarus of Aix—who had been banished from their sees, addressed to Eulogius a new accusation against Pelagius. They were not present at the council, alledging indisposition, and probably aware that it would not be favorable to them. Pelagius, however, appeared, protected by the bishop of Jerusalem, and was interrogated concerning his opinions. He explained them, modified them, and adopted all that the council presented as the true doctrine of the church. He related what he had already suffered, enlarged upon his relations with several holy bishops, and with Augustin himself, who two years before had written him a letter, for the purpose of controverting some of his ideas, but full of charity and mildness. The accusation of Hero

and Lazarus was read in Latin, by an interpreter. The council declared itself satisfied; Pelagius was absolved and acknowledged to be orthodox.

The report of this decision soon reached Africa. The great activity that prevailed in the church at that epoch is well known, as also with what rapidity reports and writings circulated from Asia to Africa, from Africa to Europe, and from city to city. As soon as St. Augustin was informed of the result of the council of Diospolis, and before he was apprised of its acts, he powerfully exerted himself to counteract its effects. About the same time, an incident happened at Palestine which gave a bad color to the cause of Pelagius. He had remained at Jerusalem, and promulgated his ideas with increased assurance. A violent commotion broke out at Bethlehem against St. Jerome and the monasteries that had been formed in his neighborhood. Grave excesses were committed; houses were pillaged and burnt, a deacon was killed, and St. Jerome was compelled to seek refuge in a tower. The Pelagians, it was said, were the authors of these disorders. The assertion is not proved, and I am a little inclined to doubt it; still, there was room for suspicion, and the belief of their guilt was general. A great clamor arose; St. Jerome wrote to the bishop of Rome, Innocent I., and Pelagianism was seriously compromised.

Two solemn councils were held this year (416) in Africa,—one at Carthage, another at Milevas; sixty-eight bishops were present at the one, sixty-one at the other. Pelagius and his doctrine were formally condemned; the two assemblies informed the pope of their decision, and St. Augustin, with four other bishops, also wrote to him, giving him the details of the whole affair, and soliciting him to examine it himself, that he might be able to proclaim the truth and anathematize error.

On the 27th January, 417, Innocent replied to the two councils and the five bishops, and condemned the doctrines of the Pelagians. They, however, did not consider themselves vanquished. In two months Innocent was dead, and Zosimus had succeeded him. Celestius returned to Rome, obtained from the new pope a new examination, and explained his opinions to him, probably in the same manner that Pelagius had done at Diospolis. On the 21st of September, 417, Zosimus, in three letters, informed the bishops of Africa that he had carefully examined the affair; that he had heard Celestius himself, at a meeting of priests, held in the church of St. Clement; that Pelagius had written to him to justify himself; and that he was satisfied with their explanations, and had restored them to the communion of the church.

Hardly had these letters reached Africa when a new council was convened at Carthage, (May, 418.) Two hundred and three bishops (other accounts say two hundred and fourteen) were present. The council, in eight explicit canons, condemned the doctrines of Pelagius, and addressed itself to the emperor Honorius, to obtain from him measures against the heretics, to guard the church from peril.

From 418 to 421, several edicts and letters were issued by the emperors Honorius, Theodosius II., and Constantius, banishing Pelagius, Celestius, and their partisans, from Rome, and from all the cities in which they might attempt to promulgate their fatal errors.

The pope Zosimus did not long resist the authority of councils and emperors. He convoked a new assembly, in order to afford Celestius another hearing; but the latter had left Rome, and Zosimus wrote to the bishops of Africa that he had condemned the Pelagians.

The quarrel continued for some time longer; eighteen Italian bishops refused to subscribe the condemnation of Pelagius, and were deprived of their sees and exiled to the East. The triple decree of the council, the pope, and the emperor, had given the cause a mortal blow. From the year 418 no more trace of Pelagius is found in history. The name of Celestius is occasionally met with till about the year 427, when he also disappears. When these two men had left the stage their school rapidly declined. The opinions of St. Augustin, adopted by the councils, the popes, and the civil authority, became the general doctrine of the church. But the victory was still to cost him a struggle; Pelagianism left an heir at its death. The semi-Pelagians instantly renewed the combat, which St. Augustin was no longer able to sustain.

In the south of Gaul, in the bosom of the monasteries of Lerins and St. Victor, then the refuge of boldness of thought, it appeared to a few men, and among others to the monk Cassien, of whom I have already spoken, that the error of Pelagius had been in being too exclusive, and in not giving sufficient importance to all the facts relative to human liberty and its relation to the divine power. The insufficiency of the human will, for example, the necessity of exterior assistance, and the moral revolutions that happen in the soul without its concurrence, were real and important facts, which could neither be neglected nor called in question. Cassien openly and fully admitted them, thus giving to the doctrine of free-will something of that religious character which Pelagius and Celestius had so much enfeebled. But at the same time he controverted,

more or less openly, several of the ideas of St. Augustin; among others, his explanation of the moral reform and progressive sanctification of man. St. Augustin attributed them to the direct, immediate, and special action of God upon the soul—to grace, properly so called; a grace to which man has, by himself, no title, and which proceeds from the absolutely gratuitous gift and free choice of the Divinity. Cassien conceded more efficacy to the merits of man, and maintained that his moral melioration is in part the work of his own will, which draws upon him the divine assistance, and produces by a natural process, though often imperceptibly, those interior moral changes by which the progress of sanctification is recognized.

Such was the principal subject of controversy between the semi-Pelagians and their redoubtable adversary. It commenced about the year 428, immediately after the letters of Prosper of Aquitaine and Hilary, who had hastened to inform St. Augustin that Pelagianism was reviving under a new form. The bishop of Hippo at once wrote a new tract, entitled, *De Prædestinatione Sanctorum, et de Dono Perseverantiæ;* Prosper published his poem *Against the Ingrates*, and the war of pamphlets and letters resumed all its activity.

St. Augustin died in 430, and upon St. Prosper and Hilary rested the charge of following up his work. They repaired to Rome, and procured from Pope Celestine the condemnation of the semi-Pelagians. However this doctrine might be modified, it found little favor in the church. It reproduced a vanquished heresy, and enfeebled, though in a less degree, the religious foundation of morals and government; it was not in accordance with the general course of ideas, which tended, on all occasions, to attribute the largest part to divine intervention; and it would have fallen almost without resistance, if a doctrine directly the contrary, that of the Predestinarians, had not lent it some moments of strength and credit.

From the writings of St. Augustin on the impotence of the will, the nullity of human merits, and the perfectly free and gratuitous nature of divine grace, some intractable logicians deduced the predestination of all men, and the irrevocability of the decrees of God on the eternal destiny of each. The first manifestations of this doctrine in the fifth century are obscure and doubtful; but as soon as it appeared it shocked the good sense and moral equity of the majority of Christians. The semi-Pelagians were also eager to combat it, and to present their ideas as the natural antidote of such an error. Such was especially the character which the bishop of

Riez, Fauste, of whom I have already spoken, endeavored to impress upon semi-Pelagianism, about the year 445. He presented himself as a sort of mediator between the Pelagians and the Predestinarians. In the question of the grace of God and the obedience of man, said he, we must keep the middle path, and incline neither to the right nor the left. According to him, Pelagius and St. Augustin had both been too exclusive; the one conceded too much to human liberty, and not enough to divine influence; the other was too forgetful of human liberty. This species of mediation obtained at first much favor in the Gallic church. Two councils, one at Arles in 472, the other at Lyons in 473, formally condemned the Predestinarians, and commissioned Fauste to publish a treatise which he had written against them—entitled, *Of Grace, and the Freedom of the Human Will*—at the same time ordering him to add to it some developments. But this was merely a day of respite, a glimmering of prosperity for semi-Pelagianism, and it soon fell again into discredit.

During his lifetime, St. Augustin had been accused of urging the doctrine of predestination to the complete abolition of freedom of the will, but had energetically defended himself from the charge. He erred, I apprehend, as a logician, in denying a conclusion which seems inevitably to flow from his ideas—on the one hand, concerning the impotence and corruption of the human will; on the other, concerning the nature of the divine foreknowledge and interposition. But St. Augustin's superiority of mind saved him, on this occasion, from the errors into which logic might have precipitated him, and he was inconsequent precisely on account of his superior reason. May I be permitted to insist for a moment on this moral fact, which alone explains the contradictions of so many men of genius: I shall take a familiar example, and one of the most striking—I mean the *Contrat Social* (Social Contract) of Rousseau. The sovereignty of numbers, of the numerical majority, is, it is well known, the fundamental principle of that work, and Rousseau for a long time follows up its consequences with inflexible rigor. A moment arrives, however, in which he abandons them, and with great effect. He wishes to give to the nascent society its fundamental laws, its constitution; his superior understanding forewarned him that such a work could not be obtained from universal suffrage, from the numerical majority, from the multitude. "There must be gods," says he, "to give laws to men. It is not magistracy, it is not sovereignty; but a peculiar and superior function, which has nothing in common with human empire;"

and we see him interposing a peculiar legislator, a sage, thus violating his principle of the sovereignty of numbers to recur to quite a different principle—the sovereignty of intelligence, the right of superior reason.

The *Contrat Social*, and nearly all the works of Rousseau, abound in similar contradictions, and they are, perhaps, the most striking proof of the great mind of their author.

It was by an inconsequence of the same nature that St. Augustin boldly disavowed the predestination imputed to him. Others after him, subtil and narrow dialecticians, advanced unhesitatingly to this doctrine, and established themselves in it; but he, as soon as he perceived it, enlightened by his genius, turned aside, and without quite retracing his steps, took his flight in another direction, absolutely refusing to abolish liberty. The church did the same. She had adopted St. Augustin's doctrines concerning grace, and on this ground condemned the Pelagians and the semi-Pelagians. She condemned in like manner the Predestinarians, thus taking from Cassien, Fauste, and their disciples, the pretext, under favor of which they had regained some ascendency. Semi-Pelagianism declined from this period. St. Cesarius, bishop of Arles, renewed against it, at the commencement of the sixth century, the war which St. Augustin and St. Prosper had declared. In 529 the councils of Orange and Valence condemned it; in 530 Pope Boniface II., in his turn, hurled against it a sentence of anathema, and it soon ceased for a long time to agitate men's minds. Predestination shared the same fate.

None of these doctrines brought forth a sect, properly so called; they were not separate from the church, or constituted into a distinct religious society; they had no organization, no worship. They were mere opinions, debated among intellectual men; more or less sanctioned by, more or less contrary to, the official doctrine of the church, but they never menaced her with a schism. Of their appearance, and of the debates they had occasioned, there also remained little except certain tendencies, certain intellectual dispositions; no sects or schools. In all the epochs of European civilization we encounter—First: Minds especially preoccupied with what there is of human in our moral activity, with the fact of liberty, and who thus attach themselves to the Pelagians. Secondly: Minds particularly struck with the influence of God upon man, with the divine interposition in human activity, and inclined to sink human liberty beneath the hand of God; these adhere to the Predestinarians. Between these two tendencies is found the general doctrine of the church, which aims to take account of all

the natural facts—of human liberty and of divine interposition. It denies that God effects every thing in man, or that man is sufficient without the assistance of God; and thus establishes itself, with more of reason, perhaps, than of logical consequence, in those regions of good sense, the native clime of the human mind, to which it ever returns from its wanderings, (*post longos errores.*)

Art. VI.—1. *Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A. M., from A. D.* 1735 *to* 1790. 2 vols., 8vo. New-York: Lane & Tippett.

2. *The North British Review for August*, 1847. No. 14.

In a well-written article upon "Simeon and his Predecessors," published in a late number of the North British Review, the writer takes occasion to pay a fine tribute to the elder of the Wesleys. For this great reformer, "as a noble specimen of fervent diligence," his admiration knows no bounds; but, "in Christian authorship," he thinks, "he is not entitled to rank high; and though his direct and simple style is sometimes terse, it is often meagre, and very seldom racy. His voluminous journals," he finds, "are little better than a turnpike log—miles, towns, and sermon texts." This is evidently a *salvo*, thrown in to propitiate that class of readers whose equanimity might be disturbed by the truly eloquent eulogium already pronounced upon the founder of Methodism. It would certainly be an impeachment of the critical acumen of this reviewer to suppose that he had even *read* the "Journal." This is clearly impossible. But had he never read Dr. Southey's "Life?" After remarking, that to the practice of writing memoirs of one's self, the world is indebted for some of the richest materials for history and biography, the doctor adds, "Perhaps no person has in this manner conveyed so lively a picture of himself as Wesley. During a most restless life of incessant occupation, he found time to register not only his proceedings, but his thoughts, his studies, and occasional remarks upon men and books; and not unfrequently upon miscellaneous subjects, with a vivacity which characterized him to the last."* This surely is high praise; and, if we take into the account both the fine taste of the biographer and the strong prejudices which so illy qualified him to appreciate the peculiar excellences of the "Journal," a sufficient offset against anything that ignorance or ill-nature may suggest. And yet how many even of the admirers of Wesley have yet to acquaint themselves with the

* See Southey's Wesley. Harper's edition, vol. i, p. 77.

richest, most curious, and most extraordinary production of the class of literature to which it belongs—a production, too, for which we hesitate not to predict a conspicuous place among those monuments of vanished minds which men will not willingly let die! But for the sake of skeptics upon this point we propose to inquire what may be gathered from these memoirs, besides "miles, towns, and sermon texts."

In the first place, then, we think it will strike every one that the "Journal" breathes throughout the spirit of universal charity and good will, and exhibits its author as far in advance of his age in almost every species of benevolent reform. Long before the commencement of his itinerant career, or the date of his spiritual conversion, we find that the "sighing of the prisoner" had reached his ears, and recognize in him the forerunner and model of one whose name has since become the synonym of disinterested benevolence. "I saw in him," said John Howard, on one occasion, "how much a single man might achieve by zeal and perseverance, and I thought, why may not I do as much in my way as Mr. Wesley has done, if I am only as assiduous and persevering: and I determined I would pursue my work with more alacrity than ever."* During his second residence at Oxford, Mr. Wesley appears to have visited weekly the cells of the convicts in a "neighboring castle;" and a little later we find him expounding the Gospel of St. John, and daily reading the morning service of the Church in the Newgate, at Bristol. This was at a period when felons were almost universally looked upon as without the pale of human sympathy; and those who would be their spiritual guides and comforters met with many obstacles and repulses. "Twice," says Mr. Wesley, Jan. 11, 1742, "I went to the Newgate at the request of poor R—— R——, who lay there under sentence of death, but was refused admittance." In an "Appeal to the Public," he boldly avers, that "of all the seats of woe on this side hell," few exceed, in his opinion, or even equal, a certain prison in which he had been "taking the guage of human misery." He then exults in the reform he had witnessed at Bristol, in respect to comfort, decency, and morals. "The prison has put on a new face. Nothing offends either the eye or ear; and the whole has the appearance of a quiet family." This was more than twelve years before the subject of prison discipline came under the notice of the "Philanthropist."

Not less early Mr. Wesley appeared in the field as a *tract writer* and *distributer*. "Within a short time," he writes in 1745, "we had given away some thousands of little tracts among the common

* See Life of Henry Moore, p. 289.

people. And it pleased God *hereby to provoke others to jealousy*, insomuch that the lord mayor had ordered a large quantity of papers, dissuading from cursing and swearing, to be printed and distributed." Among those tracts was "A Word to a Drunkard" written, he says, Nov. 28, 1745, one of the most startling, pungent, and thorough-going *temperance* papers that has ever seen the light. And yet it is within the memory of the present generation, that Drs. Beecher, Fisk, and their early coadjutors, were regarded, even by intelligent people, as the "setters forth of strange doctrines" and "novelties," because they advocated the great principles which now form the basis of the American Temperance Union. But these were no new discoveries. Mr. Wesley, as his writings abundantly prove, proclaimed these grand truths, while the fathers of that "Union" were yet unborn. The well-known temperance clause, which appears in the Book of Discipline, bears the date of May 1, 1763; and for further proof of Wesley's claim to the leadership in this species of reform, we need only refer to his "Works,"* and to a passage of remarkable eloquence which occurs in the fiftieth of his printed Sermons. That he did not *apply* those principles of union and organization, which constitute the peculiar glory of later movements, was no fault of his. On associations for moral and religious purposes no one could place a higher estimate than the author of the "Circular Letter," of April 19, 1764, addressed to about fifty clergymen, in favor of EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE. It was not identity of opinions, expressions, modes of worship, or ecclesiastical polity, that he sought, but "to remove hinderances out of the way," and "to love as brethren." But "who imagines we can do this? that it can be effected by any human power? All nature is against it—every infirmity, every wrong temper, and passion, love of honor and praise, of power and pre-eminence, anger, resentment, pride, long-contracted habit, and prejudice, lurking in ten thousand forms." In other words, the real difficulty in the case is not the antagonism of conflicting creeds, but that selfishness and pride of man which delight to introduce into the church of the Redeemer the distinctions of fashionable society, and thus virtually repeal the only basis of Christian union—"All ye are brethren." The noblest practical exhibition of the true spirit, in one respect at least, we have met with in a Catholic land: *Fas est et ab hoste doceri*. Not soon shall we forget a scene we have repeatedly witnessed in the magnificent cathedral of an ancient and well-known South American city: its portals, and its altars, were to all alike

* "Touch no dram. It is liquid fire. It is a sure, though slow, poison." A. D. 1769.

inviting. There were no sacred inclosures for the rich, and galleries for the poor; no spot in exclusive possession of purple and fine linen, and interdicted to poverty and rags. There we have seen the beggar and the outcast literally take rank with "heads of departments," and merchant princes—for in the house and church of God "all were brethren." Religion was a complete leveler. But in this "model" republic of ours, this fair domain of our Protestant faith, what do we hear and see continually! The distinctions kept up between the pious rich and the pious poor, between churches for gentle and simple, for the fashionable and the unfashionable, are unhappily but too marked and obvious; and few are at a loss to ascribe them to their true source, namely, that superciliousness and pharisaism which are the "worm i' the bud" of all Christian fellowship. Well, then, may it be inquired in what respect the projectors of the late London convention were in advance of the author of that Circular Letter, and the Sermon on "Catholic Spirit."

No one need be told how Mr. Wesley regarded missionary enterprises. Almost his first pastoral essay was among the Indian tribes of Georgia; and every page of the "Journal" may serve as a beautiful commentary upon the memorable saying, "I look upon the whole world as my parish." The discourse he preached in behalf of the "Humane Society," and his "Dispensary for the Sick"—that noble monument of Christ-like philanthropy—were alone sufficient to place him in the first rank of the world's benefactors.

But in nothing, perhaps, did Mr. Wesley better show his profound sagacity and desire to be useful, than in the pains he took for the diffusion of "books that are books." "Like Luther, he knew the importance of the press—he kept it teeming with his publications. *He may, indeed, be considered the leader in those exertions which are now being made for the popular diffusion of knowledge.*"* His own writings are so voluminous that we can hardly conceive how he found time for his still more voluminous editions, or rather compilations, of standard works, comprising treatises on almost every subject—divinity, poetry, music, history, and philosophy. For this purpose he "circumnavigated the world of literature and science;" and his selections extend back to the time of the apostolical fathers. Yet these were pastimes, or, as it sometimes happened, the recreations of an invalid. At a most critical period, when his constitution appeared to be broken, his health gone, and life despaired of, he "broke through the doctor's order not to write,

* Hayward's "Book of Religions."

and began transcribing a journal for the press." About the same time he began his "Notes on the New Testament,"—a work, he says, "which he should scarce ever have attempted, had he not been so ill as not to be able to travel or preach; and yet so well as to be able to read and write."

The epoch of the first Sunday-school teacher in America, according to a late writer, dates back some fifty or sixty years. But early in 1737, Mr. Wesley, writing from Savannah, speaks of catechising all the children of the place on Sundays, "before the evening service." To this he added Biblical instruction. No one was better prepared than he to appreciate such means of grace for children. It was under his auspices that the Sunday-school system first seems to have been fully developed and set on the tide of successful experiment. "At Bolton," in July, 1787, he says, "there are eight hundred poor children taught in our Sunday schools by about eighty masters, who receive no pay but what they are to receive from the great Master. . . . . In the evening several of the children hovering round the house, I desired forty or fifty to come in and sing, 'Vital spark of heavenly flame.' Although some of them were silent, not being able to sing, for tears, yet the harmony was such as, I believe, could not be equaled in the king's chapel." A few months later we have a glowing description of a Sunday-school review in the same place, at which between nine hundred and a thousand scholars were present. The melody of those juvenile voices, he thought, could be exceeded only by the "singing of angels in our Father's house." He adds:—"Such a sight I never saw before; all were serious and well-behaved. . . . . Frequently ten or more of them get together to sing and pray for themselves." The "Journal" teems with similar proofs of his love and sympathy for the children; and in Kingswood school we have an endearing monument of his more than parental care for their best interests. It is delightful to see how he exults in its prosperity, and the gracious revivals of which it is so often the scene; and the casual record which shows him engaged at the same moment on a "Hebrew Grammar," and "Lessons for Children," speaks not less for the benevolence of his heart than the versatility of his genius. We know that his rules for the discipline and training of the young meet with little favor from the present generation. The strict habits and rigorous morality which he would inculcate are certainly far more in keeping with the "law and the testimony," than with the popular and fashionable notions of the day. But even in this respect let us not be in haste to impeach the wisdom or sagacity of Wesley. Time may show, and, if we mistake

not, is already showing, that a loose and easy parental government is dictated by anything but a true regard for human well-being. It is certain, however, that Wesley was popular with the children of his own day. They recognized in his beaming aspect none of those stern and repulsive lineaments which bigotry and prejudice have drawn. To them the very face of the loved and venerated octogenarian was as a benediction; and hence it was nothing uncommon for him to find "all the street lined with these little ones," waiting to greet him with their glad smiles and joyous welcome. He says: "Before preaching they only ran round me and before; but after it a whole troop, boys and girls, closed me in, and would not be content till I shook each of them by the hand."—Vol. ii, p. 557.

These imperfect glimpses of his character may suffice for a just estimate of the "enthusiasm" of the apostle of Methodism. On this point it seems idle to waste words; for it is well known that the writer, who, of all, has been most eager to apply that term to Wesley in an opprobrious sense, was himself the fiercest and most visionary of ochlocrats, till in due time he all at once came out a convert to kingcraft, and a poet laureate. The enthusiasm of the author of the "Journal" was certainly of a rare type. "The wonder of his character," said Robert Hall, "is the self-control by which he preserved himself calm, while he kept all in excitement around him. *He was the last man to be infected by fanaticism.* His writings abound in statements of preternatural circumstances; but it must be remembered that his faults in these respects were those of his age, while his virtues were peculiarly his own." True, he may have been credulous, but surely in an age of most unsparing skepticism a little leaning to the opposite extreme was quite venial. We are not solicitous to vindicate him from the seeming aspersion. All must see that in the estimation of those who have been most sedulous to fix the charge upon him, every development of religion which transcends their reason or experience is sheer fanaticism. So far as the charge relates to certain "preternatural circumstances," it will be seen that Mr. Wesley usually records these without note or comment, and in the true spirit of inductive philosophy; and to all "orthodox" skeptics, we commend an acute remark of President Edwards, in his work on the affections. He says:—"I know of no reason why being affected by God's glory should not cause the body to faint, as well as being affected with a view of Solomon's glory."

In respect to preternatural appearances, Mr. Wesley may have believed with Prince Hamlet, that

"There are more things in heaven and earth
Than are dreamed of in your philosophy."

And though we incline to that side of the question which has suffered least from ridicule, we cannot but think it much easier to sneer at, than refute, the doctrine of demoniacal possessions. It seems to us, moreover, that credulity—that sort of credulity that "makes the virtue it believes in"—is inseparable from a nature like Mr. Wesley's, so lively and boundless in its sympathies with all that is lovely and good, so soon incensed at every species of wrong and oppression. A single example may serve to place this characteristic in a most amiable light. During one of his visits to the capital of North Britain, he stops at Holyrood House, the ancient palace of the Scottish kings. As he glances at the gallery of royal portraits, his eye rests with peculiar emotion upon that of the beautiful, but ill-fated and "much-injured," Mary:—"It is scarce possible," he exclaims, "for any who looks at this, to think her such a monster as some have painted her;" or, "for any who considers the circumstances of her death, equal to that of a martyr!" "But how, then, can we account for the quite contrary story that has been almost universally received? Most easily: it was penned and published in French, English, and Latin, (by Queen Elizabeth's order,) by George Buchanan, who was secretary to Murray, and in Queen Elizabeth's pay.—Nor was she at liberty to answer for herself." From various entries in the "Journal" he appears to have studied Queen Mary's history very carefully, and to have thoroughly sifted the mass of conflicting testimony. Upon the whole, therefore, "that much-injured queen appears to have been far the greatest woman of that age, exquisitely beautiful in her person, of a fine address, of a deep, unaffected piety, and of a stronger understanding, even in youth, than Queen Elizabeth had at threescore. And probably the despair wherein Queen Elizabeth died was owing to *her* death, rather than that of Lord Essex."

But not by royal sufferings and wrongs alone were his sympathies stirred. None were so humble or obscure as to escape his notice. How touching the scene in which we behold the holy man of fourscore years, intent upon spreading, if possible, some rays of heavenly light over the dreary waste of a "mind in ruins!" "I spent some time with poor, disconsolate Louisa. Such a sight in the space of fourteen years I never saw before! Pale and wan, beaten with wind and rain, having been so long exposed to all weathers, with her hair rough and frizzled, and only a blanket wrapped round her, native beauty gleamed through all. Her features were small and finely turned, her eyes had a peculiar sweet-

ness, her arms and fingers delicately molded, and her voice soft and agreeable; but her mind was in ruins." The lunatic asylum, at which this scene occurred, he thought to be the best in the three kingdoms. Having "particularly inquired into the whole method" of the superintendent, Mr. Wesley concluded that "he had a peculiar art of governing his patients, not by fear, but by love. The consequence is, many speedily recover and love him ever after." This regard for the more neglected classes was a sore puzzle to some of his admirers: but "I have more need of *heat* than of *light*," was his sole reply to those who could not see how a distinguished Oxonian could pass so much time in the cottages of the pious poor, and meanwhile be so jealous of the encroachments of the great and learned upon his leisure.

We need not be surprised that such a heart should have ventured a hope for the futurity of even the brute creation. Perhaps the wish was father to the thought, or it may have been suggested by some such incident as the following:—"I preached, [June 2d, 1768,] at noon, at a farmer's house near Brough, in Westmoreland. The sun was hot enough; but some shady trees covered both me and most of the congregation. *A little bird perched on one of them, and sung without intermission from the beginning of the service unto the end.*" Not that he was in danger of confounding the distinctions between man and the inferior animals. In fact no one, perhaps, ever distinguished here more philosophically or clearly. So, at least, thought Mr. Hallam. "I have somewhere read," says this able writer, "a profound remark of Wesley, that, considering the sagacity which many animals display, we cannot fix upon reason as the distinction between them and man: the true difference is, we are formed to know God and they are not."* Indeed, no one can fail to see that, in the beautiful philosophy that pervades all the writings of this great master, soul, or the possession of spiritual faculties, is what confers upon man his peculiar dignity and excellence.

In reading the "Journal" no one will fail to remark that the spirit of the writer is uniformly cheerful, kind, and conciliating; and those who think him severe and unsparing in controversy, can know but little of the men he had to do with. Wesley never provoked controversy, never engaged in it *con amore*. In a polemical tract, which bears the date of 1740, he says:—"I now tread an untried path with fear and trembling: fear, not of my adversary, but of myself—I fear my own spirit, lest I 'fall where many mightier have been slain.'" To the same purport he says, Nov. 19, 1751:—"I began writing a

* Hist. Lit., vol. ii, p. 67. See, also, Wesley's Sermons, vol. ii, p. 51.

letter to the 'Comparer of the Papists and Methodists'—heavy work; such as I should never choose, but sometimes it must be done. Well might the ancients say, 'God made practical divinity necessary: the devil, controversial.'" But of the spirit, and, indeed, the style, of the "Journal," we have a perfect transcript in the language it speaks in 1739, the natal year of Wesleyan Methodism:—"Let *me* think and speak as a little child. Let my religion be plain, artless, simple. Meekness, temperance, patience, faith, and love, be these my highest gifts; and let the highest words, whenever I teach them, be those I learn from the book of God." In another place he says:—"I labor to avoid all words which are not easy to be understood; all which are not used in common life." Memorable words! noble sentiment! Well were it for every student of oratory, and of sacred oratory in particular, to adopt it as his motto. It is the language, almost *verbatim*, which in our own day has been ascribed to the Demosthenes of the American senate. Such a style may have few charms for the admirers of Bulwer, or of Carlyle. It may have still fewer charms for those lovers of the magniloquent whose notion of fine writing seems to consist in substituting Greek and Latin synonyms,

"Of learned length and thundering sound,"

for the sweet household words of our own matchless Anglo-Saxon. If such be a fine style, then Wesley was altogether defective. But if he erred, he did so advisedly and *ex industria*. He says: "As for me, I never think of my style at all; but just set down the words that come first. Only when I transcribe anything for the press, then I think it my duty to see that every phrase be clear, pure, and proper. If, after all, I observe any stiff expression, I throw it out neck and shoulders."* To one who asked, "What is it that constitutes a good style?" he replies, "Perspicuity, purity, propriety, strength, and easiness, joined together." He says nothing of *harmony*—he thought it infinitely beneath a "Christian minister, speaking and writing to save souls," to amuse sinners with measured cadences and nicely balanced periods. He could "no more write in a fine style than wear a fine coat." And these literary exquisites who think it "a pity," might think it a pity, too, that Raphael forgot to "set off" his Madonna with a profusion of curls, and that the Apollo Belvidere has not the advantage of the latest Parisian costume. For our own part, we believe that Wesley very justly places the foplings of literature and of fashion in the

* This reminds one of the still more modern aphorism: "In composing, be sure to discard every word or phrase which strikes you as particularly *fine*."

same category; and that herein his better taste and judgment were eminently conspicuous. In the "Journal" we should expect the diction to be somewhat careless, compared with that of his sermons and more elaborate performances. But even here it appears in purity, clearness, and strength, to approach as near perfection as the genius of our language will permit. It has the chastened and simple beauty, the naturalness and life-likeness, of the statue that enchants the world. The model which he proposed to himself was the Epistles of John: "Here are sublimity and simplicity together —the strongest sense and the plainest language." Still we cannot but think that he was enamored, however unconsciously, of the beautiful simplicity of the most perfect language of which we have any memorials. He did not study the great masters of antiquity to no purpose. We never read the "Journal" without being forcibly reminded of the pictured pages of Herodotus. Such a style is, "when unadorned, adorned the most." It not only possesses those qualities of transparency and precision which enable the writer to make everything plain and appreciable, but it is also in admirable consonance with the man, the subject, and the occasion.

The *subject matter* of the "Journal" is exceedingly rich and diversified. We should hardly know what to think of the tastes or attainments of such as could peruse it without instruction and pleasure. The mere novel-monger may here find much that is strange, "stranger than fiction." It was but lame and halting praise in Allan Cunningham, to say that "the labors of Wesley in propagating the gospel have all the interest of romance." Few imaginations, however fertile, have succeeded in pleasing their hearers in such a variety of interesting situations, or investing them with so much dramatic interest.

To the mere scholar the shrewd observations on men and books interspersed throughout these volumes would amply repay the most careful perusal. Glancing lately at passages presented *ad aperturam*, we noticed within the compass of about three pages the calm but withering retort upon that would-be historian, Smollett; and critiques upon Baron Swedenborg's "Account of Heaven and Hell," Blair's "Sermons," and Bryant's "Ancient Mythology." Another passage we had quite forgotten, relating to Georgia and its Indian tribes, presented much food for thought. The Indian is to most persons a picturesque being. They see him only in the pictured pages of Irving, Cooper, or Campbell; and hence he seems a creature of more than Spartan virtue, or Arcadian simplicity and innocence. Hence, too, they dream, that in some "boundless contiguity of shade" the golden age may be reproduced,

and that to be overwhelmed with the superior advantages of what they are pleased to call a natural state of society, we have only to contemplate the simple, contented life of the aborigines. Our own people may have the miserable reality too much before them to fall into grievous practical errors, but it is otherwise with those transatlantic enthusiasts who occasionally form an alliance with some "Apollo of the woods," and learn too late that there is anything but poetry to be associated with the wigwam. It might be well for all those whose beau ideal of the red man is formed from such a character as Cooper's Uncas, or Campbell's Outalissi, to just glance at Mr. Wesley's Choctaw:—"Every one doeth what is right in his own eyes; and if it appears wrong to his neighbor, the person aggrieved usually steals on the other unawares, and shoots him, scalps him, or cuts off his ears;—having only two short rules of proceeding, to do what he will and what he can. They are likewise gluttons, drunkards, thieves, dissemblers, liars."

As a specimen of Mr. Wesley's critical acumen, we may cite his observations upon Homer; and we need not remind persons of classical taste and information that the preference here given to the Odyssey is as consonant with present taste as it was repugnant to that of his own time. Aug. 12th, 1748, he says:—"In riding to Newcastle I finished the tenth Iliad of Homer. What an amazing genius had this man!—Yet one cannot but observe such improprieties intermixed as are shocking to the last degree. What excuse can any man of sense make for

'His scolding heroes and his wounded gods?'

Nay, does he not introduce the 'father of gods and men,' one while shaking heaven with his rod, and soon after assailing his sister and wife, the empress of heaven, with such language as a carman might be ashamed of? Are these some of those 'divine boldnesses which naturally provoke short-sightedness and ignorance to show themselves?'"

Again: "Last week I read over, as I rode,* a great part of Homer's Odyssey. I always imagined it was like Milton's 'Paradise Regained,'

'The last faint effort of an expiring muse.'

But how was I mistaken! How far has Homer's latter poem the pre-eminence over the former! It is not, indeed, without its blemishes; but his numerous beauties make large amends for these. Was ever man so happy in his descriptions, so exact and consistent in his characters, and so natural in telling a story? He like-

* "Poetry, history, and philosophy," he tells us in another place, "I read on horseback."

wise continually inserts the finest strokes of morality, which I cannot find in Virgil:—on all occasions recommending the fear of God, with justice, mercy, and truth. In this, only, is he inconsistent with himself. He makes his hero say, 'Wisdom never lies,'—and,

> 'Him, on whate'er pretence that lies can tell,
> My soul abhors him as the gates of hell.'

Meantime, he himself [Ulysses] on the slightest pretence tells deliberate lies over and over; nay, and is highly commended for so doing by the goddess of wisdom!"

Almost every page of the "Journal" is enriched with similar fruits of ripe scholarship, sound criticism, and refined taste; and proves the writer to have anticipated the literary, not less than the moral, sentiments of a more enlightened age. The same may be said of his appreciation of the sciences; and it may be doubted whether any one has done more than Wesley to settle and fix their relative importance. At a time when logic, for instance, was virtually discarded from the university course, we find him insisting, with equal beauty and truth, that this is "the gate of the sciences." "Nay, may we not say that the knowledge of it, although now quite *unfashionable*, is even necessary, next and in order, to a knowledge of Scripture itself? For what is this, if rightly understood, but the art of good sense? of apprehending things clearly, judging truly, and reasoning conclusively?" How warmly he espoused the cause of this "unfashionable" science and art, appears from several entries in the "Journal." On one occasion, while waiting for a turn of the tide, he "set down in a little cottage three or four hours and translated Aldrich's 'Logic.'" To a young lady, whose studies he was superintending, he writes:—"I really think it [logic] is worth all the rest put together." We are thus particular, because we believe the world is now prepared to appreciate these exertions for the restoration of a long discarded science. Archbishop Whately's excellent Treatise is, without design of course, but really, little more than an expansion of Mr. Wesley's "Compendium," and occasional hints; and the fine remark that "logic is the gate of the sciences" is now echoed on all sides. In the English universities the doctrine is steadily gaining ground, that "no student should be allowed to enter upon the use of language in mathematical reasoning, until he has acquired more acquaintance with the nature of assertion, denial, and deduction, than can be obtained from previous education as now given:—this to be done by the study of the Elements of Logic."*

* See Penny Cyclopedia, vol. xv, p. 13.

In this connection we may notice what appears to have been the germ of a *Biblical and Theological Institute*, or rather of a conference course of studies. Feb. 23, 1749, he says:—"My design was to have as many of our preachers here during the Lent as could possibly be spared; and to read lectures to them every day, as I did to my pupils in Oxford. I have seventeen of them in all. These I divided into two classes: and read to one Bishop Pearson on the Creed; to the other, Aldrich's Logic—and to both, 'Rules for Action and Utterance.'" A more complete and systematical course of study for "junior preachers" than this could hardly be named, and we should like to see the experiment repeated. Whatever we may gain by greater extent of surface, it is to be feared that far more is lost in depth. And yet these studies form, in Mr. Wesley's estimation, only the basis, the *πού στῶ* of ministerial qualifications, as may be learned from that "Address to the Clergy," already cited. To us it seems that such a document as this, which is one of the noblest monuments of its author's wisdom and piety, might have some weight in deciding the logomachy so often renewed on the subject of "literary attainments."

But not of grave and weighty matters alone does the "Journal" treat. It furnishes many proofs of the descriptive talent of its author, and his taste for the beautiful in nature and art. Not seldom is Dr. Southey's "ascetic" heard to exclaim, "*All* things contributed to make it a refreshing season; the gently declining sun, the stillness of the evening, the beauty of the meadows and fields, through which

> 'The clear smooth river drew its sinuous train;'

the opposite hills and woods, and the earnestness of the people, covering the top of the hill on which we stood; and, above all, the Day-spring from on high—the consolation of the Holy One."

At another time we accompany him through "a green vale, shaded with rows of trees, which make an arbor for several miles. The river labors along on our left hand, through broken rocks of every size, shape, and color. On the other side of the river, the mountain rises to an immense height, almost perpendicular; and yet the tall, straight oaks, stand rank above rank, from the bottom to the very top." Anon the scene changes, and we recognize this hero of the mountain and the flood, in the dim religious light of some ancient cathedral, charmed with the choruses of Handel—or the music of "Glory to God in the highest"—pealed forth from "such an organ as he never saw or heard before—so large, so beautiful, and so fully toned." There, too, he is "well pleased to

partake of the sacrament with his old opponent, Bishop Lavingston." And with what holy fervor he exclaims, "O may we sit down together in the kingdom of our Father!" His exquisite taste for music is revealed in another passage: "While we were administering, I heard a low, soft, solemn sound, just like that of an Æolian harp. It continued five or six minutes, and so affected many that they could not refrain from tears; it then gradually died away. Strange, no other organist that I know should think of this."

In these personal memoirs, the *historian* finds the elements for solving one of the most interesting problems that has ever engaged his attention. He beholds a meek, assiduous devotee of learning, whose only wish would seem to be, as he himself intimates,

"Inter sylvas Academi quærere verum,"

suddenly transformed into the intrepid reformer. Frowns and censures can no more awe; dangers cannot appal; flatteries cannot divert him. He shrinks from no sacrifice, no perils, no toils. At a time when the religious and social aspects of the nation were, by the admission of her most duteous sons and the heads of her church,* most gloomy and desponding, this youthful convert to "Bible Christianity" raises his wand, and the simoom of infidelity, which had been sweeping so fearfully across the channel, is suddenly arrested. One hemisphere, and one race of men, cannot now content him. In the true spirit of one who feels that the world is his parish, he is as ready to proclaim "justification by faith alone" in the wigwam of the Choctaw as in the mansions of England's merchant princes. By sea and by land, upon the earth and beneath it, we find him seeking for trophies of grace. To those dreary caverns and excavations of the earth, in Cornwall and at Kingswood, he was attracted, not by veins of gold and silver, or "bright jewels of the mine." Souls were his jewels; and societies of such as "have the form and seek the power of godliness" spring up in all directions. Was there, ever since the days of the apostles, a career more worthy of the sanctified enthusiasm it elicited! We hear a disappointed child of ambition complain:—

"The sun
Rides high, and on the thoroughfares of life
I find myself a man in middle age,
Busy and hard to please. The sun shall soon

* See Jackson's Centenary of Methodism.

Dip westerly; but, O! how little like
Are life's two twilights! Would the last were first,
And the first last."

Not so sung Wesley. The object of his ambition, the constant aspiration of his heart, he thus expresses,—

"O Thou that camest from above,
The pure celestial fire t' impart,
Kindle a flame of sacred love
On the mean altar of my heart!

"There let it *for thy glory* burn,
With unextinguishable blaze;
And trembling to its source return,
In humble love and fervent praise."

And, hence, how characteristic, too, were the results of those retrospective glances which we occasionally meet with! "I am a wonder to myself," he says, at the age of eighty-three; "it is now twelve years since I have felt any such sensation as weariness. I am never tired, such is the goodness of God, either with writing, preaching, or traveling." It is a most curious fact, amply illustrated by the "Journal," and confirmed by tradition, that with advancing years his cheerfulness and fascinating vivacity seemed constantly to increase; and in this respect it is painful to contrast almost all other *diaries* with his. Not to take an extreme case, we might refer to the voluminous but very interesting "Memoirs" of Sir Walter Scott, whose writings, whatever else may detract from their merits, would certainly indicate a very happy temperament and disposition. But what clouds of gloom and disappointment thickened around him, as the sun of life "dipped westerly"—and who that has traced his life in the graphic limning of Lockhart will ever forget that "moriturus vos saluto," with which he sadly turned away from the ruthless and insolent mob, whose idol he once had been!

Not less favorably does this "Journal" compare with others in respect to matters complained of by a late reviewer of Hume. "My own life," he sarcastically remarks of the historian's autobiography, "belongs to a class of compositions rarely commanding much confidence, say one in a hundred. Autos usually takes good care not to tell any tales which, in his own conceit, would lower his repute with Heteros—not one in a thousand. In all such compositions there is a great root of self-deception. We are far more proud of confessing our secret sins than in recalling the recollection of our open follies. But the philosophical historian is

superlatively egotistical and self-adulatory; he rolls and swelters in vanity."* With these vices or weaknesses not even the most lynx-eyed and unscrupulous of his opposers have ventured to charge Mr. Wesley. His "Journal" must pass for "one in a hundred;" himself, for "one in a thousand." The thought seems to have been omnipresent to him: "What is the praise of man to *me*, that have one foot in the grave, and am stepping into that land whence I shall not return!" It is no wonder, then, that in all his estimates of men and things, he pays slight deference to human authority, and never regards the sliding scale of public opinion. All this may be seen in the quiet and chastened humor with which he records his collision with a certain "pillar of the church," who, he says, "fell upon me with might and main for saying, 'People might know their sins were forgiven'—and who brought a great book to confute me at once. I asked if it was the Bible, and upon his answering 'No,' laid it quietly down. This made him warmer still; upon which I held it best to shake him by the hand, and take my leave." The same candor, truthfulness, and elevation of soul, are seen in his estimate of human grandeur. Dec. 23, 1755, he says:—"I was in the robe chamber, adjoining to the House of Lords, when the king [George II.] put on his robes. His brow was much furrowed with age, and quite clouded with care. And is this all the world can give even to a king? All the grandeur it can afford? A blanket of ermine round his shoulders, so heavy and cumbersome he can scarce move under it! A huge heap of borrowed hair, with a few plates of gold and glittering stones, upon his head! Alas, what a bauble is human greatness!" Again:—"I was invited to breakfast at Bury, by Mr. Peel, [father of the late premier,] who began with five hundred pounds, and is supposed to have gained fifty thousand. O what a miracle if he lose not his soul!" In all such remarks we find as little of the leaven of misanthropy or bitterness, as of the spirit of adulation. Every word is that of a man who

> "Would not flatter Neptune for his trident,
> Or Jove for his power to thunder."

And yet his loyalty and philanthropy can never for a moment be called in question. In such a character are there not materials for the *poet* as well as the historian? Was not his whole life, from its first gracious dawn to its glorious evening twilight, a grand epic, an almost divine drama?

To the *educator*, the hero of this grand epic presents, perhaps,

* London Quarterly Review.

the finest example that can be found, of an education complete in every part. *Physical* education develops only man the animal—such as we see in the hero of prize-rings or ball-rooms, in the sensualist, the gladiator, and the savage. Add to this mere *intellectual* training, and what more can we expect than a monster of skepticism, misanthropy, or irreligion? So also, on the other hand, an exclusive cultivation of the moral and spiritual faculties may be expected to result in every species of fanaticism. As the body is the mind's instrument, and most efficient interpreter; and as mind may, in turn, be regarded as the instrument of the soul, it is plain that, in order to develop the "noblest style of man," none of the powers or capabilities of our threefold nature can be disregarded. It was an education thus conformed to the dictates of common sense and the manifest intention of the Creator, that formed a Socrates, a Washington, and a Wesley.

To secure to the "mind's instrument" the greatest possible efficiency, John Wesley early learned the great lesson of self-control. In the most comprehensive sense of the phrase, he studied "to live soberly." He at once and for ever abjured "all needless self-indulgence;" and rigorously observed that course of dietetics which he found to be most conducive to the great object for which he lived. In accounting for his extraordinary health and buoyancy of spirits at the age of eighty-five, he mentions his constant practice of rising at four, and his preaching at five o'clock in the morning, for more than half a century. At this age he was enabled to address an audience of more than thirty thousand persons, so that all could hear him distinctly. In Great Britain and Ireland alone he traveled, as is generally supposed, not less than three hundred thousand miles, chiefly on horseback; and preached, at a moderate estimate, fifty thousand sermons. "We do not believe," say his official biographers, "there could be an instance found, in the space of fifty years, wherein the severest weather hindered him even for one day." He seldom rode less than fifty or sixty miles: and we recollect one instance (vol. i, p. 489) of ninety miles accomplished in a single day, on the back of a faithful steed, by this Napoleon of a spiritual warfare. He could make his dinner from the product of the bramble; and for weeks together sleep upon the floor with Burkitt's Notes or a borrowed coat for a pillow. Indeed, his powers of physical endurance seem almost superhuman. And yet his was no herculean frame. His constitution, originally feeble, exhibited at times symptoms of premature decay. In stature, he was diminutive; in person, remarkably slight; and it seemed in later years as though

"Oft converse with the heavenly habitants,
Had cast a beam on the outward shape,
The unpolluted temple of the mind,
And turn'd it by degrees to the soul's essence,
Till all was made immortal."

That Mr. Wesley's *intellectual* training was thorough, symmetrical, and complete in all its parts, and that his attainments were of a high order, no one pretends to doubt. Was it the inspiration of his genius, or shall we deem it providential, that upon the most perfect of all languages, and the most important of all sciences, not sacred, he bestowed, as we have seen, marked and special attention? After the one, his style seems to have been unconsciously modeled. The other gave to all his writings a cogency of reasoning, a precision, and, above all, a luminousness, which have seldom been attained. And it is, in fact, this very perfection of his style that, with common minds, is apt to detract from the majesty and elevation of his thoughts; just as the simple rover of the Pampas, to whom an atmosphere of remarkable purity reveals the far distant Andes in sharpest outline, is wont to confound them with his neighboring hills; and even the traveler, who finds himself, by slow and insensible gradations, lifted to those *cloudless* summits, may be far less impressed with the grandeur of the height, than when he contemplates the hills which surge up boldly from his native plains. For his style, he had, as we have seen, his own reasons; and we at least are well content with them. In literature, as in all things else, the "fashion of this world" changes and passes away. To endure, style should be *characterless* in the sense of the term as applied by Coleridge to his *beau ideal* woman. Mr. Wesley's taste, then, was truly admirable; but there was a higher principle than this which molded and regulated his diction. He had more exalted notions of learning than to make it, by a profusion of tropes and flowers, or an array of hard names, minister to itching ears and his own vanity. The rule to which he so rigidly adhered through life—"to take no pleasure which might not lead to the glory of God"—contemplated literary as well as physical indulgence. "Theopathy was his ruling passion;" and, hence, it was the constant language of his heart:—

"O grant that nothing in my soul
May dwell but thy pure love alone!
O may thy love possess me whole,
My joy, my treasure, and my crown!
Strange flames far from my heart remove;
Let every act, word, thought, be love."

In a word, all other educations were made subservient to the education of the soul.

We do not hesitate, then, to point to Wesley as a most illustrious example of the completely educated man: Luther was earnest, daring, and heroic; Melancthon, refined and benignant; and Calvin, learned and uncompromising; Baxter, Fletcher, and Whitefield, shone with peculiar lustre in their own spheres; but for Wesley it seems to have been reserved to combine in one person every quality requisite for the Christian hero.

But, like Bunyan's dream, the "Journal" is a book for *all classes.* What is it, indeed, but another and more real "Pilgrim's Progress?" It opens with the same keen convictions which first startled good Christian to spiritual activity; and with the same idle efforts, "by works of the law," to soothe an unquiet conscience; and yet the "way" once found, how unlike the fortunes of the two champions! With our hero, there was no turning back or turning aside. He slept in no "arbor;" he lost his sword in no fights with Apollyon; and to him the "valley of the shadow of death" was even as the "Delectable Mountains." Despair in vain frowned from the turrets of "Doubting Castle;" in vain the "flatterer" spread his "net;" and no "enchantment" could prevail against him. And is there not an obvious reason for all this? Bunyan's capital error consists in representing "good Christian" as one chiefly occupied with solving the selfish problem, "What shall *I* do to *be* saved?" With Wesley, on the contrary, as he himself beautifully indicates in those stanzas from his own pen, already cited, it was, "Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, good will to man." Well did he judge that the pusillanimous creature, whose chief business it is to watch the pulse of his own spiritual enjoyment, least of all deserves success, and most effectually contrives to be miserable.

It is, then, as a mirror of *genuine* Christian experience, of heroic self-denial, and that untiring zeal which

> "Scorns delights, and lives laborious days,"

that these records are chiefly valuable. They most impressively teach a lesson which men are slow to learn, and unfold a secret which the poet was far from discovering when he sung of happiness as our "being's end and aim." Wesley's was a far more divine philosophy; and the key to his peculiar excellence of life and character, as pictured forth in these matchless Autos, was surely this—he looked upon life not as a *scene of enjoyment*, but as a FIELD OF DUTY.

Art. VII.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *Self-education; or, the Philosophy of Mental Improvement.* By William Hosmer. 12mo., pp. 262. Havana, Geneva, Buffalo, and Bath. 1847.

We have only given the work before us a cursory examination. So far as such an examination enables us to judge, we should say that it exhibits much patient investigation and vigorous thought. Many useful suggestions and interesting illustrations are presented by the author. The work cannot fail to benefit those who have the heart to study and labor to educate themselves, without much assistance from teachers. All possible encouragement should be given to such; at the same time none, who have the opportunity of instruction at the schools, need desire to plod their way through the mazes of science alone. The way marked out by our author is *practicable;* but that it is *difficult*, he does not deny.

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2. *A Voyage up the River Amazon, including a Residence at Pará.* By William H. Edwards. 12mo., pp. 256. New-York: Appleton & Co. 1847.

The subject of this book is truly a magnificent one; and we wish we could say that the author has done it ample justice. We could imagine a better book upon the wonderful scenery of the great Amazon, and the condition of the country through which it passes, with its various prominent objects. Still the book is not without interest. It is readable and instructive.

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3. *The Path of Life: or, Sketches of the Way to Glory and Immortality. A Help for Young Christians.* By Rev. Daniel Wise, author of "Lovest thou me?" "Christian Love," &c. 12mo., pp. 246. Boston: Charles H. Peirce. 1848.

The object of this book is truly great and noble—to *help young Christians.* How much *help* do our *young Christians* need! How many snares are laid for their feet! What obstacles to progress are before them! And we must say we think the author has carried out his design with signal ability. The volume is not only strongly impregnated with the spirit of piety, but it is made attractive by the beauty and familiarity of its illustrations. We hope this useful little volume will be extensively circulated, and we doubt not but it will do much good. The volume is attractively got up.

4. *The Bethel Flag: a Series of Short Discourses to Seamen.* By Gardiner Spring, D. D., Pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church in the City of New-York. 8vo., pp. 309. New-York: Baker & Scribner. 1848.

These Discourses contain a plain and practical exhibition of divine truth, especially suited to the reading and hearing of seamen. The style in which they are written is perspicuous and forcible—often powerfully eloquent and pungent. The preacher seems to put himself upon the deck of a vessel, and look around him upon the hardy tars, and then to address them in the name of God. These Discourses may be read by pious masters of vessels to their men on the sabbath, to great advantage. May God accompany this book upon its mission of mercy, and may the author meet multitudes of the weather-beaten sons of the ocean in heaven, who shall have been brought to Christ through the instrumentality of this timely publication.

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5. *Germany, England, and Scotland; or, Recollections of a Swiss Minister.* By J. H. Merle D'Aubigne, D. D. 12mo., pp. 371. New-York: Robert Carter. 1848.

Anything from the author of the "Great Reformation in the Fifteenth Century" is hailed with rapture. And a book of travels by him, in countries which furnish such a mine of materials for historical, philosophical, and moral reflections, as "Germany, England, and Scotland," would of course be expected to afford a rich feast to the intelligent reader. And we are happy to believe that no reasonable expectation will be disappointed. The author's remarks upon the institutions, history, literature, manners, and customs, of the countries through which he journeyed, are those of a profound philosopher and a devoted Christian. We cannot, however, withhold our regret that our author, with most of his class, never distinguishes between the evangelical Arminianism of James Arminius, John Goodwin, and John Wesley, and the semi-Pelagianism of Archbishop Laud and his high-church school. The latter is always, by our Calvinistic writers, dignified with the title of "Arminianism;" whereas, it scarcely holds one more doctrine in common with Arminianism, properly so called, than it does with Calvinism itself. The book, upon the whole, is worthy of the author, and will, we doubt not, meet with a wide circulation.

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6. *The Life of the Chevalier Bayard, "the good knight—sans peur et sans reproche."* By W. Gilmore Simms. Harper & Brothers.

The history and career of this renowned knight has heretofore been inaccessible to the general reader, having been hid in musty folios and

black-letter tomes of the olden times. The purpose of Mr. Simms has been to present the features of his heroic character—ennobled as it is by many virtues, and a degree of high-toned morality much in advance of his age—to the emulation of the youth of our country. That many noble traits of character are exhibited by Bayard, no one will deny, or that much good instruction may be derived from the perusal of Mr. Simms's interesting biography of him. We have little sympathy with the boasted knight-errantry and chivalry of the dark ages, although, perhaps, our more modern feats of arms and strategy scarce deserve a preference. The volume is written in a quaint, picturesque style, that harmonizes admirably with the subject; and the historic details of the French and Italian wars of that period are vividly depicted. A dozen effective embellishments adorn the volume.

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7. *Scenes at Washington: a Story of the Last Generation.* Harper & Brothers.

This is an unpretending little tome, written by a resident of Baltimore, and a Methodist, we believe. It is designed to portray persons and places in the federal city half a century ago: such characters as Gouverneur Morris, Randolph, Jefferson, and other distinguished men, figure in its pages. The aim of the writer evidently is to communicate some good moral teaching, under the guise of a pleasing domestic tale—somewhat after the school of Miss Edgeworth. The volume is neatly printed, and will doubtless find many readers, especially among the less frivolous.

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8. *Sketches of Sermons on the Parables and Miracles of Christ; the Essentials of Saving Religion, &c.* By Jabez Burns, D. D., author of "Pulpit Cyclopædia," &c. 12mo., pp. 295. Boston: Charles H. Peirce. 1848.

The plans of sermons by Dr. Burns are generally constructed upon the best models; and if such publications are more serviceable than injurious, which with us is a matter of doubt, certainly this author has high claims in comparison with those who have gone before him in the same line. So far as we have been able to ascertain, from a cursory examination, "the parables and miracles" are thoroughly analyzed in this volume. It will be found, perhaps in all cases, that the sketch furnishes a clew to the sense of the passage of which it is the analysis. If these Sketches are used as mere way-marks to facilitate original and thorough investigation, they may be of great service. The mechanical execution of the book is commendable.

9. *Recollections of Real Life in England.* By the late JANE WAYLAND, author of "Little Sophy," &c. With an Introduction, by FRANCIS WAYLAND, President of Brown University. 18mo., pp. 139. New-York: Appleton & Co. 1847.

IN the "Introduction" of this book Dr. Wayland gives us some of his own recollections of a visit to England, which are, of course, of no little interest. The body of the work is made up of entertaining details of individuals and circumstances, which afford useful lessons of improvement. The book is a spirited and popular performance.

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10. *Appleton's Library Manual; containing a Catalogue Raisonni of upward of Twelve Thousand of the most Important Works in every Department of Knowledge, in all Modern Languages. Part I—Subjects, alphabetically arranged. Part II—Biography, Classics, Miscellanies, and Index to Part I.* 8vo., pp. 484. New-York: Appleton & Co. 1847.

A VERY useful aid in the formation of a library.

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11. *Lectures on Revivals of Religion.* By CHARLES G. FINNEY. Originally reported in the New-York Evangelist, by JOSHUA LEAVITT. Revised by the author. Thirteenth thousand. 12mo., pp. 438. Boston: Charles H. Peirce. 1848.

THIS book has been decidedly popular, and doubtless has done much good. The lecturer presents his points in a clear and striking manner: his illustrations are forcible, and his arguments generally conclusive. But he often assumes doubtful positions without proof, and dogmatizes without the least diffidence. There is, however, an earnestness, and an honest bluntness, in these Lectures, which show clearly that the lecturer is no temporizer—no nose of wax—but a tower of truth, as he understood it, and not unwilling to make sacrifices in its support. These Lectures can scarcely be read by a pious and discriminating mind without profit.

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12. *Xenophon's Memorabilia of Socrates, with Notes.* By R. D. C. ROBBINS, Librarian, Andover Theological Seminary. 12mo., pp. 417. Andover: W. H. Wardwell. New-York: Mark H. Newman & Co. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1848.

THIS edition of the "Memorabilia" is a good one. The text is that of Kühner, and "free use" is made of his "notes." The notes are copious—embracing the greater part of the book. The editor doubtless regrets, as we do, the large "*errata*" on the last page: this, however, will be remedied in the next edition by a thorough correction.

13. *An Historical and Critical View of the Speculative Philosophy of Europe in the Nineteenth Century.* By J. D. Morell, A. M. Complete in one volume. From the last London edition. 8vo., pp. 732. New-York: Robert Carter. 1848.

This is *the* book—*the very book*—for the times. The author has studied the different systems of philosophy—beginning with Aristotle, and coming down to the German skeptics and French eclectics—and presents them in an intelligible form. The subject, in all its various branches, is developed historically; and the good and the bad of all systems are separated and distinguished with profound skill and judgment. If we are not much mistaken, this book will have the effect to sober a class of unfledged philosophers who have just dipped into the "idealistic" philosophy sufficiently to become crazed. We cannot give an analysis of the book in this brief notice. The mechanical execution is worthy of all praise. And while we cordially thank the enterprising publisher for the republication of this great work, we cannot but hope he will meet with ample reward in an extensive circulation, and the gratitude of all the true lovers of philosophy.

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14. *Preparation for the Pulpit: an Essay on the Composition and Delivery of a Sermon.* By Rev. James Rawson, A. M. 18mo., pp. 85. Boston: Charles H. Peirce. 1848.

A very convenient manual for young preachers. The work contains the principal maxims upon the subject of the composition and delivery of a sermon, with appropriate illustrations. To those who cannot have access to the larger works upon the subject, this little book will be very acceptable and useful.

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15. *The Fate of Infidelity; or, the Dealings of Providence with Modern Infidels; together with an Appendix, &c.* By a Converted Infidel. 18mo., pp. 140. New-York: Edward Walker. 1848.

This work is made up of most frightful details of the fate of infidels. The facts seem well authenticated, and are sufficiently terrible. Let these who are in the wake of infidelity take warning.

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16. *Proverbial Philosophy; a Book of Thoughts and Arguments, originally treated.* By Martin Farquhar Tupper, Esq., A. M., of Christ Church, Oxford. First and second series, complete in one volume. 12mo., pp. 282. Boston: Charles H. Peirce. 1848.

This book has gained a high position among the English classics. There may it long remain. The exterior of the book is tasteful.

17. *History of the Girondists: or, Personal Memoirs of the Patriots of the French Revolution: from Authentic Sources.* By ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE. In 3 vols. Harper & Brothers.

AFTER the many works devoted to the history of the French Revolution, little that is absolutely *new* might be anticipated from any fresh production: such, however, is not the fact with respect to the present work; for, if on no other account, it is exceedingly interesting and valuable, as exhibiting the leaders of the fearful struggle in an aspect entirely at variance with that presented by previous historians. Nor is this unsustained by testimony and documentary evidence—the author having had access to new and reliable sources for his statements, not resorted to by his predecessors. Whoever, therefore, would seek to understand both sides of the tragic story of the "Reign of terror," should read the works of Thiers and Lamartine—both are intensely interesting; but from the dramatic form of the latter, it bears the palm, at least in our estimate. Moreover, although Lamartine rather espouses the cause of the patriots, he is not blindly the advocate of their intemperate excesses. A beautiful portrait of the ill-fated Madame Roland adorns the work. Two volumes of the series are only as yet ready; a third, completing this stirring work, will speedily follow.

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18. *Doing Good; or, Christian Duty explained, illustrated, and enforced. Designed as an Incentive to Christian Effort.* By Rev. R. W. ALLEN. 24mo., pp. 228. Boston: Charles H. Peirce. 1848.

THE above is a little manual eminently pious in its spirit, and full of useful instructions.

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19. *Hactenus: more Droppings from the Pen that wrote "Proverbial Philosophy," "A Thousand Lines," &c., &c.* 12mo., pp. 106. Boston: Charles H. Peirce. 1848.

THIS book is composed of the poetic effusions of Tupper. They are exquisitely fine.

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20. *The Condition and Prospects of the Protestant Episcopal Church.* By B. P. AYDELOTT, D. D. 18mo., pp. 176. Cincinnati: W. H. Moore & Co. New-York: Mark H. Newman & Co. Philadelphia: Herman Hooker. 1848.

HERE is an honest Christian confession of the evils which are in the Protestant Episcopal Church, and a faithful and earnest remonstrance against them. We scarcely dare say anything of this book lest we should injure its influence with those for whose benefit it is designed. Our good opinion would not fail to be quoted by the editor of "The

Churchman," as a strong ground of objection to it, and a reason why all good church people should avoid it as they would the leprosy. The matter of the book was first published in the *Episcopal Recorder*, *Pha.* The following paragraph from the author's preface will give a good idea of the spirit of his book:—

"In the following pages an attempt has been made to point out some of the more prominent evils of our church, and the remedy for them. While the writer has sought to do this in all kindliness of spirit and language, he trusts that he has not been wanting in plainness and fidelity. Had he consulted his own ease or interests he would certainly have never again taken up his pen, however strongly solicited. But personal ease and interest ought to be with us a very small thing, when weighed in the balance against the cause of Christ and of never-dying souls. He has endeavored to write with the judgment-seat full in view."

We pray God to give Dr. Aydelott good speed in his truly Christian undertaking.

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21. *A Summer in Scotland.* By Jacob Abbott. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

This is a very pleasant book of travels among the Highlands of Scotland and other parts of Great Britian; embracing notices of most of the leading objects of interest that court the observation of the tourist. There is a minuteness of detail, and a graceful ease in the style of this volume, that cannot fail of winning the reader on to the close. We almost imagine that we are companions on the tour, everything is so graphically depicted, and the several topics referred to seem to awaken such strong interest in the writer, that we become from pure sympathy exceedingly interested in the perusal. True, the subject is far from being a new one, but Mr. Abbott's practiced and graceful pen invests old themes with new interest. We commend the work, not only to such as stay at home, but to those, also, who may have performed the European tour, as the recitals cannot fail of enlisting the sympathies of both. Some prettily executed designs accompany the volume.

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22. *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains.* By George F. Ruxton. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

This new production by an English traveler in the wilderness of the Indian, and the northern portions of Mexico, is written in a brilliant, dashing, off-hand style: the multitude of facts and incidents related are given with a terseness and brevity more resembling the rough notes of a private journal than the published accounts usually

prepared for the public eye. The views of the political and civil condition of the Mexicans which our author presents us in this volume are pitiable in the extreme, if not partaking somewhat of the ludicrous; and his remarks respecting the physical features of the desert land stretching along the Rio Grande, and its adjacent parts, together with many other equally interesting topics, render the work one of timely and more than ordinary interest. The author is one of the few English tourists who can afford to speak graciously of our people and institutions.

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23. *Now and Then.* By SAMUEL WARREN, Author of the "Diary of a Late Physician," &c. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

THE productions of this graphic writer possess singular power and intensity. Who that has read his "Diary of a Physician," can forget the thrilling effect of his stirring sketches? The work under notice differs from the former, it being a continuous narrative, and yet the same peculiarities of style characterize both. The tale is one of surpassing interest, founded on a series of events connected with the commitment and expatriation of a young man, supposed to have been guilty of murder, but who, after twenty long years spent as a transported convict, is found to have been *innocent!* The circumstances of the trial, and the grief attendant upon his conviction, are detailed with most touching interest; while the subsequent progress of the story is fraught with much excellent religious instruction. The work is likely to do good to many who are inaccessible to the admonitions of the pulpit.

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24. *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe.* By J. C. L. De SISMONDI. *Translated from the Original, with Notes, and a Life of the Author.* By THOMAS ROSCOE. Portraits, 2 vols. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

THE lover of letters is no stranger to the value of this admirable authority on southern literature: the present revised translation by Roscoe includes all the notes from the last Paris edition, and among other interesting novelties, some hitherto unpublished verses by Lord Byron —translations from Casti. This renowned production by Sismondi embraces all that is valuable in the literary history of the dark ages, from the corruption of the Latin to the revival of the European languages. It is rife with rich and glowing interest to the lover of elegant learning—enough, one would think, to make a poet of any man. The translation by a genial pen, and the accompanying annotations, as well as the biographical Memoir of the author, tend to impart to this edition

a degree of value far beyond that enjoyed by any previous issue of the work. Portraits of Sismondi and Dante embellish these volumes, which, we may add, discover no ordinary degree of taste in their mechanical execution. Such a work may safely be judged worthy a prominent place in every gentleman's literary collection.

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25. *The English Pulpit; Collection of Sermons by the Most Eminent Living Divines of England.* 8vo., pp. 400. Boston: Charles H. Peirce. 1848.

THERE are several new features in this collection. The sermons are all by *living* divines, and no two are from the same hand. The editor, in making his selections, has not "confined himself to any one branch of the Christian church, but has freely ranged through all denominations maintaining the essential principles of Christianity." Of the thirty-two discourses in the volume *eight* are by Methodist preachers, namely, Newton, Bromley, Bunting, (father and son,) Atherton, Beaumont, Jobson, and Young. Among the rest, are some of the most eminent names in the various branches of the Christian church in England. The book is well conceived, and will doubtless command an extensive sale.

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26. *Napoleon and the Marshals of the Empire.* Complete in two volumes. With sixteen steel portraits. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. 1848.

A SORT of literary guerilla warfare has been going on for some time between that prolific and curious writer, the Rev. J. T. Headley, and the Philadelphia publishers, Messrs. Carey and Hart. The latter seem determined to head off Mr. Headley by publishing a book for every one that he gets out as much like his as possible *outside*, and as unlike as possible *inside*. The work before us is their last move on the field of battle; and it is sufficiently military to form a good element in the campaign. We have glanced over it sufficiently to see that it does not take the English side of the Napoleon question, but cannot speak more precisely as to its merits. The time has not yet come for a complete decision upon the worth of Napoleon to the world's history; half a century hence men will be better prepared to say with what feelings he should be regarded. In the mean time, the stirring events, of which he formed the centre, will continue to be depicted with every sort of pencil—and this book is one attempt at a full gallery of pictures of him and the men he formed about his person. It is high time that some writer, imbued with Christian feeling, should give the world a

view of this great act of the drama of history—for although a ripe decision may not yet be made, the colors might be thrown into the description more truly, so that a better impression would be made upon the minds of youth than the books yet given to the public will produce.

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27. *Sermons of Christmas Evans. A New Translation from the Welsh, with a Memoir and Portraiture of the Author.* By Rev. Joseph Cross. Phila.: W. A. Leary. 1848.

This publication, before noticed in our pages, has fallen into new hands and is now presented in good appearance by Leary. The peculiarities of Christmas Evans are probably well known to most of our readers; those who do not know them, would do well to buy this book and find them out.

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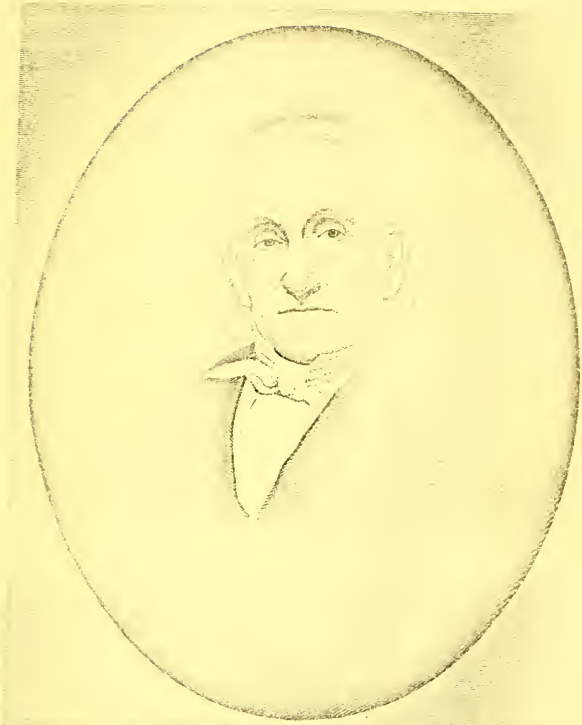
28. *Lectures on Shakspeare.* By H. N. Hudson. Two volumes, 12mo. New-York: Baker & Scribner. 1848.

These fair volumes contain the substance of Mr. Hudson's Lectures on Shakspeare, which gave such general satisfaction to his numerous hearers a few years ago. Whether their publication in the present form will add to the *lecturer's* reputation is yet a question: yet we think some of the newspaper critics have shown too much disposition to find fault with the book, blaming it for not being what it does not pretend to be. In the dedication (to Mr. Dana) the author remarks, that "he who wishes to teach, will first try to learn; and as to do this, he will have to study the same objects, so, unless his eye be a good deal better or a good deal worse than others, he will be apt to see, think, and say, very much the same things as have been seen, thought, and said, before. . . . . Wherefore, you will, I doubt not, both credit my words and understand my meaning, when I assure you, that in writing these Lectures, if I know my own mind, I have rather studied to avoid originality than to be original." Taking Mr. Hudson at his word, we find in these volumes a great deal of judicious, though not very novel, criticism, in a good and pure spirit on the whole, exhibited in a dress somewhat fanciful, and occasionally even fantastic, but, in the main, agreeable and attractive. We differ from him in his expositions of some of the dramas, but have very little exception to take to his general notions of Shakspeare as man and poet. At the same time, we think that his defense of the *morality* of Shakspeare, just as it is in its principles, goes a little too far in detail to be considered a full and impartial view of so important a question. Judging of this book as a whole, we do not know that our readers can lay their hands upon a better introduction to the study of Shakspeare.

29. *The Power of the Pulpit: or Thoughts addressed to Christian Ministers, and those who hear them.* By GARDINER SPRING, D. D., Pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, New-York. New-York: Baker & Scribner. 1848.

DR. SPRING'S name is honored in all the churches. Long and faithfully has he labored in word and doctrine—long and beautifully has he set the example of a blameless Christian life before his flock and people. The utterances of such a man must always command attention. In the dedication of the present work to the "youthful ministry," the aged man of God speaks affectingly of his sense that his sun is declining, and will soon go down; not in darkness we are sure—it will be a bright setting for this horizon, a bright rising in a fairer world.

The objects of the work before us are, to set forth "the fact that *the pulpit has power;* to show *what are the constituent elements that invest it with this moral influence;* to point out the *duties of ministers themselves, in order to make full proof* of the power with which it is invested; and to specify the *obligations which rest on the church of God to give it its due place and importance.*" Strong and well-chosen topics—and the author has developed them with the earnestness and fullness that generally characterize his writings. While there is no remarkable depth or reach of thought in the work, it is full of wisdom, *practical* wisdom, to which the churches would do well to take heed. Were we disposed to carp, we might find fault with the apparent forgetfulness of the author in regard to the great results of Wesley's labors in giving tone and efficiency to the pulpit of modern times; certainly he has not assigned such a space to them as *our* views would lead us to do, nor, indeed, as a just historical survey of the last century would authorize. But we let that pass. The section on the *fitting education of Christian ministers* will give food for serious meditation to those branches of the church that rely exclusively, or even mainly, upon theological seminaries for the training of their rising ministry. The evils incident to the system are set forth kindly, but decidedly; and a number of excellent suggestions made as to the best means of obviating them. We Methodists have great reason to rejoice that there is little danger *among us*, that "mere scholars, those who know more of books than of men, and more of theological halls than the pulpit," should be invested "with the trust of educating a whole generation of young men for the Christian ministry." The system so well digested, and so successfully carried out by our British brethren, seems to combine all the advantages of such "schools for the prophets," with an almost entire immunity from their risks.



Affectionately
T. Spicer.

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THE

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1848.

ART. I.—*Methodism in its Origin, Economy, and Present Position.* By Rev. JAMES DIXON, Ex-President of the Wesleyan Conference. 18mo., pp. 360. New-York: Lane and Tippett. 1847.

IT is unnecessary to recapitulate the facts connected with the external history of Methodism. Our readers are quite as familiar as we are with the story of the pious young men of Oxford, the successful preaching of the Wesleys and their coadjutors, the gathering of the societies, and the ultimate completion of the peculiar system by which so much has been done toward spreading Scriptural holiness over the earth. Neither is it necessary to recount the details of Methodistic organization, and to point out the mode by which it is worked as a great economical system of evangelical effort. The constitution, discipline, and *modus operandi* of the church, are perfectly familiar to all who are likely to read an essay upon this subject. But there remains to be written of Methodism, as of all other moral and intellectual movements, a history of its spirit. Its forms and accidents, the circumstances attending its various developments, the sum total of its results, these and similarly interesting matters, have often been precisely described, narrated, and estimated. But what is Methodism itself? Divest it of its forms, separate it from what it holds in common, reduce it to its simple elementary substance, and what is it? Having ascertained what Methodism is, we may examine the Methodist Church as it presents itself to-day. We may inquire whether it preserves its Methodism pure and untrammeled. We may ascertain whether the energizing agent has spent its force in passing through the mighty mass, or whether, like the electric spark, it has fired without itself consuming, energized without decaying. Finally, should the great whole, as it now

exists, manifest to the scrutinizing eye any evidence of inefficiency, we may know where to seek the evil, and how to apply the remedy.

The process thus suggested involves no great labor, demands no abstruse inquiry. Methodism, stripped of its accidents, is a very simple thing; and as easily as the mineralogist removes layer after layer of the conglomerated mass, until he reaches the primary central crystal upon which all have been formed, so may we develop the nature of that teaching which has gathered about it so complete an organization. The only difficulty will be, as it would be in the case of the mineralogist, to detect the nature and properties of the nucleus, after we shall have found it.

We may safely affirm that none of what are called the *peculiarities* of Methodism are essential to it, and that none of its doctrines are peculiar to it. Our class meetings are proper to us, and as a part of our effective organization are immensely important. Yet Methodism existed before class meetings; the latter were but a consequence of the action of the former. They are a means by which Methodism acts; but they are not Methodism. Our itinerancy is peculiar to us; but Methodism existed before itinerancy, and certainly could exist without it. As an expedient, it is most profitable; but it is not Methodism. Nor are any of the doctrines of the church peculiar to it. Mr. Wesley always professed to teach the truth as held by the Church of England, and denied that he had introduced any new opinions.* If any intelligent Methodist were asked to designate that doctrine which he supposed to be most peculiar to his church, he would probably say, "The witness of the Spirit." Yet the inquirer would have to seek no further than Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress for evidence that the doctrine was thoroughly understood and fully appreciated before the Methodist Church existed. To say that Methodism is the doctrine of the "witness of the Spirit," would be as absurd as was the answer of a witness in one of our civil courts, who, when asked, "What is Calvinism?" replied, "Justification by faith." It would be very easy to show that no other of our doctrines are exclusively our own; but it cannot be necessary to do so. The statement will hardly be contradicted.

It is evident that Methodism might exist in all its purity under a form of church organization entirely different from that now in use; for we acknowledge that our organization is founded on expediency only: but Methodism is not an expedient. Again, all

* "I hold all the doctrines of the Church of England; I love her Liturgy."—*Wesley's Sermon on the Ministerial Office.*

the doctrines of the Methodist Church might be honestly held, and indeed are honestly held, by persons who are not Methodists.

What, then, is Methodism? We answer, *Religion without philosophy.* This we believe to be its characteristic; and wherever this is found, under whatever outward form, we recognize the spirit of Methodism. Upon this our church was based, through this it has been built up, by this it stands, and for lack of it, it will fall, if fall it shall. It was neither by the force of eloquence nor the attraction of novelty that John Wesley roused the multitude to a sense of spiritual need, and led them to the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world. The mystery of his power was in this, that in his life he exhibited the undiluted religion of the Bible, and, in his preaching, enforced it upon the consciences of his hearers.

From time immemorial men have felt the necessity of solving the riddle of their own existence, that they might know their destiny, and the means proper to control it; and from the earliest historical periods, we find them endeavoring to acquire the necessary knowledge by two several and essentially different processes, which may be distinguished by the terms, philosophy and religion; the one founded upon reason, the other upon faith: the one asserting the sufficiency of the human understanding to deduce essential and primary truths from comparison and analysis of facts, the other relying upon direct supernatural communications for similar knowledge.

Originally, man was religious; but as he proceeded to corrupt his way upon the earth and estrange himself from God, his communication with the Source of truth became more and more obstructed, until at last he ceased to ask or receive any light from above, and was thrown entirely upon his natural resources for such knowledge as he might require. We have little information of the particular forms of error which prevailed among the antediluvians, but it is evident that in the days immediately preceding the deluge, they had resigned themselves to universal skepticism, which being, in after time, the invariable consequence of philosophy, we are authorized to infer, had been preceded among them by a similar cause. Indeed, we may observe the first germ of rationalism in Cain, who set up his own inferences as to what ought to be acceptable to his Creator, in opposition to direct instructions upon that point. This son of the serpent was the first philosopher, the first man who rejected revelation to follow reason. But many walked "in the way of Cain;" the whole world revolted

from God; and at length "the flood came, and took them all away."

The descendants of Noah rapidly lapsed from the truth. The children of Ham, who appear to have been the most highly intellectual, soon became rationalists, and, as has been the case before and since, God ceasing to be inquired after, ceased to enlighten. They were left to the guidance of reason, and soon became hopelessly idolatrous.

It may be well to remark what may at first sight appear strange, that the first fruit of rationalism is necessarily *superstition*. Skepticism is an ultimate consequence, which requires mature experience for its evolution.

Superstition is nothing more than the fear of intelligent agents falsely imagined to exist, or of a real existence falsely conceived of. Now, man feels that he does not control the universe: he knows that in many respects he is limited and controlled by it: his own experience leads him to connect the idea of governing intelligence with forces in action; he has lost the idea of one supreme controlling God, and he is thrown upon his own resources to ascertain the existence, attributes, and character, of agents superior to himself. Under circumstances such as these, reason would counsel him to err upon the safe side;—to suppose each hurtful thing to be an intelligence, or its instrument, and to offer worship or propitiation to as many gods as he may recognize evils to be deprecated. Take away our idea of God, and leave the idea of Satan, and *he* would be to us a God—malicious, terrible, eminently to be feared. Reason would constrain us to offer him such sacrifices as might be most congenial to a being so cruel and so malignant. Murder and lust would be our virtues; terror, our conscience; horror, our existence. In short, superstition, dark, dreadful, and bloody, would be our religion, and our religion would be most reasonable.

It is unnecessary to add that such has been, for the most part, the religion of the heathen.

But *superstition*, however philosophical, is practically absurd, and exceedingly oppressive. Hence, necessity compels to continued efforts to separate some universal and profitable truth from the mass of speculative and practical error which everywhere, under such a condition of things, must shock the common sense of the thoughtful, and the natural feelings of all; and metaphysics become the darling study of the most gifted minds. Rationalism has, then, taken another step toward its natural termination in hopeless doubt.

By *σοφία*, or metaphysical inquiry, man has utterly failed to attain a knowledge of God, or of any abstract truth. Philosophy has proved itself absolutely fruitless, and must be considered hopeless by every man who has made himself acquainted with the history of intellectual effort. For ages, the largest part of the human family, and especially those who are most capable of, and most disposed to, abstract thought, were left to the free exercise of their intellectual faculties upon subjects of the utmost moment, without the relief of authoritative teaching, or even the aid of supernatural suggestion. Men endowed by God with intellectual power certainly as great as has been exhibited by any of their successors, set themselves to work with the utmost energy to find out the causes of things, and unravel the mode of their existence. Honestly and perseveringly they labored in their vocation. Occasionally cheered by a glimpse of seeming truth, exhilarated by the perception of some plausible delusion, or chagrined and disappointed by the exposure of cherished error, philosopher succeeded to philosopher, and school followed school. All study was directed to these inquiries; all education consisted in these teachings; all mental effort was concentrated upon this kind of investigation; and all was utterly profitless save in the establishment of the one grand fact itself, beyond all estimate of value, that human reason *cannot* discover primary and essential truth; therefore, cannot establish a religion; and that, without revelation, man must be a fool or a skeptic. If the world has learned this, then, philosophers have done their work; a work worthy of all their toil: for though they did not find the truth, with infinite perseverance, ingenuity, and pain, they explored every possible avenue to it but *one*, and found all others impracticable.

It is fashionable to sneer at the fruitless work of the philosophers, and to congratulate ourselves upon the practical turn which modern industry has taken; but such ridicule is neither modest nor just. To men who know not God, every other object of search is insignificant. To a people ignorant of their own nature, the design of their life, and the consequences of it, that knowledge is a primary necessity; and it was infinitely more wise for the intelligent Greek to devote himself to philosophy, barren though it proved, than to busy himself with physics. Until the mind should be provided with necessaries, the body might content itself with comforts. To the thinking men of old, philosophy was a necessity and a possibility. Unless they could obtain light by the mind's own action, they were doomed to perpetual darkness, and experience had not yet shown them the inadequacy of intellectual processes to ascertain essential truths.

It is an advantage to us, for which we cannot be sufficiently thankful, that a full revelation has relieved us from the Sysiphæan task which exhausted others, and permitted us to turn our faculties to useful and economical employments.

This grand struggle of mind for truth was evidently permitted for wise and benevolent ends. Nothing could satisfy man of his insufficiency but full and protracted experiment of his powers. Until, exhausted by successive efforts, he should fall powerless and hopeless at the feet of his Creator, he would not be ready for that glorious communication which was to dispel all doubt of necessary truth, and place him in a situation to fulfill his moral destiny. The prodigal must be abandoned to his husks until famine should master pride, and return him an humble and obedient son to the hands of a gracious but judicious father.

More than once before the "Light" came into the world, human "wisdom" had concluded in complete and hopeless skepticism: not as a folly of the careless and the profligate, but as the rational and logical result of all that had been learned of mind and matter. Universal doubt was the only truth obtained by the labors of the most gifted minds after many centuries of effort. We say the only truth, for if we analyze their skepticism, it amounts to nothing more than unbelief in all intellectual science as it then existed, and utter hopelessness of the possibility of reaching truth by this process. Pilate expressed the common opinion of the intellectual class of his time when he sneeringly asked, "What is truth?" In any abstract or philosophical "truth" they had no confidence whatever. They did not believe it possible: and certainly it was not so by any mental process. Admitting the facts of sensual experience, they denied the possibility of further knowledge. Pyrrho and his followers were atheists, if you please; but in justice to them it must be remembered that they were atheists only toward the gods of the superstitious or the philosophical. They were unbelievers in false theories and absurd theology, and despisers of the authority of men in matters which evidently appeared to them to be above man. God had not revealed himself to them, and they were not theists: they had discovered that men by "wisdom" knew not God, and they were atheists. Their skepticism was but the natural consequence of baffled philosophy. It was the exhausted mind passively at rest.

With the fullness of time came the "Light;" and, unfortunately for man, there came with it a new era in philosophy. In their pride and perverseness, the learned saw in Christianity a means of reviving rationalism. It supplied philosophy with the primary

facts which it had so long needed, and left it free to speculate upon collateral matters; God had revealed great elementary truths, but there were other truths; God had settled certain facts, but there were essences. It was enough to admit positive teachings; it was not necessary to abandon metaphysics. God had revealed the atonement as a fact; he had not explained it. He had revealed a trinity; but the philosophers would show the mode of this great mystery. He had told of angels; philosophy would teach their natural history. He had given a plan of salvation; philosophy would reunite it to human reason, show its propriety, and collate its conditions with the divine attributes, and adjust it to the essential character of the Most High. Yes; there was room, wide room, for philosophy, in the world invisible, and then what a glorious field for it upon the earth! Was not the human soul to be acted upon in all its faculties and sensibilities by the new religion? And how should the complicated business of subduing and remodeling the interior life of man be learned and managed but by the science of mind, by metaphysics? Plato should be baptized unto Christ, and Paul should fraternize with Aristotle. A new science, a sort of composite intellectual architecture, arose, which they named Theology, or the science of God! a name which bears with it the secret of its origin.*

We need not sketch the history of the lamentable scenes which followed. Suffice it to say, that the "sap and vigor" of the church was drawn to the defense and overthrow of theological systems, until the truth, having become completely superseded by philosophy, this produced its usual fruit, and the church relapsed into her long dark night of superstition, during which no sounds fell upon the dull ear of the sleeper but the endless hooting of the theological owls, that kept up an unending battle from their monastic roosts. Aristotle became the expounder of revelation, and contended successfully for the ethical teaching of the church. Scholasticism was but an amalgamation of Christian dogmas with heathen metaphysics; and the gloom of the dark ages, the lengthened penumbra of ancient ignorance.†

* This word theology was in use among the ancient Greeks in the sense of philosophy applied to the gods, or mythology, and was not introduced into the Christian nomenclature until a word was needed to express philosophical Christianity.

† Scholasticism "was nothing else than the employment of philosophy in the service of faith, and under the surveillance of religious authority."—*Victor Cousin.*

"There are not two studies, one of philosophy and the other of religion:

The Reformation came. The Bible was given to the people: practical piety became the business of the church: Aristotle and Plato were driven from the sanctuary.

Yet men were not tired of philosophy. They had not yet learned the insufficiency of human reason. They would be wise above what was written. God had not revealed all things, nor explained everything that he had revealed. The sacred writers had not even vindicated the ways of God to man. They had told what he must do to be saved; but they had not told exactly *why*, and hence systems of religion must be constructed, based upon these fundamental doctrines, and eked out with inferences, and deductions, and analogies, and, alas, for human nature! sophistries, in order that all omissions should be supplied. But in matters about which there was no authoritative decision, men might differ; and so indeed they did. System arrayed itself against system; and the several sects fell to war with each other with all the dogmatism, earnestness, and ill-temper, which characterized the disputes of the early philosophers. Controversy became the all-important business of the church; and the strength of the sects was drawn to the defense of speculative opinions, precisely as the forces of an invaded nation are gathered about its weakest parts. Upon these opinions the issue was joined, and they naturally became to those who held them the most valuable of their possessions, because those for which they were most constantly called upon to contend. Of course, the appeal was made to *reason;* and *reason* being constituted the rule of truth, philosophy once more was in the ascendant. The passion of the church was for orthodoxy rather than for piety. The sword of the Spirit was returned to the scabbard. Logic, sophistry, all the arts of logomachy, were the weapons of her warfare; theological forts, under the name of schools, were planted here and there for the defense of the truth, (of human inferences,) and the artillery of the press poured a continual storm of shot.

Disguised under whatever dress, baptized by whatever name, philosophy is philosophy still, and will yield its proper fruit. The mournful result was soon apparent; skepticism rolled its cold Lethean wave over the divided church. They "made a desert, and called it peace." The theological schools first felt the benumbing influence of infidelity—that certain gangrene of philosophic systems—and from them, as from so many putrid centres, the corruption spread. Geneva and Germany fell exhausted into the

true philosophy is true religion, and true religion is true philosophy."—*Scotus Erigena, quoted from Lewis's Biographical History of Philosophy.*

dreamy sleep; even in Scotland the watchmen slumbered; and in England the repose of the church, though perhaps more decent, was hardly less profound.

The rapid declension of the Protestant churches, through metaphysics to infidelity, will hardly be credited. In evidence, we will quote a passage from the translator's preface to Dr. Knapp's Lectures on Christian Theology:—

"The school of Biblical theology was established by Spener, at Halle, in 1694, for the avowed purpose of having theology taught in a different manner from that common in the German universities. Spener states that it was usual for persons to spend five or six years at the university without hearing, or caring to hear, a single book, chapter, or verse, of the Bible explained. The Bible was, perhaps, less used in Protestant universities than it had been, under penalty of excommunication, by pious Catholics before the Reformation. In place of the Scriptures, the various symbols established by the Protestant church were taught and studied. The minutest distinctions established by them were contended for with the greatest zeal; and the least deviation from them was pronounced heresy, as decidedly as if they had been given by inspiration of God, and was punished accordingly with the greatest severity. The spirit of Christianity seemed to have thrown off the hierarchical yoke only to assume another and more degrading form of bondage.

"In explaining and defending these symbols, the Aristotelian dialectics were employed; and in the use of them, the students were thoroughly exercised. As to the practical effects which the doctrines of Christianity should have upon their own hearts, and the manner in which they should exhibit them for the benefit of others, nothing was said to them by their teachers. Thus disciplined, they went forth, to repeat from the pulpit what they had learned in the university, and fought over their idle battles, in which their own learning and skill were carefully displayed to the neglect of everything which might arouse the careless, persuade the doubting, or satisfy the deep desires, and assuage the sorrows, of the heart."

Such was the state of the schools at the end of the seventeenth century. Philosophy had already brought forth *superstition;* it was not long before it produced *skepticism.*

The history of theological seminaries is well worthy of serious observation. But few persons are aware that these schools have been, with but few exceptions, the seat of heresies, which have overthrown the very systems which they were established to de-

fend. Indeed almost, if not fully all, of the pestilential errors which have become prevalent in the several branches of the church, may be traced directly to these seminaries; nor is this at all strange when we remember what that "theology" or God-science is which is taught in them. Are any so ignorant as to suppose that the years passed in these institutions are consumed in the effort to master the doctrines of the gospel of Christ? These, the wayfaring man, though unlettered, can readily comprehend. God never sent to man an offer of salvation so unintelligible that studious persons must shut themselves up for successive years with scientific masters in order to learn its meaning from these ecclesiastical sages. The fact is, that the business of these places is to make sacerdotal gladiators, skilled in every trick of fence, wise to know the weak places of an opponent, and cunning to conceal or defend their own. There, pupils are disciplined and drilled out of their independence; taught to value orthodoxy (that is, the peculiar doctrines of their particular church, taken as a whole system, with all its truth, and all its uncertainties, and all its errors) as the most valuable of all things; to bow to the authority of the acknowledged expounders of the system with implicit deference, and to look upon any rising doubts as so many indications of the carnal mind or suggestions of the devil. They are made to read one side of a controversy, and taught the character of their opponents and of opposing systems from the special pleading of excited adversaries. To be sure, religion is not forgotten. They are urged to personal piety, and are instructed in the word of God: always, however, with the necessities of the system in full view, so that no heresy be learned from that pure source. The result is, first, to place the purity of the church in the keeping of a few professional theologians who can inculcate upon the ministers whatever views they please. If the professors become heretical, they sow their heresy broadcast through the church, and the evil bears its deadly harvest almost before its existence is suspected.

Again, the course of study is mainly philosophical, and it matters not whether the philosophy be true or false; only substitute it for religion, and it will lead through superstition to infidelity. Geneva, Germany, Scotland, Oxford, and the United States, furnish abundant evidence of this fact. So that theological schools both engender the evil and effectually distribute it.

Both the Arminian and Calvinistic systems have been followed by skepticism, which, under different names, and with modified conditions, can claim little essential distinction from that of the

ancients. It is certain that neither Calvinism nor Arminianism had any direct tendency to such a result, though each in its turn has been charged by the champions of the other with including in its propositions atheism as a necessary consequence. The very preliminary postulate of each of these great schools of theology is, that the Scriptures are the revealed will of God, and it is utterly impossible that they could lead by any collateral teaching to the denial of the primary truth. Whatever exposition they might give of the word, must carry with it the previous idea of the authority of the word; and no one, by admitting the teaching, could learn to doubt the text. But both of these schools, and we believe all other schools, have erred in this, that, from causes above stated, they have gradually led their disciples to look upon the metaphysics of their system as an essential part of it; and as this is often attacked, and depends upon metaphysical argument for defense, they have been carried away by philosophical discussions, exercised and habituated to speculative thought, until the simplicity of the gospel has been forgotten. From Christians, they have become theologians; from theologians, metaphysicians; and from metaphysics many have glided down the easy descent to the ultimate consequence of abstract philosophy, skepticism. In this way we can trace the transmutation of the Jew into Spinoza, and the Christian into Schelling.*

We have said that Methodism is essentially religion without philosophy. Mr. Wesley perceived the true spiritual nature of Christianity. He felt that it was entirely separate from metaphysics. He saw in it God's plan of saving sinners, not making *savans*. His good sense taught him that a revelation which required learned exposition was to the people no revelation at all; and believing that God had spoken to man, he was willing to re-

* The natural tendency of the human mind to such speculations as form the substance of Christian philosophy, may be illustrated by the incident narrated in John xii, 28, 29.

A voice from heaven was heard distinctly testifying to Christ's authority. As it was intended "for their sakes," and as it is said they "stood by and heard," there can be no doubt that they understood the words uttered. But instead of being impressed by this divine testimony to the truth, they immediately began to speculate about the mode of the communication. Some said it was by thunder, others by the voice of an angel; and so they laid the foundations of a dispute, which might as well have created two theological sects, as the difference about the mode of applying the water in baptism. The narration is curious at least, and to us is a fair exhibition of the native tendency of the human mind to metaphysics and the interference of the spirit of speculation with the reception of revealed truth.

ceive and utter his words in the simple form in which he found them, leaving them under the agency of the Holy Spirit to do their work upon the heart.

Mr. Wesley did not fall into the error, even now so general, of supposing that the sacred writers wrote with the accuracy of systematic theologians; using words in technical senses; and giving each the full philological meaning due to its roots, &c. He did not think that the business of the preacher was to search out hidden meanings, or to weigh words in the grammatical balances; he knew that the Scriptures were popular treatises, intended for the unlettered many, not for the literary few; and that the sacred writers used words in that popular sense, which was perfectly intelligible then, and would be so now, if naturally construed.

But we will let this great and good man speak for himself.

In the introduction to his Sermons, which he says contain an exhibition of every point of doctrine on which he was accustomed to speak, and by which he declares "every serious man, who peruses them, will see in the clearest manner what these doctrines are which I embrace and teach as the essentials of true religion," he says:—

"I design plain truth for plain people: therefore of set purpose I abstain from all nice and philosophical speculations; from all perplexed and intricate reasonings; and, as far as possible, from even the show of learning. . . . I labor to avoid all words which are not easy to be understood, all which are not used in common life: and, in particular, those kinds of technical terms that so frequently occur in bodies of divinity—those modes of speaking which to the common people are an unknown tongue. Nay, my design is, in some sense, to forget all that I ever read in my life. I mean to speak, in the general, as if I had never read one author, ancient or modern, (always excepting the inspired.) . . . I have set down in the following sermons what I find in the Bible concerning the way to heaven; with a view to distinguish this way of God from all those which are the invention of men. I have endeavored to describe the true, the Scriptural, experimental religion, so as to omit nothing which is a real part thereof, and add nothing thereto which is not."

Here is a plain exposition of the nature of Methodism. Such was its origin, such is its very life. Mr. Wesley's object was to make men religious. To this he bent all his energies. In comparison with this all other objects were utterly insignificant. What, then, did he mean by religion? Again, we will let him speak for himself:—

"By religion, I mean the love of God and man filling the heart and governing the life. The sure effect of this is, the uniform practice of justice, mercy, and truth. This is the very essence of it; the height and depth of religion detached from this or that opinion."—*Sermon on Former Times.*

"True religion is right tempers toward God and man: it is, in two words, gratitude and benevolence."—*Unity of the Divine Being.*

"Religion, as to the nature or essence of it, does not lie in this or that set of notions, vulgarly called *faith.* It properly and directly consists in the knowledge and love of God as manifested in the Son of his love, through the eternal Spirit, and this naturally leads to every heavenly temper, and to every good word and work."—*Spiritual Worship.*

Such was his preaching. When its success rendered it necessary to organize the societies, what was the fundamental law of their organization? What is their *characteristic?* Again let Mr. Wesley answer:—

"In order to union with us we require no unity in opinions or in modes of worship, but barely that men fear God and work righteousness. Now this is utterly a new thing, unheard of in any other Christian community. In what church or congregation besides throughout the Christian world can members be admitted upon these terms without any other conditions? Point such out whoever can; I know none in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America. This is the glory of the Methodists, and of them alone. They are themselves no particular sect or party: but they receive them of all parties, who endeavor to do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly with their God."—*Sermon on the Ministerial Office.*

Such, then, is Methodism. It remains to inquire whether the church which bears the name possesses the spirit in pristine purity.

The test is simple. Is the Methodist Church as efficient as it formerly was? If so, doubtless it is pure; if not, then it has lost, and is losing, the spirit of Methodism.

We need not enter upon an elaborate argument to vindicate the accuracy of this test. God designed his religion for mankind, and so far as the religious wants, capacities, and impressibility of men, are concerned, they are the same always and everywhere. What has proved itself efficient in saving souls once must be efficient yet. There can be no doubt that the course pursued by Mr. Wesley and his associates, in the palmy days of their extraordinary ministry, would be equally successful if repeated now.

Is the Methodist Church as successful now in proportion to its former success, and the amount of means which it commands? The success of Methodism may be regarded as made up of two elements: the piety of Methodists, and their numbers. Is the church as pious as formerly? Does it increase its members in so great a ratio?

In order to solve a question so important as the first, which affects a vast multitude of individual cases that cannot be examined, we must find some comprehensive scheme of comparison, simple and available, yet evidently true. We think, therefore, we may safely assume that the piety of the preachers must be a fair exponent of that of the people. Like people, like priest, is an old and well-tried adage, so clearly based upon the necessary relation of things as to need no reasoning to show its accuracy.

We must then inquire if Methodist preachers are as pious as Methodist preachers were formerly?

We are glad to believe that, with as few exceptions as our knowledge of human nature permits us to suppose, our preachers are good men, and really desirous to do good. But this is not exactly the question. There are many degrees of goodness: and that of the early Methodist preachers was extraordinary. The question is as to piety compared with their piety, not contrasted with total indifference; and the fear of God, the love of truth, and that lesser, yet ardent love, which binds us to the church in which we have been nurtured, forbid us to shrink from a fair investigation of the facts before us. How, then, shall we determine this overwhelmingly important question? How can we examine each man's heart, and decide upon his state of virtue?

Fortunately this is not necessary. We have to do with classes, not with persons; and associated acts present their history, and plainly proclaim the average virtue.

A grand trial of this virtue is annually undergone by every conference. From the peculiar constitution of our system, ministers are the guardians of the church from improper ministration. In perfect confidence of the good faith of the preachers, the people implicitly submit to them all decisions upon the capacity, fitness, and morality, of their ministers. Knowing that once every year the name of each preacher is called before the conference, and that his character is then solemnly and officially sanctioned or rebuked, the people quietly and confidently await the decision.

In this trial of individuals the conference, as a body, is undergoing a trial before God and the people; a trial sufficiently severe to bring out the most exalted virtue and to detect every degree of

faithlessness. If ever there was a body of men bound by the awful responsibilities of spiritual guardianship, and by that sense of honor which in the godless is often stronger than life itself, that body is a Methodist conference, when it sits in judgment on the character of the preachers that compose it. There cannot, in the nature of things, be a less doubtful test of virtue in its higher degrees, than is afforded by the action in such cases. If men are not careful to be honest, fearless, self-denying, under circumstances such as these, to what evidence of more than ordinary piety will they appeal? If they abuse a trust so solemn, so voluntarily assumed, so important to those who concede it, and withal so confidingly granted, to what heroic conduct can they point for evidence of ministerial integrity? Acting both for God and their neighbor, in remembrance of the denunciation of the Almighty against those who love their brethren more than his cause, and of the sacred obligation which binds them to do unto others (the church) for whom they act, as they would be done to under similar circumstances, they must trample on both tables of the law if they would escape their duty.

We have only, therefore, to inquire in what degree the action of the conferences upon the subject in question manifests that spirit of righteousness, justice, and truth, so eminently displayed by the early preachers.

In the first place we remark, that a body of men anxious above all things to do their duty to God and the church, would take every possible means to find out the truth with regard to each member. They would not content themselves with investigating formal charges presented in such a way as to compel attention to them, for this would be to abandon the duty of examining character to irresponsible persons without, merely reserving to themselves the ultimate adjudication. Indeed, to act in this way would be to give to delinquents chances of escape much greater than is afforded even by the very lax criminal code of the country. For the state does not wait inactively until a citizen volunteers an accusation against a suspected person. The state employs a prosecutor and a grand inquest, who search out crimes and criminals, and drag them to justice. Acting upon rumor or reports, however inaccurate, they send for witnesses, and compel testimony. The law is in earnest. The state is really anxious to find out the truth, and acts accordingly. We need but say that if all this troublesome inquiry is necessary to procure testimony against a thief or murderer, then under no circumstances could the most active efforts of a body acting without sanction of law be expected to succeed equally well

in obtaining evidence of delinquencies of far less flagrant character. Much less can effective discipline be exerted when no effort is made to procure prosecution or secure testimony, but all is left to the accident of voluntary prosecution under circumstances most painful, and requiring self-denial and pecuniary expense from the party prosecuting. Indeed, if a conference confine itself to such trials as are instituted in regular form, the whole process of individual examination is a farce; for all could be done that is done by publicly giving notice that they were ready to receive complaints.

We are now endeavoring to ascertain the moral condition of the preachers, by examining their conference action. If our readers will keep this in view, we think they will clearly see the force of the argument, and be able to come to definite conclusions upon a subject which at first seemed to bid defiance to investigation. If the preachers are what they should be, what Methodist preachers have been, and what they must be in order to the success of the church, they will certainly desire to preserve the ministry effective and pure. They will desire this far more than the friendship of any man, far more than their own comfort and peace, far more even than to be well spoken of. If they do desire this purity and efficiency, they will need no prompting to inquiry into rumors which affect one of their body; much less will they withhold any proper matter of complaint for fear of giving offense, &c.

Again, a body of pure-minded men, acting in righteousness, justice, and truth; desiring only that the truth should be known, and determined to know it; would not conform its trials to those of the civil courts. Such a body would not tolerate special pleading, which is in its very nature untrue. Nothing could be more disgusting than to see preachers of Jesus Christ defending another preacher by means of technical objections, exaggerating one set of facts and suppressing others; doing all they can to confuse the minds of brethren, or to deceive their understanding or arouse their passions for the very purpose that they may overpower the judgment. Even the Areopagus, though a heathen court, despised such dishonest proceedings, and refused to hear more than the bare facts of a case.

Again, if the judgment be generally given in view of the consequences of the verdict to the accused rather than to the church, the fact is ominous of ruin already begun. If an *esprit du corps* has usurped the place once filled by the Spirit of truth, all is lost. The principle has been granted that the church is for the preachers, not the preachers for the church.

This subject affords abundant materials for prolonged discus-

sion; but we are anxious to avoid encumbering the argument with unnecessary details. Our object is merely to make suggestions which may lead thoughtful men to a careful examination of things as they are, and as they may be seen daily. We shall not pretend to deduce any opinion of our own as to the comparative purity of the church from the application of the tests we have proposed as the means of truth. If the principles be admitted to be just our readers will have no difficulty in applying them.

Does our church increase as rapidly as it formerly did, considering the means at its command? There can be no difficulty in giving a negative answer. The very important question arises, Why is this?

It cannot be attributed to any accident. The failure is too general and too long-continued to be thus accounted for. The cause must be as wide spread as Methodism, and we must seek it in some of the universals of the church. Now it is not in our discipline; for that has undergone no change. It is not in our forms and instrumentalities; for they remain precisely as heretofore. It is not in deficiency of means; for we were never so well provided. Where, then, must we look for it? What cause can be found sufficiently general, powerful, and available? We answer, The ministry. No other can be found. If they be right, and no obstruction is thrown between them and the people, the church must prosper. What then is the matter with the preachers?

Of course, if the previous inquiry should result in a demonstration that the tone of ministerial piety is lessened, we need seek no further for the evil. We shall have found the worm at the very root of the tree.

The very life of our system depends upon the confidence of the people in the unadulterated virtue of their ministers. They expect from a Methodist preacher much more than ordinary piety; and if their confidence be shaken, their co-operation becomes weak and faithless;—class meetings and congregations are chilled; religion pines, none are converted; nature and accident remove members, there are none to take their place; the preachers report a loss of members, and very often a deficiency of support. If ministers have lowered the standard of ministerial character; if the verdict of conferences upon the purity and effectiveness of the preachers leaves them still liable to suspicion, or even still charged freely, though informally, with gross aberrations from rectitude; if "passing character" means nothing more than not condemning, and expresses a mere negation, conveying no positive assurance with it; in short, if the people have come to believe that justice is not done

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them in this vitally important matter, we need not wonder that the church is declining. It is not sufficient that the preacher thinks himself honest, the people must think so; and if, as a member of a conference, he has connived at the escape of a shattered reputation, and consented to send forth a man to preach to whom grave objections are made, without any effort to ascertain the facts, he cannot expect that the people will listen to his ministrations with full acceptance.

It is a great mistake for a conference in any investigation of the kind in question, to suppose that they may act toward the party accused as individuals toward an individual. They have no right either to pardon or to punish. They are trustees solemnly pledged before God and man to preserve the purity and efficiency of the ministry. As such they have no right to try experiments upon the church; to continue a man in hope that he may mend, and shut their eyes to manifest incapacity; and shift a useless man from one station to another, revolving him in his baleful orbit until he shall have equally cursed the whole church. They have absolutely nothing at all to do with the consequences of rejection to the preacher himself. They have no discretion in the matter; and the sickly sympathy which asks how we can save the *man*, instead of how shall we save the *church*, is utterly unworthy of Methodist preachers.

If it be said these are hard sayings, we answer, that all virtue is put to hard trials. It is hard for a jury to pronounce a verdict against a criminal; it is hard to rob a wife of her husband, and children of their father; it is hard to utter a word which will consign a fellow-man to a dungeon or immolate him on a scaffold. Yet hard as it is, honest men are found who can do it. The case is not so hard with the preachers as with jurors; for, independently of the actual suffering involved in their verdict being less, they have voluntarily assumed the trust. They have asked to be invested with it, and if they have not the moral courage requisite for the honest discharge of their duty, they ought in all fairness to resign.

The consequence of unfaithfulness in this matter of character must show itself very plainly. A conference thus unfaithful will be oppressed by a number of men known to be unacceptable and useless to the people. These will come out annually to claim relief as "deficient" in the salaries allowed them; while the station or circuit from which they come, weakened by losses, fretted by the many vexations incident upon such an appointment, and perhaps to a considerable extent backslidden in religion for lack

of proper ministerial service, presents a field of labor most undesirable to the next preacher, who perhaps goes to it with reluctance, remains with impatience, and often leaves it the worse for him, and he the worse for it. The green spots in such a conference are gradually worn down by the necessity of sending to them the men of "heavy families," and in a short time it becomes impossible for the bishop to provide for the preachers. Every year makes the matter worse, and utter ruin must result unless the process be arrested.

This is but a brief sketch of the evils attendant upon wrong proceedings in examination of ministerial character. We can readily see how twenty men of suspicious character or clerical incapacity may in the course of time ride down every station or circuit in a whole conference; and unless the preachers see to it, this number may readily be secured to each, if indeed it be not already found in all.

The style of preaching common in a church furnishes sufficient indications of its state. Unless the preaching be pure, forcible, and religious, it will turn no sinner from the error of his ways; if it be such, it will be the power of God unto salvation. We do not mean that right preaching will convert everybody, but when brought to act upon large numbers it will save a great many; certainly more than enough to repair the natural losses of the church —for God intends his religion to be progressive.

If, then, the preaching in common use among us be philosophical, however true the philosophy, the church must be narcotized; and if the devitalized bread be perseveringly given to it, it must sleep the sleep of death. Is our preaching *theological* rather than religious? We may be sure of one thing, that, if ministerial piety is declining, our ministers are becoming more metaphysical. Nothing makes clerical philosophers like loss of religion.

Are our preachers turning their attention to what are called doctrinal discourses, in distinction to direct preaching to the heart and conscience? Do we expect when we go to church to hear a fervent sermon, carrying conviction to the sinner and comfort to the Christian? Do we expect to have the principles of religion applied to the various circumstances of our daily life, and to be shown how in this respect or that we are doing or neglecting our duty to God and our neighbor? or do we go to enjoy an intellectual treat in the form of a theological discussion? Is the preacher busy during the week in endeavors to find out the secret of his people's hearts; to learn how they are walking; how they are tempted, and how they resist temptation? or is he busy in his private chamber, com-

pounding a theological discourse? Does he, like Mr. Wesley, go into the pulpit trying to forget all that he has read, or trying to remember all that he has read?

We despair of being able to present this matter in such a light as will clearly expose it to people and preachers. The former may feel that something is sadly wrong; they may know that the sermons they hear do not comfort them and build them up; but it is not to be expected that many of them can trace the individual effect to the great comprehensive cause. The preachers will hardly be more readily affected. Their previous views and habits will be too apt to intercept the light of truth and bend it to a pleasant angle. Theology is a great temptation. Take this away and the clergy cease to be a profession, and become only good men who preach the gospel. It is easier, too, to preach from a knowledge of books than from a knowledge of men; to conduct an argument which has been conducted a thousand times before, than to distribute the bread of Heaven to a hungry congregation.

We fear, therefore, that what we have said will offend many, and convince few. Unpleasant truths generally meet with curt reception. With an honest desire to probe to the bottom the evils under which the church is suffering and waning, we have written these pages. We have made no direct accusations. Our object has been to attract attention to causes, not to men. We honestly believe that we have pointed out the evils from which our church is suffering so intensely, and under which she will inevitably die unless relief be given. Whether we are mere dreamers time will show; but certainly it is the part of those who govern us to inquire into the state of the church and find out what is the matter. We may depend upon it, that something more is required than vain regrets, or spasmodic local efforts, or even prayer itself. God cannot be induced to sanction unfaithful dealing, or sanctify metaphysical preaching. He will mercifully enable us to see our errors; but if we will not correct them, we must continue to suffer the consequences. But "woe unto them by whom the offense cometh!" The Methodist Church was raised up by God to supply a great natural want. While it shall fulfill this great purpose it will continue; it will prosper. But if it should fail to do its proper work, God will soon furnish himself with other and better instruments. "Enlargement and deliverance shall arise from another place," and the unfaithful church shall be cast away.

Art. II.—*The Library of American Biography.* Conducted by Jared Sparks. In ten volumes. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

If it be true that "*no* man liveth to himself" alone, it is especially true that no great and good man thus liveth; for his influence, instead of being limited to a narrow sphere, circulates through all the great channels of society. Be it so that his labors are chiefly in one particular field, or aimed at the accomplishment of some particular end—it is an egregious mistake to suppose that his actions have not their ulterior as well as their more immediate bearings. The great cause in which Wilberforce spent his life was the negro's freedom; but no one who should attempt to estimate the influence of that great man, would think of stopping short of the fact that he was the benefactor of his race. To say nothing of the many good objects besides, which his great and philanthropic soul compassed in the course of his somewhat protracted life, the efforts by which he accomplished this particular object, also accomplished far more: they brought out to view one of the loveliest characters that Christianity ever formed, and touched incidentally chords of benevolent feeling in myriads of hearts, which responded to the grateful influence that moved them, in a course of earnest and self-denied philanthropy.

Notwithstanding every man has his part to perform in the economy of human society, it is manifest that much the greater portion of mankind are but very subordinate actors in it: the influence that commands, that controls, that decides, is concentrated in the few. There is a small assembly annually convened at Washington, in whose doings are bound up, to a great extent, the weal or the woe of this nation; and though they have all alike the privilege of speaking and voting, yet perhaps if the whole truth were known, it would be that the great mass were in subjection to a few master spirits, and that the minds that rule could be counted almost in a single breath. These men constitute the little leaven that leavens the whole lump. And so it is in regard to great discoveries in science: the mass of the world are dreaming of no such thing; but it turns out that some one mind has been bending its researches in some direction in which it imagined that light was soon to appear; and suddenly the world is surprised by the announcement of some new law of the creation, or of a new application of some one previously known, which sends the whole economy of society forward a whole century in a single day. Professor

Morse first got the idea of his telegraph, we know not how; but at first it was dim and shadowy, and there were not wanting those who believed that it would never be less so; but he held to it in a course of patient and earnest effort, till the theory was demonstrated by experiment; and now we are all, occasionally at least, using the lightning instead of the mail to convey our dispatches; and every one sees that here is a discovery that is to work a mighty revolution in human affairs. We say, then, without wishing to lessen any one's proper self-respect, or sense of responsibility, that the ultimate direction of things rests with a few leading, fortunate spirits of each age; and that the multitude live in an atmosphere which has been produced only in a very subordinate degree by their own agency.

It would seem, then, to be the ordination of Heaven that the great and the good who have lived before us should be felt not only by ourselves, but by all the generations that succeed them; for though their voice hath been hushed in the silence of the grave, there was a voice in their actions which has kept speaking since the grave has closed upon them, and which will continue to speak till all the graves shall give up their dead. Take, for instance, the patriots and heroes of our revolution—they have nearly all been summoned to their final resting place; but their influence is still at work, however unmindful we may be of it, in all that is noble and praiseworthy in our institutions—in the vital energy of the liberties of our country.

But it is not enough that the noble spirits of the past should continue to exist in this impalpable form; for there is danger that if we contemplate them only through this medium, we shall come gradually to forget that they exist at all; in other words, shall lose sight of the connection that exists between what they were and what we are; between their labors and our privileges. It is proper that they should be put beyond the possibility of being forgotten, by having an authentic record of their lives and characters made out at a proper time; and by this means there will be yet another end secured: the picture will be far more true, and full, and effective, than if it were conveyed to us merely through the medium of tradition. Suppose the life of Washington, or Franklin, or Edwards, had never been written—we could not at this short distance from them have failed to know much of what they were and what they did—the heroic and political exploits of the first, the philosophical discoveries of the second, and the profound theological and metaphysical researches of the third, would have rendered their memories respectively imperishable; but how much more

distinct and satisfactory is the view which we gain concerning them by reading a faithful record of their lives! Here they stand out before us amid all the realities of life; we trace not only the influence which they exerted, but the influence under which their characters were formed; and if our impressions in respect to them at any time become dim or erroneous, we are able to brighten or correct them at our pleasure. Suppose that, instead of half or two-thirds of a century, several centuries had elapsed since they closed their earthly career—though they would still be, as doubtless they will always remain, among the brightest stars to be seen in the intellectual and moral heavens, is it not reasonable to suppose that their lustre would be in no inconsiderable degree diminished, if, instead of being contemplated through the medium of a minute and authentic history, they were looked at only through the mists that had gathered around them from the tradition of ages?

The office of biography, then, is to perpetuate what might otherwise pass away; to illustrate what might otherwise become uncertain, and ultimately fade into deep obscurity. It is to embalm the great and good, so that they cannot perish from the earth; to enable us to gather within a single room a large part of the illustrious spirits of the past, to commune with them at our pleasure, and even to become the companions of their lives. If we include in our estimate the biographical sketches which are furnished by Scripture, we can go back to the beginning of the world, and converse with the patriarchs, Adam at their head; and though there are many blanks in the world's history—long intervals in which there was no authentic record kept even of many of the great names by which they were illuminated—yet from most of the ages we can gather at least some one or more to represent them; and as we travel downward we find ourselves in a track of increasing certainty and luminousness, till we reach the age that has just preceded us. What an inspiriting thought to the scholar, as he turns his eye toward his library, that he can find in it not only what the greatest minds have thought, but how they have been trained, and what they have been in their various relations, and how they appeared in ordinary contact with their fellow-men! How well fitted to quicken not only his intellectual, but moral, faculties, and to enlist him in more earnest efforts for the benefit of his race!

We have considered biography hitherto, as having to do especially with the praiseworthy and useful; but it may be asked whether it does not come equally within her province to record the lives of those who have made themselves conspicuous by their

vices, and especially those whom Providence has let loose upon the world to be its tormentors. To this we reply, that there are some perverse and malignant spirits who are suffered temporarily to gain such an ascendency in human affairs, that the history of their lives becomes almost identified with the history of their times—such were Julius Cæsar and Napoleon—if *their* lives were not to be written, it would produce a mighty chasm in the world's entire history; to say nothing of the fact that men would lose the advantage of the warnings which they suggest, and of the views of divine Providence which they illustrate. As a general rule, we would leave those who have been great in corruption—great in crime—to the general historian, and let him use them for the benefit of the world, as truth and justice may require; but we would rather that the province of biography, strictly speaking, should be regarded, for the most part, as sacred to the cause, not only of intelligence, but of truth and goodness. We have no wish that any process should be devised for embalming vice, or that anything should be attempted to prevent the fulfillment of that inspired sentence, that "the memory of the wicked shall rot."

Every nation, certainly every civilized and Christianized nation, has its good and great men—men of comprehensive views and of enlarged philanthropy—men who have been honored, are still honored, for their services, in some or other of the great departments of useful action. Now this circumstance puts it into the power of each nation to be a benefactor to the world; and not only puts it into the power, but creates the obligation. Let England, and France, and Germany, and America, each carefully preserve the history of her most illustrious spirits, to send abroad among other nations, that thus she may make herself an epistle known and read of all men. In this way each nation will be living for the benefit of every other, and will actually become a teacher of every other, in the lives of her philosophers and poets, her patriots and heroes, her philanthropists and saints.

But while each nation is bound to preserve a record of the lives of its great and good men for the benefit of other nations—for the benefit of the world—it is bound to do this especially from a regard to its own interests; for it is the most effective mode of sending down to posterity what is most important in its own history, and thus it gives to each successive generation the advantage of the experience of all that have preceded it. And it is due to a nation's benefactors that such a record should be preserved; for it is fitting that the memory of wisdom and virtue should always be kept alive. In proportion as a nation shows itself indifferent to this

subject, it forfeits its own dignity, sacrifices its own advantage, and stands chargeable with injustice toward those who have deserved its enduring gratitude and veneration.

As each nation has its own peculiar reasons, growing out of the peculiarities of its history, for making provision to perpetuate the memorials of its most distinguished sons, there are reasons why this should be done in relation to our own country neither fewer nor stronger than those which exist in respect to any other. Our cause, from the beginning, has been signalized by great events; the most memorable of which were the original settlement of the country by the Puritans and the revolution which gave us our independence. In the trials and perils which marked both these periods, there were produced a multitude of great spirits, such as could never have come up in the sunshine of prosperity and quietude: they performed deeds of heroic daring, which would shed glory over any age; they united with an indomitable resolution, an almost miraculous foresight, and many of them added to this a fervent piety—a strong and unwavering confidence in the Ruler of the world. And God crowned their efforts with his blessing; he brought victory and strength out of their sacrifices and struggles, and their posterity have ever since been reaping in joy what they sowed in tears.

Now there are two reasons, suggested by these great events in our history, why we should make large contributions to the general stock of biography. One is, that these illustrious epochs, to say nothing of other more quiet periods, have supplied us with some of the richest materials for this species of literature of which any country can boast; and the fact that such materials exist imposes upon us the obligation to use them. The other is, that our political relations to the world are altogether unique: we have assumed an attitude before the nations which provokes the jealousy of some, awakens the curiosity of others, draws forth the admiration of many, and is regarded with deep interest by all. We believe that our government, in its substantial features, is the best that can be formed—most liberal in its provisions, and most favorable to the common good; and we are willing to hope that the example which we have set may be followed by other nations, and that the day may come when our republican institutions may become a model for the world. But surely one important means of compassing this object is to bring out to the view of the world the practical operation of the system in the characters which it forms—in the magnificent plans and manly deeds which it originates—in the sturdy and lofty growth of virtue which it secures.

Let the American biographer remember that when he chronicles the illustrious doings of the worthies of his country, he is laboring directly and efficiently to extend his country's glory in the earth; nay, more, to cause other nations to look toward her in the posture of earnest reflection, if not to sit at her feet in the attitude of docile inquiry.

If it be so important an office that biography has to perform, it becomes a question of proportional interest, what is necessary to the successful accomplishment of the end which it contemplates? If we mistake not, it is all included in the three following things.

In the first place, there must be a suitable selection of subjects; in other words, the individual must have been something, or done something, or projected something, which fairly entitles him to such a distinction. We may be willing to spend our time occasionally in reviewing the life of a very bad man, whom God has employed to be the scourge of the world; because we may find in it matter both of instruction and admonition; and it may furnish us with an illustration of God's power and wisdom in constraining even rebels against his authority to become subservient to his purposes. But we do not wish to be occupied in the contemplation of mere indifferent characters; of men or women who possess only the negative merit of having passed through the world without any particular delinquency, or with a barely respectable character. If we do not greatly mistake, biography, both in this country and in Great Britain, has, in these latter years, sacrificed somewhat of its appropriate dignity, by making itself subservient to particular interests, rather than to the promotion of the public good. We do not object, if an estimable person of no particular note has died out of a circle of friends, that those who survive to lament his death should embody their recollections of him on paper, and should even send the manuscript to the press, provided always that when the book comes out, they will take it into their own keeping, and not send it into the market to claim the time and the money of those for whom it can have no possible attractions. Besides the injustice to the public involved in this latter mode of proceeding, there is gross injustice to the memory of the individual who is the subject of the book; for a tame and negative character cannot be embalmed; and in all ordinary cases, such a character grows insipid in proportion to the efforts that are made to display and magnify it. We venture to say that if we were to look through the shelves of almost any considerable bookstore in the land, we could lay out what one would consider a pretty formidable collection, if he had either to buy them or to read them, of works of

biography, which are destined to no higher mission in the world than to bear witness to an indiscreet and ill-judged affection.

The second thing of importance to secure the legitimate ends of biography is, that it should be intrusted to competent individuals. And here we do not refer so much to the general intellectual and literary qualifications which may be required, as to a peculiar adaptedness of mind, enabling the writer to comprehend fully his particular subject; not only to follow in his steps, but to think in his thoughts, and live in his actions. Hence it comes to pass that while one may be admirably qualified, by his general tastes and habits, to write the life of one individual, he may be utterly disqualified to write the life of another; and if he attempt both, his failure in the latter case will be equal to his success in the former. If we had the vanity to expect, as we certainly have not, that we should ever furnish a subject for the biographer, we should earnestly entreat that some one might come to the work who had penetrated the furthest into our intellectual and moral constitution, and who was capable of appreciating everything belonging to us, even to our infirmities and defects; and if any other should set himself to the task, we should as earnestly hope that he would desist from it, even though he should assign as a reason that it was because he found nothing in his subject worthy of recording.

The remaining consideration is, that biography, to answer its end, should be executed at the proper time. It should neither be too soon nor too late. If it is too soon, the character may not be seen with an impartial eye; and especially if the individual has sustained widely extended relations, and been involved in concerns of deep and complicated interest, the whole truth concerning him, so far as it is necessary to the purposes of biography, cannot be known, till a considerable time has elapsed after death has set its seal upon his character. Marshall's Life of Washington, for instance, is a noble production; but if it had been written thirty or forty years later, it would have brought out the great man, in many respects, in a still brighter light. But, on the other hand, the biographer must not delay his work too long; for in this case the danger is, that he fails in authentic documents, and has to make too much of uncertain tradition. In latter years, the spirit of literary enterprise in this country has been busy in endeavoring to rescue from oblivion many of the bright names in our nation's earlier annals; and it is a work which we hope may not be suspended till it has been carried to the remotest point which the materials will warrant; but it is mortifying to observe how all that can now

be brought together concerning some of the purest and most heroic minds occupies not unfrequently but a few pages of a small duodecimo. Let both these extremes be avoided—the extreme of too much haste and of unreasonable delay, and we may hope that the pictures of our great men, which are scattered along through successive generations, will be at once full and faithful; that nothing will be omitted from ignorance on the one hand, that nothing will be misstated from partiality or prejudice on the other.

Until a comparatively recent period, we, as a nation, had done almost nothing in this department of literature; and nearly all the works of biography which were found on our shelves were reprints of European productions. In the early part of this century Dr. Eliot published his New-England Biography, in one octavo volume—a work not without considerable mistakes, but, on the whole, highly creditable to its author and to the country. Next came Dr. Allen's American Biography—less particular, perhaps, in its details than that of Dr. Eliot, but occupying a wider range, and embracing a much larger number and much greater variety of names. Of this there has been a second and much enlarged edition published within the last few years; and as it is the only general work of the kind that is of any authority among us, it were earnestly to be wished that its very respectable author would continue his researches in a department to which he is so happily adapted, and let the world have the benefit of them in future editions. The work which we wish particularly to commend to our readers was begun by Dr. Sparks in 1834, and was continued to the tenth volume, which completed the first series. From that time he rested for a few years from this particular kind of labor; but we are glad to perceive that he has resumed it within the last year or two, and has already reached, we believe, the seventh or eighth volume of a second series. There are few men of this country, or even of this age, who have done more for the world by their literary labors than Dr. Sparks; and though he appears in the present work, as indeed he does in several of his works, rather as an editor than an author, yet we doubt exceedingly whether he will leave anything behind him which will interest the great mass of posterity more deeply than this series of biographies. We have heard it intimated that he intends to continue his labors in this department no longer than till he shall have carried this series as far as he has done the preceding; but we earnestly hope that, if he has formed such a determination, he may find reasons to recede from it. If posterity could speak, we are sure that they would send up their united suffrage in favor of the continuance of

this invaluable work, so long as there remain among us any characters worthy to be perpetuated.

Our readers who are not familiar with this work may form some general opinion of its character from the following list of the lives, with their authors, contained in the first series :—

Life of John Stark, by Edward Everett; of Charles Brockden Brown, by William H. Prescott; of Richard Montgomery, by John Armstrong; of Ethan Allen, by Jared Sparks; of Alexander Wilson, by William B. O. Peabody; of Captain John Smith, by George S. Hiliard; of Benedict Arnold, by Jared Sparks; of Anthony Wayne, by John Armstrong; of Sir Henry Vane, by Charles W. Upham; of John Eliot, by Convers Francis; of William Pinckney, by Henry Wheaton; of William Ellery, by Edward T. Channing; of Cotton Mather, by William B. O. Peabody; of Sir William Phipps, by Francis Bowen; of Israel Putnam, by Oliver N. B. Peabody; of L. M. Davidson, by Miss Sedgwick; of David Rittenhouse, by James Renwick; of Jonathan Edwards, by Samuel Miller; of David Brainerd, by William B. O. Peabody; of Baron Steuben, by Francis Bowen; of Sebastian Cabot, by Charles Hayward, jr.; of William Eaton, by Cornelius C. Fellon; of Robert Fulton, by James Renwick; of Joseph Warren, by A. H. Everett; of Henry Hudson, by Henry R. Cleaveland; of Father Marquette, by Jared Sparks.

It will be seen, from the above list, that the characters which this work thus far embraces are generally of great interest, and are among the most prominent of the men of by-gone days. And then they are taken from various spheres of public action, so that the work thereby becomes possessed of a general character. The authors are all men of high name in the world of letters, and no one of them has here made an effort unworthy of himself. In general, there is evidently great congruity between the taste of the author and the character of his subject; and if we were to mention any cases that seem to us to form exceptions to this remark, they would be those in which Unitarian clergymen have delineated the characters of some of the mighty veterans of orthodoxy, who lived a century or a century and a half ago. We do not mean to impute to these highly respectable gentlemen who have employed their pens so gracefully and so ably, any want of good-will to do full justice to their respective subjects: we only mean that it could hardly be expected that they should have that full appreciation of the character, and that sympathy with its most impressive peculiarities, which would be necessary to enable them to proceed in their work altogether *con amore;* and though we would trust Dr.

Priestly or Dr. Channing in their hands without the least misgiving, we should rather that John Eliot, and Cotton Mather, and David Brainerd, and Jonathan Edwards, were turned over to some more orthodox, though they could hardly be to more accomplished, biographers.

ART. III.—*Livre des Orateurs, par Timon*, (M. de Cormenin,) 15^e^ *edition, Paris*, 1847.

THE subject of eloquence is prominent among the studies to which the startling revolutions of our day seem destined to bring freshened interest and unprecedented importance. Under the new democracy now opening upon Europe—the democracy of interests and ideas, not of illusory "rights" and effete forms—eloquence, with the grand armory of science to supply it arguments, will replace the wiles of diplomacy and the juggleries of pragmatical statesmanship; the oratorical art will become again, more effectually than of old, perhaps, synonymous with the art of government. Already, but the other day, have we witnessed the young republic of France—or, if the reader pleases, her hope of a republic—trembling to its fate on the lips of Lamartine. By eloquence was the frail existence of this hope preserved, from day to day, in the arms of the provisional *dictature*. By eloquence, too, must be achieved its successful establishment into a permanent system of government. Nay, the regular working of this government must, thereafter, much depend upon the same moral agency of eloquence. In this final sphere, however, it will have less of the rhetoric of Lamartine and more of the reasoning of Guizot—when Guizot's oratory was not employed unworthily.

It may be objected to this piece of prediction that we find oratory wield no such power, enjoy no such prerogative, in this country; where, however, democracy has been long in operation, at least in its *political* conditions. The answer is, that here, as in most other things, political forms are not the whole—very far from it. *So* far, indeed, that they are only conditions of the negative kind; and of course are null without their positive complement, without a corresponding development of the national mind. There are stages in the mental growth of a people when the rhetoric in repute seems to reduce itself to the two topics of Meum and Tuum, and the only figures of any force to move are the figures of arithmetic. This is that period of civilization when the freeborn emotions of the soul which inspired the imaginative eloquence of an-

tiquity, after having been trampled, and then kept down by the hoof of force and the torpor of habit, lie buried beneath the thick incrustation of the material interests, while these interests are as yet conceived but in the gross symbols of good and lawful dollars, doubloons, or pounds sterling. It is otherwise when a people, having outgrown this second form of idol worship, more debasing still than the first, attain to the conception, or even to the sentiment, of the eternal reality in the natural laws of the social system. Now, such is the actual position of the national mind of France; at least in a far higher degree than that of any other people. This has given the new republic its originality of character. To the new oratory, likewise, it will give the conjectured eminence of governmental power.

In view, then, of this high destiny of eloquence—dependent upon a maturity of social science to which the march of our own country, too, will be henceforth vastly accelerated—the following remarks on the subject will, we trust, be found seasonable. They may serve to suggest the cause, if not also a remedy, of the state of disorder and degradation into which the art has fallen in English literature, as conceived whether in its systems of education or in its theories of criticism.

This disorder, in fact, is avowed as it is extreme. It is attested, while it is propagated by the host of "Rhetorics," "Readers," "Elocutions," &c., which invade us almost daily, and which—being mere variations, or rather mutilations, of the ancient treatises whose defects they pretend to supply—only serve to multiply the mischief, and to feed one of the most pernicious broods of vermin ever generated in a decaying carcass, namely, the modern *manufacturers* of "school-books." The difficulty proceeds from a fundamental misconception of the whole subject, an inadvertence to its relative and progressive character. There is also a correlative misapprehension as to the method of investigation; which is still conducted on the primitive plan of deduction from certain absolute and assumed principles, instead of proceeding by observation, by induction, upon what might be called the natural history of the art. For the rest, this double error is not confined to the rhetorical treatises of English literature alone; it is imputable universally. The writer, at least, is aware of but a single exception in any other literature. This is furnished, of course, by France, and in the *Livre des Orateurs* of the celebrated Timon, (de Cormenin,) the president of the French Council of State, and author of the proposed constitution of the new republic. In placing, therefore, this unique work in our rubric, the purpose is not to

review it critically; but rather, by an example, to illustrate more compendiously our conception of the proper method of reducing eloquence to a science. Of this method the book in question offers a remarkable sketch in both its character and plan.

This plan is distinguished by the application, for the first time to the art of eloquence, of a process of investigation which, however, is now recognized as the means, indispensable and final, of perfecting all the liberal arts; because it is the mode, indispensable and final, of constituting all the sciences, the moral as well as natural, upon which the arts referred to are immediately dependent. The present attempt is, indeed, but an outline, like most beginnings in matters so immense. And the consciousness of this may have been the author's modest motive for omitting to signalize so original a feature of his work. But in such cases the important is not the completeness of the application, but the fact of the applicability. The clue once furnished, the perfective progression is prompt, because a thing of very general competence. Many may follow where few can find. It is the moot distinction between genius and practical talent. We admire at the almost magical advancement of the arts and sciences within the period of the last half century. But there is not one of them which, in default of the invention, or, as in the case before us, of the simple extension, of the requisite method, has not been retarded for ages, either straying from error to error, or stagnant at last from the very exhaustion of conjecture. The latter would seem to have been the condition of the art oratorical since the days of Quinctilian.

The method we speak of—and which as yet is most familiar to naturalists, since the scientific triumphs of the great Cuvier—is denominated the "Comparative." Some explanation of its nature, before proceeding to the application, will be not only proper to the present object, but important especially to the subject of logic, so essentially connected with that of rhetoric, and no less confused.

The Comparative method is commonly regarded as peculiar to the physical, or what are sometimes termed the classificatory, sciences. It is not seen to be a *universal* process of reasoning: it is not imagined to be the *sole* process. Even Mill, who well explains it, has failed or has feared to recognize it as an integral part of the science of logic. Much less does he appear to have understood it as, in principle, identical with the other and accredited forms. In truth, however, all the methods consist in comparison. When we *argue* we compare; when we *experiment* we compare; when we *observe* we compare, just the same essentially as when we syllogize or classify. We go further, and affirm that

it is by comparison we come to the knowledge of our simplest *feelings*. For with but a single feeling, or even with a single kind of feelings; in other words, with only one of the senses, sensation never could have been distinguished from self-existence. The sensation, and even the object exciting it, would then seem one with the sentient being. But enable this being, by a second sense, to experience a different impression simultaneously, and there will arise the consciousness of sensation as something distinct from self—it being impossible, of course, to even our latest refinement in abstraction, to conceive of identity as plural. Our primordial cognizance of simple feeling is, then, the result of this instinctive or mechanical *comparison* of the two sensations; or rather of the second with personal consciousness. The feelings will grow more distinct as well as diverse, according as the senses are multiplied; until from the small number of their five or six elements we see evolved all the wondrous variety of sentiments, objects, and their relations, which composes man's universe, external and internal.

But evolved how? Not, assuredly, by the plurality of his senses merely; of which a thousand, operating isolatedly, could carry no further than might each possessed alone; that is to say, to the recognition of the corresponding kinds of sensation simply. The magical effect is wrought by the *mutuality* of co-operation and correction, and the process can be no other than *comparison*.

This process we have intimated to be the universal principle of reasoning. We might add, that it is perhaps the sole energy strictly proper, or innate, to the human intellect. Whence, then, it may be asked, the still prevailing notion of a diversity of methods different not merely, but some of them contradictory; as implied in the notable strife (which, with others still more puerile,* is maintained, it seems, in England up to this day) between what are termed the syllogistic and the inductive methods? The oversight, continued in part by the diversity of the specific terms, had its origin in the difference of the things compared. In the primitive stage, where the operation, being as we have seen mechanical, has not been accounted a method, but merely as the *faculty* of perception, the comparison is of sensations with self-consciousness, and then with each other—resulting in the conception of objects. In the next method, named observation, the comparison is of objects with their phenomena—resulting in facts. In experimentation, it

* See the late controversy between De Morgan and Sir William Hamilton: —a pair of pedants to remind one of the philosophy of the middle ages; but not out of place in England in the noon of the nineteenth century, it seems, to judge by the consideration they enjoy.

is of facts with principles—resulting in general laws. In ratiocination, of laws with laws—resulting in systems. In the fourth stage or method, in fine, the comparison is of systems or co-ordinated aggregations of laws with systems, sciences with sciences, arts with arts, or (as in the book under consideration) of distinct or successive aspects of the same system or subject with each other. And if the generic denomination of "comparative" be found applied, quite significantly, to the fourth alone of these modes of the process, it is that here its true nature—which had been dissembled, though diminishingly, in the preceding forms and under the designations of accident just noted—is come at last to be made broadly manifest, by being exhibited upon a larger scale, and this through the concurrence of two recent and indeed correlative results, namely, the philosophic maturity of the age, and the magnitude or complexity of the subjects of which, in consequence, the human mind has essayed the comparison.

It may be added, that from this necessary ultimateness of the terms, the modification in question must be considered the "final," as we have above affirmed. And that it is "indispensable," too, to the due investigation of oratory would seem perhaps still more evident, not only from the experience of some three thousand years, and three times that number of different treatises, assigning to it each a different definition; but also from one of the first principles of logic, which teaches that no system can possibly be comprehended or defined, unless by ascertaining what is common, and what peculiar, to its several species or forms as they have been evolved spontaneously and exhibited in its history.

With this summary explication of the method itself, its logical character and scientific necessity, we now proceed to examine our author's application of it to the subject of eloquence.

Of all classification the first requisite is to fix a standard. For his type M. de Cormenin takes the Parliamentary form of oratory; to the "illustration of which," he tells us, poetically if not truly, "the others all contribute their converging rays." On a point so fundamental we feel obliged to declare our dissent; and proceed to justify with the less diffidence, that the result will have the collateral credit of vindicating one of the principal, and perhaps the most peculiar, of the author's own tenets from the theoretical contradiction of his somewhat conventional arrangement.

The objects of every legitimate investigation being all relative to each other as well as to the contemplating mind, the order of precedence is only to be determined by the principle of the highest generality; which has the property of admitting of both the most

comprehensive reference and the most concise intercomparison of the more special, and thus subordinate, relations. Our question, therefore, is, Which is the most general of the observed forms of eloquence, taking this author's enumeration of Parliamentary, Written, Pulpit, Forensic, Deliberative, Popular, Official, and Military? In other terms, Which of them may be conceived to contain all the others, but not be contained itself in any? And this again—to bring the question to the light of the method itself we explain—is to ask, Which of them has been, historically, the earliest form? For the different arts and sciences, and the several departments of each, have unfolded themselves successively and in a descending series of particularity; even as the branches of a tree which proceed originally from the trunk, and after from each other consecutively by intermediate generation.

Now it is manifest the Parliamentary is not this primary form. Not only before parliaments proper, which are comparatively recent, but even before the senatorial assemblies of antiquity, public speaking must have been long and much employed as a means of swaying, of governing, the barbarian multitudes of those petty and pure democracies which are observed to form the primitive condition of social existence. But this is plainly the Popular form of oratory; or, in our author's expression, Eloquence in the open air. The historical indication is affirmed conclusively by remarking, according to the principle above laid down, the supreme comprehension of this form. In fact, while the others are conversant each with a special description of persons and subjects, the Popular orator addresses himself to the community at large and to all its common concerns. Popular eloquence then includes the Parliamentary, with every other. It is, therefore, the scientific standard wherewith to compare and to co-ordinate them.

We are aware that this is at variance with Aristotle's celebrated division, adopted by most subsequent writers down to the present day, into Deliberative, Demonstrative, and Judicial. But there is at least no contradiction. And there is, we conceive, a preference; in which consists the novelty as well as importance of the method we seek to recommend. That philosopher takes for his principle the *end* proposed by the speaker; which he determines to be in all possible cases either utility, or eulogy, or justice—corresponding to the three branches of his division respectively. Now it is first to be remarked, that the very considerations thus designed to distinguish, are constantly commixed. There is, perhaps, no complete discourse which does not counsel, commend, and interpret, more or less. It is but the predominance of some

one of the objects which can be assumed to characterize the class. Nor would the confusion be a fair objection to Aristotle; for it was and is inevitable from the ancient point of view. We would only point out the inconvenience, the error, of having laid the division on an absolute basis, upon an *à priori* conception, which, recognizing no relation of order, no gradation of series, between the parts or divisions, rendered it impossible to arrive at the natural, and thus a permanent, analysis of the subject.

Now if we proceed by the opposite method, this analysis will present itself spontaneously by simply observing the facts. A division upon this principle, made at whatever age of the art, would always hold good as far as it went. It would even be capable of embracing and embodying all posterior developments by aid of mere explanation or extension. Aristotle's, on the contrary—though executed with all his peculiar grasp and profundity, and complete in fact as a chart of the forms of oratory then evolved—is now come, for the reason indicated, to be not only insufficient, but radically unfit, we have seen, for the purpose of a classification. To which of his three descriptions, for example, could be referred the eloquence of the Press, or of the Pulpit; neither of which, not even the former, strictly speaking, had yet existed? To which, even the Parliamentary, the Official, or in short any of the other forms as conceived at the present day? Hence the evident necessity of a new arrangement, if only for the more adequate and precise conception of the subject in its actual state.

But there is a still more important object, the oversight of which, while inevitable in Aristotle, is unpardonable in our day. The ancient analyzed, divided for simplification solely. A modern may and should make his divisions subsidiary to science. It is an advantage over the great Stagyrite which is due to time; not assuredly to mortal talent. In here availing ourselves of it, and, for the rest, without disputing that the *ends* of all eloquence are such in fact as stated, the classification we propose will proceed upon the *means*—apparently the proper criteria in the matter of an art which is nothing else, as distinct from science, than a system of means: Nam est ars *in actu* posita, non *in effectu*, says Quinctilian. It was accordingly the variation of the means of effecting *persuasion*—that virtual and ultimate end of all eloquence—which gave rise to the diversity of forms above enumerated. As to the scale of these forms, it may, with obvious convenience and perhaps sufficient accuracy for this cursory explication, be regulated according to the compound ratio of the proportion of the whole community addressed and the extent of the interests agitated, effectually or potentially. Not, however, that this

is the philosophical criterion. But it offers, in palpable shape, a general coincidence with the real laws of the case, which would be far too long and abstruse to discuss on this occasion. Thus, for instance, Popular Eloquence, which we have ventured to place at the head of the series, is concerned with all the individuals and all the interests of community. The Eloquence of the Press is co-extensive as to the subjects; but is restricted with respect to the persons to those who can *read*. And the other forms are found to correspond with limitations similar, but successively more special, as we may aftermore particularly apportion.

But though the expediency, the necessity, of this new arrangement be now clear, the superiority of order asserted for the popular orator will be recognized with reluctance; not only because of its variance with preceding theories, but especially of its opposition to prevailing prejudices. And as this is, moreover, a point respecting which we have ventured to differ with the author himself whom we comment, and upon which depends fundamentally the scientific value of the whole discussion, we proceed to place it beyond all possible doubt, by the accumulated evidence of principle, authority, and example.

In fact, most of our readers will probably be startled to hear the highest rank of oratory assigned to a department which, on the contrary, is ordinarily rated the lowest; and which we have ourselves alledged to be the primitive form of the art. Yet no objection would be made to the established graduation in the kindred art of poetry; which is, however, perfectly analogous in both the particulars of priority and precedence. The first place, it is well known, is accorded to the Epic form. But the Epic is the *popular* form of poetry, as its etymology attests and its nature evinces. It answers to the active curiosity, the lively imagination, the love of wonder, of adventure, of story-telling, which characterize the popular as well as the primitive intellect. Accordingly it constitutes, in our own day, the literature of the multitude, the staple of the circulating library under its modern transformation—the Novel. The readers are of similar stamp; our merchants' clerks and millinery misses being essentially at par with the intellectual aristocracy of the properly epic ages. This relative inferiority of the class thus addressed explains its apparent degradation from the epopee to the romance; which, indeed, is accounted a new species of literature, entirely unknown to the ancients, who are recognized, however, as having originated all the other forms: and if the Epic has not lost its traditional dignity in name, it is owing to this very misapprehension of the origin and nature of the Novel. The truth is,

there has been neither creation nor degradation;—there has been natural development. The Novel is the Epic without its ancient rhythm, rendered unnecessary to memory by the use of writing; and without its later rhyme, rendered in turn superfluous by the improved harmony of prose composition. Any further difference lies but in the resources of the art and the talent of the writers;—both things extraneous (however important) to the art itself.

These remarks are alike applicable to the Popular species of oratory. In fact, the modern position of both the forms, epical and oratorical, at the foot of the scale, is simply the result of the progressive evolution of the human mind, and the consequent division of its labors; which, ranking the higher in proportion to the advancement in intellectual refinement, the later seem to the common eye to leave the ruder forms and earlier pursuits as it were behind, and thus below them. This is the principle of dignity which seems to have misled our author to place the Parliamentary form of eloquence foremost. It is that, indeed, upon which society itself has been constructed;—apparently because the thing was necessary to the process of its civilization. Nevertheless, we affirm that it has created, and tends to keep the most preposterous confusion and error in most of our speculations, especially upon social subjects. This opinion is supported, at this moment, by the most impressive demonstration which the world has hitherto witnessed of a philosophical principle; we mean, of course, the moral catastrophe that has revolutionized within a few days the social condition of entire Europe. For, what means this revolution? Clearly, the very inversion in the political order of things, which we contend for in the scientific;—the elevation of the people from the foot to the summit of the social scale; the substitution of the natural order of dignity for a dignity of convention. But whatever may be thought of the doctrine in its application to society, it cannot be too soon adopted in the reorganization and advancement of the other and simpler sciences.

It need scarce be added that by this natural "dignity" of the Popular form of oratory, we understand dignity in a scientific sense; which will be best explained by resuming a moment our poetic analogy. We have seen that the epic is at once the primitive and the popular form of literature, and have said that it had been rightly assigned the first and fundamental place on the scale. Its right was this; miscellaneous in its materials as fortuitous in its design, at the same time narrative, descriptive, dramatic, it is pregnant, so to speak, with all the subsequent developments and modifications of the poetic art. Hence, in fact, the Greek tradition, that the poems

ascribed to Homer have been the fountain, or (as even the temperate Quinctilian hyperbolizes it) the "ocean," from which proceeded all the other descriptions of literature. Nor of literature only, including oratory; but, moreover, of philosophy and the arts of design: and in fact the Jupiter of Phidias was an avowed transcript from the Iliad. The Greek tradition rests, like most traditions, upon a philosophic truth; it being true that these old epics, (for the rest indigenous to all countries,) must have involved the specific forms of tragedy, comedy, ode, epistle, madrigal, as well as history, romance, &c., in a state of germ. But just in this way did popular eloquence, too, engender the other forms of the art; which might be regarded as sectional views of it in varied perspective. And (to conclude with a new argument) it is in the "vantage ground" afforded by this superior comprehensiveness, concentration, and variety of the fundamental forms, both of oratory and poetry, that we should seek the solution of that long-agitated question, as to why there have been no orators or epists in modern times to equal, and so few to approach, the ancients.

To this philosophical exposition might be added the evidence of authority, as high, too, and early as Cicero, who makes (*de Oratore*) Crassus, the organ of his own sentiments, contend for the pre-eminence of the Popular orator. This is also, notwithstanding his classification to the contrary, a favorite position of de Cormenin; though he rather implies it in his critical judgments than ventures to advance it in terms. He does, however, assert it in effect, and with emphasis, in making O'Connell—whom he seems to have appreciated in this quality alone—as the "first, perhaps the only, *orator* of modern times."* Nor is the testimony of these writers the less, but rather the more, of weight, that in neither does the doctrine appear to have risen above the vagueness or the empiricism of a sentiment. The Roman would, indeed, refer it to the principle of the greatest effect; which is rather a different statement than a solution of the question. The Frenchman, in whom it is, we fear, a good deal the effect of his democratic predilections, inclines to vindicate the opinion by declamation rather than argument or analysis. Nor has there been offered, hitherto, it is believed, a justification of the paradox upon any distinctly rational grounds.

It is not, further, to confirm superfluously, but to illustrate practically, the position, that we close the proof with an example. Our author has furnished us one of the aptest in O'Connell. As his high estimate of this great man (now no more) seems to stand

* Vide chap i, toward the end.

established philosophically by the preceding discussion, so does the instance afford, in turn, the most complete and characteristic exemplification of the doctrine: for if O'Connell be indeed the first of modern orators, it is because of his acknowledged pre-eminence in popular eloquence; but popular eloquence, as above explained, not as apprehended commonly, or as classed by de Cormenin. He is the most popular, because the most universal; the most versatile of orators, because the most capable of excelling, at the same time, in the several other sorts of eloquence—into each of which a man thus endowed, by virtue of his command of the common source, may freely pass as he pleases, or, at least, as he practices. Hence those prodigious effects of O'Connell's oratory; effects supposed to have passed away with the grand eloquence of antiquity, when the art had still enjoyed the undivided energy of its resources. Hence the high estimate uniformly conceived of him throughout the continent of Europe, where British orators, even the most celebrated, at home and here, remain, as such, almost unknown. Hence, again, we think the diversity of opinion respecting his oratorical merits, which prevails (aside from prejudice) among the critics of his own country, where he has been so often seen to triumph in divers of the departments.

This potential universality of the oratorical genius truly popular will be elucidated more precisely by inverting the observation. Thus, other modern orators have excelled in but one or few of the forms of eloquence, and none in the Popular. The great parliamentary speakers, Pitt and Fox, for example, would hardly have won an ephemeral distinction through the press. On the contrary, one of the most brilliant and eloquent of living writers—we mean the author of the treatise before us—is well known to make a very different, that is to say a very indifferent, figure in his place in the Chamber of Deputies. It is of common remark in England, that advocates of eminence more generally sink than sustain their reputation in Parliament. And, inversely, there have been those, who, failing to make themselves a subsistence at the bar, have afterward made, moreover, a name in political or in pulpit eloquence. But none of either of the classes has shone in popular oratory; not even the greatest geniuses of the pulpit, especially conversant, one would suppose, with the susceptibilities of a popular auditory. They appear to have been incapable of even playing its paltry imitation, the popu*lace* orator; to which, though the lowest grade of the scale, the transition is perhaps shortest, being the very step which is said to separate the ridiculous from the sublime. Of this our readers will, many of them, remember a

domestic instance in Mr. Webster; whose eloquence—eminently senatorial, but too austere for the bar, too grave, perhaps, (*Anglicè*, heavy) for the press, too argumentative for the pulpit—on condescending once or twice to assume the part of comedy, is said to have fallen into the broadest farce.* In range of this self-adaptation, Mr. Clay seems much his superior; which explains, no doubt, the popular sentiment of the country, that he is also the greater orator: a conformity with our principle of rank, which is all the more remarkable, that the superiority (if it exist) is certainly in faculty rather than fact. Yet Mr. Clay's oratorical name rests, we believe, upon his parliamentary efforts. But, not to dwell on the incapacity (for this popular species) of orators of limited versatility and talent, even Burke himself—Burke, at once the most accomplished writer, advocate, and parliamentary orator of his age—what effect may we fancy he could produce upon a "monster meeting" of his peasant countrymen, if, in addressing an assembly of the British aristocracy, he failed to find himself a fitter implement to "cut blocks" with than a razor—according to the exquisite simile of Goldsmith.

It is worthy of remark, too, that this various eminence of Burke, extending to three at least of the forms of eloquence, was in the proportion, as it was, no doubt, in consequence, of the comparative superiority of his genius. This correlation would be found, we think, to hold universally, and might render the terms a compendious test and measure of one another. As a remarkable illustration, we might mention Mirabeau; who, in intellect as in versatility, was equal to almost every part. That wonderful man could, without professional preparation, without previous practice, plead with equal and unsurpassed ability his own private cause at the bar, and the cause of his country in the tribune. He was, moreover, not less powerful upon paper; and this whether the theme were the principles of government, or the pangs of love: rivaling, in the one, the eloquent wisdom of Turgot, and the vigorous concision of Montesquieu; blending, in the other, all the fire of Rousseau with much of the facility of Voltaire. In the Military form of oratory he would have transcended Napoleon himself. Preacher, too, he would have made, we have no doubt, and of the first order, had he not wanted a single qualification. It was not religion, as the reader would probably anticipate; this he could have dispensed with with a much better grace than many of the preachers who do not find it at all essential. It was that odor of

* The allusion is to his Patchogue speech; and another occasion we are unable at the moment to designate.

moral holiness which is (so to say) an unction of the heart—a thing too innate, too ethereal, to be counterfeited by acting, however consummate. Yet with all this versatility, Mirabeau would not—perhaps chiefly for the cause just noted—have succeeded eminently in the assemblies, because not long in the confidence, of the people. He was not the *vir bonus*, which the wise ancients made the basis of the orator.

Thus, then, all the eminent orators of modern times appear to have been *special*, more or less; and we have further observed their degree of generality, of variety, to be proportionate to their genius. O'Connell alone has combined all, or nearly all, the forms of eloquence, and all, though not each, in superior degree. Beginning with a forensic reputation the first of the time, it was predicted, upon the common observation, that he would swamp it on entering Parliament. He only, however, raised it a parliamentary rival. He might have been the equal of Bossuet in pulpit oratory; in the most difficult, the dogmatic, ingredient of which he, in fact, has frequently proved himself an adept no less redoubtable. Mark the purity and correctness of diction, the vigorous terseness of expression, the varied freshness of illustration, with which, in his off-hand letters and addresses to the people, he reiterates the same truths, the same facts, the same arguments, for the thousandth time, and you will have no doubt that he would have equally excelled as writer, with only larger leisure and a more auspicious theme. But as popular haranguer it was that he transcended himself as well as all others: a natural consequence, and thus a new confirmation of the resourceful supremacy assigned by our principle of classification to this fundamental or generic form of eloquence.

And, in this circumstance, in this superiority, may be found a reason why O'Connell is not allowed the eminence we have seen he evidently could have commanded, if he had had no occasion to exercise it, in the other and subordinate modes of the oratorical lyre. He who is master in many things is apt to be denied excellence in any; or if signally conspicuous for a particular faculty, the concession is commonly made him at the expense of all the rest—such are the inadvertence and envy of mankind! But besides this general cause, there is one quite peculiar to the Irish orator. He seems to have never sought this description of mastery; never to have given a thought to his oratory or himself in presence of an object and an audience. While, perhaps, no half dozen men together, of his own or any time, have made so many public addresses of all sorts, it may be affirmed with confidence that not one of the

millions who have ever listened to him—whether the occasion were great or small, whether introducing in the House of Commons his bill for Catholic emancipation, or haranguing, as often, from his coach-roof the multitude on his route—not an auditor, we say, has it ever so much as occurred to, that a sentiment or sentence of that steady stream of eloquence, full of meaning as of music, had been present before the instant of utterance to the orator's mind. Nor had it been in fact; he never made what is called a "set" speech. And if it be considered that the great oratorical reputations of antiquity, and even those of modern times, notwithstanding the constant affectation of the contrary, rest upon premeditation, all of them, long and short, (for even Mirabeau's thunderbolts were elaborately forged,) and most of them upon written lucubration—when this is considered, we shall better appreciate the immense allowance, or rather addition, which should be made to the actual and admitted merits of O'Connell in the comparison.

This utter self-abnegation, this inexhaustible spontaneity, this ever-varying vein of naturalness, is manifest to even the *reader* of his speeches. Hence it is that they are often said to have no characteristic except a want of character: for it is the artificial that, in most things, arrests the common mind at all, or even the cultivated at first view. The natural is a matter of course:—a secret well known, a mine well worked by our "transcendentalists," both of thought and style. Rightly interpreted, such criticism of the speeches of O'Connell means but this, that they have no affectation, no mannerism—those unfailing symptoms of an incomplete intellect. He never struts with the stateliness, rather theatrical, of Chatham. He does not disport upon the gorgeously plumed pinions of a metaphysical fancy, like Burke. Nor, like his other countrymen, Shiel, do you find him luxuriating in the elaborated finery of diction, and the undulating cadence of period, of an academical professor of eloquence. Yet he has all the force of style of the first, the breadth of doctrine of the second, and the purity, nay, the poetry too, of the third, accounted the most fastidious and flowery of living orators. But in O'Connell it is all so unstudied, so unostentatious, so aptly occasional, that these qualities veil their salience in the modesty of the garb, and merge their individuality in the harmony of the combination: thus disconcerting the critics of their stereotype criteria for characterizing his style, and classing his oratory. But their real difficulty lies in the *generic* nature which we have assigned to this oratory, and which logicians teach us is a thing to be designated, not by *definition*,

but by description or enumeration. This will also explain and excuse the length at which we have had to dwell on this our "example" of popular eloquence, and which may be denied to be a likeness of the man, without derogation from its sole object as an illustration of the doctrine. In fine, then, O'Connell as he is, according to circumstances, parliamentarian, pleader, preacher, demagogue, in the course of one and the same discourse; so does he naturally pass through all the varieties and all the grades of style, from the "fulminations" of Demosthenes down to the buffooneries of Cleon. With the difference, however, that as the modern orator, in the loftiest of his flights, never smells of the lamp, so not Aristophanes himself could have caricatured him with effect before a public he was in the habit of addressing: another property of true genius, of which alone it is the prerogative to preserve its dignity uncompromised amid actions and accommodations in themselves ludicrous or even degrading.

To the same source, and the highest order of it, should also, we now perceive, be attributed the variety in question, or (if you will) the confusion, of all the accredited demarkations of oratorical style and form. Nor is the observation peculiar to genius of this or any other kind in particular. In every art, it is ordinarily but men of secondary powers and downward who are observed to square themselves nicely to regulated divisions, to fall of themselves (so to say) into the pre-established categories. Witness the works of the master minds of the world. How are we to classify the "Comedy Divine" of Dante? How the Faust of Goethe? How the Childe Harold of Byron? Not in the Aristotelian epic; not in the "regular" drama; not in the dull descriptive, surely: and yet in nothing else so speciously. Shakspeare, too, has he not disregarded, not only all the "unities" of the piece, but even the *unity* of the art itself—huddling together, under the title of tragedy, history, geography, theology, comedy, and frequently farce, in all the mazes of artistic confusion, but of natural occurrence? And we have seen that the orators most eminent in general abilities combined a proportional diversity of the styles and the species of eloquence, until the diapason of the scale appeared to close in O'Connell.

Nay, more; is not such the very definition of genius itself? For in what consists its distinctive energy but in the greater multiplicity of its points of sensible contact with the various life of the community, nation, or age, upon which it acts? It is *itself* only because its roots lie the deepest in the soil of the popular sympathies; because, while springing from a basis broad as the cotemporary

civilization, it ascends along its sides through the several gradations of social development, until it surmounts the summit, and surveys the whole fabric at a glance. Now, from this universal communion of sentiment arises, quite spontaneously, its faculty of multiform manifestation. It may be likened to those tropical mountains whose steep acclivities, impregnated by the varieties of temperature which embrace them as they ascend, offer an accumulation of all the diversities of vegetable life which would be distributed over a hemisphere according to the ordinary arrangement of geography and climate. How aptly does this conception of genius expose the common and contradictory notion which seems to regard it as necessarily consisting in something extraneous and even foreign to the popular mind! Whereas, the difference does not lie, we see, in the *kind* of faculty or feeling—which were, in fact, a mental monstrosity of the description we call madness; nor even in the *degree* of some special faculty or feeling—which is properly termed talent or idiosyncracy. It consists simply in the larger *combination* of the common attributes of humanity, and the command conferred by the possession of the most fundamental of them especially, over the subordinate modifications and the corresponding effects: in like manner, as physical beauty the most exquisite, the most ideal, of art, is but a collection of the scattered lineaments the most common in nature.*

* We are happy to find, since writing the text, the theory there hazarded respecting the nature of genius, borne out by the following remarks upon one of its most characteristic examples, Dante. We quote from a critic of the first European eminence for philosophy as well as taste:—

"Ce n'est pas un esprit inculte qui grandit sans communication avec ses contemporains. Non, il *en est l'expression la plus energique*, la *plus haute*; mais il *en est l'expression fidèle*. Il *domine* la *foule, et il en* est *sorti*; il a les idées de *tous les hommes* de *son temps; c'est leur langue* qu' il *parle*; il s' élève à je ne sais quelle sublimité simple, inconnue avant lui; mais il *la prend* dans *l'usage populaire*, et il ne s' en saisit point par une inspiration aveugle, instinctive; il la prend *avec science, avec choix;* c' est une genie studieux autant que createur; il innove et il imite."—*Villemain. Litterature du Moyen Age.*

This last observation respecting the erudition and art of Dante may seem, by the way, to be somewhat in conflict with our previous allusion to his great poem, as presenting a deviation from the ancient standard of the epopee. But we were well aware how sedulous a student he was of the philosophical principles of that standard; so sedulous, indeed, as not to have forgotten Aristotle and Horace in his prologue, or even in the very title—of which the Greek acceptation it is, in fact, that occasions the apparent eccentricity. What we, therefore, meant, was not, that Dante did not "imitate" Homer, and Virgil, and nature: this were the originality of John Bunyan and his congenial bio-

We should, at the same time, beware of mistaking for this prolific variety of natural genius—for the versatility of Leibnitz, of Bacon, of Voltaire, of Cicero—that artificial versatility of the encyclopedia, which is its too current counterfeit, in this age of what we are wont to term the *march* of intellect, but which were fitter denominated, perhaps, its predatory excursion. The latter is no better than a sort of philosophical harlequinism; in which my Lord Brougham might be instanced as one of the most successful performers. Universality of this sort is produced by superficial transformation, by mere change of costume and part; that of the other by a creation, which, like the nature it works upon, while ever-varying, is ever one. In fine, as the latter is thought to be well characterized by the epithet many-*sided*, so may the other, by a like metaphor, be termed many-*faced*. It is a thing of grimace, a mere mimic.

Somewhat thus it is, perhaps, that our author should have at once established the generic principle of his series, and vindicated his opinion respecting the oratorical supremacy of O'Connell—an opinion to most people paradoxical, and really untenable upon any other grounds, we think, than the conclusions of the foregoing discussion.

These conclusions are, in sum, that the Popular form of eloquence (as above explained and characterized) is the legitimate, the scientific standard, in the comparative analysis of the subject and the classification of its species.

The Parliamentary species, however—it is but just to the author to repeat—would occupy, in fact, this precedence according to the prevailing notion; founded, as we have shown, upon a conventional or adventitious order of dignity. It is also to be allowed, that the representative system of our modern governments, together with the newspaper press, has come, by appropriating or dividing the higher objects of Popular oratory to dissemble a good deal its nature and degrade its rank. But the effect being probably transient, (as might be proved were this the place,) it was not only essential to the present purpose of philosophical classification, but also important with a view to eventual, and perhaps approaching, practice, to re-establish it upon the principle of *scientific* dignity.

With this principle, the rest of the author's arrangement seems to be sufficiently in accordance. The classes descend in pretty

grapher, Robert Southey. But he imitated them, not after the fashion of Blackmore, or Klopstock, or even Voltaire; he imitated them rather as Milton imitated them and *him*; just as he "innovated" not quite in the manner of the author of "Thalaba" and "Madoc."

regular gradation of speciality. We have, however, to place next to the popular form the eloquence of the Press, as of more general and various application still than the Parliamentary; it is coextensive in the subjects, but limited in its proper public to such only as can *read*, whereas the popular orator may address himself to all who can *hear:* there are other conditions and distinctions which are admirably pointed out in the author's chapter on this head. After the Press it is that we should range the Parliamentary species; which, apart from the instrumental extension derived from both the preceding, is directly accessible to a much narrower audience, while, at the same time, conversant about the largest interests of the largest number of the community more completely than any of the following, and therefore inferior, forms. Even the province of the Pulpit orator must rate as much more special. With respect to subject, he is confined to a single description of interests—though of the highest order, no doubt; his concerns are with a kingdom which is not of this world: nor does his auditory extend effectually beyond the few who are duly sensible they have souls to save. The Forensic form follows; being restricted to the fewer still who have suits to litigate. Last, and least of all, comes the Military species; which is addressed but to a particular class, and, moreover, is applicable at all but upon occasions now happily rare; nor do we recommend it to very diligent consideration, as this barbarous abuse of an art bestowed to save and to civilize, will soon, we trust, be only remembered with something of the ludicrous compassion wherewith we contemplate the not dissimilar ravings of a maniac. As to the two remaining species of the author's catalogue, and which he terms Official and Popular (rather popu*lace*) eloquence—meaning addresses, anniversary orations, political letters, executive messages, &c., &c.—they must, we think, be treated as the naturalists do those equivocal existences that fluctuate on the common confines of the three kingdoms of nature—mere zoophytes and algæ, too devoid of all form and character for any conceivable classification.

Having thus constituted, or rectified, the scientific series of eloquence, it would also be important to dwell on the mode of conducting the comparison. But this would require a volume. And however invaluable such a volume, duly executed, would assuredly prove toward the vigorous renovation of our systems of oratory and criticism, it will be remembered the present purpose was simply to signalize the original character and the important bearings of the author's performance, not to repair what we may deem its defects, much less to supply its imperfections.

For the rest it were unfair, perhaps, to call imperfection or defect reproachfully, that a subject of this nature, of any nature indeed, has not been exhausted at a first essay. Aside from the absolute impossibility, has not an author the same right to choose his limits, as is accorded him to choose his subject? We are entitled to exact but that he begin with the beginning, and do not seek to mislead as to the extent of his progress by exaggerated pretension. De Cormenin can stand these tests. So silent is he of pretension, that this rather uncommon reserve might well be ascribed to an unconsciousness (not so *verisimilar*, however, as that of his countrymen, Mons. Jourdan) of the theoretical importance of his own plan. Respecting the legitimate order of treatment, he seems to us equally unexceptionable.

This order, whatever the subject, consists of three stages, each whereof is amply distinct for an independent department of labor: First, the established and abusive form of the art or institution is to be exposed and discredited—the old structure is to be demolished. Next, the laws of its proper phenomena are to be ascertained and co-ordinated by the comparative method above explained, which operates in the way of furnishing a serial analysis of the subject, when a system, on the inductive basis of the facts—in other words, the materials for the new edifice are to be procured and prepared. Thirdly, comes the plan, the part of the architect, the reorganization of the system. Of these processes, the last, or reconstructive, the *Livre des Orateurs* does not touch: the second, or preparative process, is the analytic object of Book First. But the primary and purely *critical* operation, which occupies especially the other books into which this part of the treatise is divided, seems that which the sarcastic Timon, from temperament, perhaps, as much as principle, has prosecuted principally throughout. This is the second peculiarity alluded to at the outset; and which distinguishes by the character, as the method does by the plan, a work which would thence be more fitly entitled, "A Critical and Comparative Treatise on Eloquence."

We have indicated the claims of the publication but in its scientific point of view. The explication will not be lost, we trust, upon any among us who take a philosophical interest in the advancement of public education. Nor entirely, perchance, upon the larger class who compile "Elements," &c., for our colleges and academies. For its many other and more popular attractions, we refer the reader to the original work.

There is, however, another feature of this celebrated work more novel still than either of those described, and perhaps exceeding

them, moreover, in practical importance and general interest. It is the office and art of the Reporter, and the province of what our language has yet no name for more specific than "Letter-writing," together with the destination of the latter as a new and most important form of the literature of journalism. To this we may devote an article on some future occasion. O.

Granting, for the time, the principle of the classification given in the above able article, we have a word to say upon its application to the *Eloquence of the Pulpit*.

"That not only the maxims, but the grounds, of a pure morality—and the sublimest truths of the divine unity and attributes, which a Plato found it hard to learn, and deemed it still more difficult to reveal; that *these* should have become the almost hereditary property of childhood and poverty, the hovel and the workshop; that even to the unlettered they sound as *commonplace*—is a phenomenon which must withhold all but minds of the most vulgar cast from undervaluing the services of the pulpit and the reading-desk."—*Coleridge, Biog. Lit.*, p. 135.

The writer of the above article is not of this vulgar herd. It is not the value of the pulpit to society that he depreciates, but its *actual* position in the scale of eloquence. Its actual, we say, not its possible, position—for of this the writer does not speak. But we think him at fault in his estimate of the themes that fall within the scope of the preacher; for on this point he says, decidedly, that the pulpit "is confined to a single description of interests—though of the highest order, no doubt; his concerns are with a kingdom not of this world." Is the very loftiness and grandeur of the preacher's topics to fetter him in thought or speech? Who among ancient or modern men so eloquent as Plato? And yet what were his greatest themes but these very topics, or, indeed, mere adumbrations of them?

Yet we admit, and cannot help admitting, that the same thoughts cannot be presented in the same forms, for a succession of ages, and still preserve their charm and freshness. And that preaching which confines itself to an exposition of doctrines (properly so called—meaning thereby the views of men, or schools, or sects, upon the facts and thoughts of Revelation) can never be eloquent, in the proper sense of the word. A man may be a good lecturer on these subjects, but an *orator* in nowise. But take all these, and add to them all the topics which the revelation of a future life furnishes, and which, tremendous as they are, yet lose their "force to move" from incessant repetition—add all these together, and still you have but a small part of the preacher's scope. A "single description of interests" indeed? Are there any interests among men worth spending the breath of oratory upon

which morality has nothing to do with? And if morality has to do with them, so has the preacher. Where there is Right or Wrong, for the individual or for society, there is work for the preacher. Whatever is *duty*, he should enforce; all that man can do, or should do, with or for his fellow, in virtue of the law of God, *he* should know, and should be prompt to speak of. He should go before the people to *lead* them in all earnest progress, in all right deeds, in all strifes against evil and labors for good. And if so, who should be the orator, if not he?

Yet we are aware—a most bitter conviction it is—that the leadership of the present age is not with the pulpit. In some sections of our country it is—but we speak of our country as a whole, and indeed of Christendom at large. Instead of being the leader, the preacher is too often the follower. Instead of forming public opinion, he stands to watch it, and makes his utterances accordingly, or not at all. Instead of striving, in the spirit of his Master, to "destroy the works of the devil" in this world, he seems to think it his mission to let the monstrous fabrics of the architect of evil stand in all their strength, if he can only lead a few people along their walls and over their battlements into a better world. The apostles, reformers, and evangelists of the church, in all ages, have acted differently—Pauls, Luthers, Wesleys, Whitefields; and so must the preachers of Christendom generally, if they would make their labors "mighty to the pulling down of strongholds."

But a second element enters into the calculation, according to the definition in the above article, namely, the *number of persons* concerned as the auditory. Swift calls the pulpit a "wooden machine for the use of those orators who desire to talk much without interruption." The writer of our article would probably justify the sarcasm as applicable to the real condition of the pulpit generally of the present day. And with sadness, again, we admit that it has too much point to be pleasant. But it is not so *always* nor *everywhere*. Imagine a man of pure life and warm heart, with a single, earnest aim, to promote the kingdom of Christ on earth (which means nothing else than to hasten the overthrow of evil or the progress of good)—imagine such a man, not shut up in Swift's box with a few hundred sleepy citizens in well-cushioned pews before him, but out in the free air, on a wide common, by the wayside, or in a grove, with hundreds, or thousands, or tens of thousands, before him and around him, with free range of all the topics that concern man's moral well-doing in this life and his well-being in the next,—and who, if not he, is the "Popular Orator," even according to our correspondent's own criterion?

The "Eloquence of the Pulpit" is an inadequate title for this wider range, which should be called the "Eloquence of Preaching"—if a phrase be needed to distinguish it from other forms of popular oratory. And with our conviction that the preacher is (or ought to be) concerned, as a speaker, with greater.

more pressing, and more varied, interests than any other speaker—and that his utterances need not to be confined to a pulpit or to a "select few," but may be, and should be, utterances for the masses, we cannot but think that in a classification embracing as its criteria not only what is, but what has been and may be, the Eloquence of Preaching ought to hold as high a place in dignity as any other. If the question were to be decided by a collection of *facts* made to-day, and in our country, we hazard little in saying that the elements of popular oratory will be found to as great a degree among the four thousand Methodist preachers of America, as among any other four thousand speaking men.—Ed.

Art. IV.—*The Revolutions of* 1848.

The year 1848 will stand an *annus mirabilis* in the eventful history of this eventful century. In looking at the astounding series of changes that has marked the first half of the year—the convulsions, overturnings, and shiftings of scene, that have taken place in as many days as it once required years to bring about—we feel the ordinary language of historical narration to be tame and inadequate, and find a fit expression of these amazing scenes only in the mystic symbols and magnificent imagery of the prophecies. We seem to stand with the rapt exile of Patmos, and see the angel pour out his vial on the air: "And there were voices, and thunders, and lightnings; and there was a great earthquake, such as was not since men were upon the earth, so mighty an earthquake, and so great." We stand, with Daniel, on the shore of that dark and stormy sea, which heaved and surged before him, the grand and terrific symbol of human history; and see ascend from the abyss the four mighty monarchies of the earth; the eagle pinions and lion port of Babylon; the rugged and cruel energy of the Persian bear; the leopard spring and winged swiftness of Greece; and the stern, iron-teethed, terrible majesty of Rome—the nameless and gigantic monster, before whose appalling aspect the seer trembles with apprehension and awe. We then, with him, look far along the waste that stretches onward, the troubled current of history, and see a new and wonderful scene unfolding to view: "And I beheld, until *the thrones were cast down*, and the ancient of days did sit; the judgment was set, and the books were opened."

Whether the events now passing in Europe were in the eye of prophecy when these passages were written, we do not deem it necessary to inquire at length; but this much is clear,

that never since these prophecies were uttered have there been scenes better delineated by this language than those to which we refer. Never have there been more wonderful voices, thunderings, lightnings, and earthquakes, by whose upheaving and shaking force thrones were cast down, the ancient and massive embankments of authority swept away, and the holders of power brought in judgment before God to receive the reward due to their works.

In a few months France has cast down her throne; and, amid the fierce elements of anarchy, is endeavoring to establish a republic. Prussia, while retaining, for the present, the shadow of a throne, has admitted the most radical changes into her political constitution; changes which, if not arrested in their tendency, must alter the entire form of her institutions within a very short time. The minor states of Germany are rapidly undergoing similar transformations. Even Italy, the grave of the mighty dead, has shown signs of a new life; a Rienzi has appeared in the Vatican; the high priest of a triple despotism has become the apostle of democracy; and amid the infinite babble of the many-headed and many-tongued people, a Saul is seen among the prophets. And Austria, the very home of despotic power, has been shaken to its centre; Metternich and the Jesuits obliged to flee from the wrath of an incensed people; while its Italian dependencies are hurling defiance in its teeth, and arming for mortal combat. While Poland, unhappy, ill-fated Poland, the victim of every struggle, the victor in none, is making another frenzied effort to break the yoke so unjustly fastened upon her by the *un*holy alliance.

The ecclesiastical changes, however, are still more marvelous. A few months ago, and perfect liberty of conscience found scarce a resting place on the continent. Now, France, Prussia, Bohemia, Bavaria, Lombardy, Sardinia, and even Austria and Rome, enjoy a liberty such as the most sanguine feared was centuries in the distance. The most perfect religious equality has been *granted* in Wirtemberg, Saxony, Baden, and a number of the smaller states of Germany; while the most radical changes in ecclesiastical polity have been demanded, and will most likely be conceded, in Hanover, Brunswick, and other parts of the great German confederation. The bond that held Austria to the see of Rome is weakening every day; and the union of church and state all over Europe seems threatened with a violent and speedy dissolution. And in some respects, more remarkable than all, by one unanimous outburst of popular feeling, the Jesuits have been driven

from France, Austria, Bavaria, Switzerland, Naples, Belgium, and even Rome.

As the natural result of these convulsions, we hear of wars and rumors of wars. Prussia, Hanover, and Brunswick, are in arms against Denmark; Piedmont, Tuscany, and Lombardy, against Austria; Naples against Sicily; Russia gathering an avalanche to pour down in crushing ruin on unfortunate Poland; while France, with her ancient thirst for war and glory, is arming her eager battalions either against themselves or the world. A few months, and Europe may be wrapped in the whirlwind and flame of universal war.

A state of things like this may well cause the thoughtful Christian to open his Bible, and ask, What does all this mean? Whither does it tend? What is likely to be its effect on the cause of Christ? And what is the duty of the American nation, and the American church, in this crisis of the world? Some of these inquiries we shall endeavor in part to answer, by presenting some considerations suggested by these great revolutions.

I. What are the *causes* of so wide and general an agitation among the nations of Europe?

It would be impossible within our prescribed limits to attempt a detail of all the causes that have produced these convulsions, for they vary according to the civil, ecclesiastical, commercial, and industrial arrangements, of each convulsed nation. But the primary cause, the *causa causans*, is essentially the same in all, and it is mainly this cause that it is important for us to know or discuss at present. This original cause is, that these governments have violated the law imposed by God on their existence, failed to discharge the great trust committed to their charge, and are now coming up in judgment before him, to suffer the penalty they have incurred.

God made man to be free, and to use that freedom in serving him, and seeking his own happiness. To direct him in this work, he gave him a revealed religion; and to protect him in attaining these great ends of his being, he instituted human governments. The great truth that lies at the foundation of all government is, that it is intended for the welfare of the governed, and not for the selfish and ambitious aims of the governors.

Before the coming of Christ these truths were embodied in the Hebrew commonwealth, but were imperfectly comprehended by the world at large. They were, however, taught in their fullest form by the great Teacher, who proclaimed *liberty*, in unfettering

man's moral powers; *equality*, in teaching him to do as he would be done by; and *fraternity*, in commanding him to love all men as his brethren. These magic words, that have been at once the spell to conjure, and the watchword to direct, this fearful storm, have been stolen from the gospel of Jesus Christ, wrenched from their natural position as ends in the economy of redemption, and used as means by a fanatical and infidel philosophy. But their power lies in the fact that they contain the great truths that Christ has planted deep in the heart of the world, as the exponents that indicate at once the rights of the ruled, and the duties of the ruler, according to the great principles of Christianity.

It was then to be expected that when systems of government arose, professedly Christian in their character, they should embody these principles in their institutions and laws. But was this the fact? Instead of fostering a pure religion that would elevate and enlighten the people, they allied themselves with bloated hierarchies, in a foul conspiracy against the holiest rights of man; prostituting the sacred institutions of religion into fetters of slavery, and sacrilegiously bringing the awful sanctions of eternity to inculcate the *jus divinum* of kings to command, and the duty of subjects in tame submission to obey. Instead of caring for the people, and training them to a higher development of their nature, they used them as mere soulless machines, to advance the splendor of thrones, and pander to the debauchery of courts; regarding them as base-born varlets, made to toil and sweat on the field of labor in peace, and to bleed and die on the field of battle in war. *Delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.* Instead of giving fair scope to energy and talent in every walk of life, they established huge aristocracies and hereditary nobilities, that ground down the low-born laborer, and consumed his hard toil in extravagance and dissipation; that lorded it with insolent arrogance over men on whom God Almighty had stamped the patent of his own nobility; that inclosed in magnificent parks and spacious hunting grounds the bountiful earth, which the Creator had given to support his creatures; and that refused to relax a single monopoly, or yield a single prescription, although beggary, disease, and starvation, were sweeping away thousands. Instead of permitting men to worship God in freedom of conscience, they forced them to bow in degrading submission to the authority of the great harlot, refused them permission to read the word of life, demanded conformity to frivolous and idolatrous ceremonies, and reddened their statute-books with persecuting edicts, in enforcing which the fairest provinces of Europe were drenched with blood. A very super-

ficial acquaintance with the history of European governments since the downfall of the Roman empire will convince us that this statement is not overdrawn.

It was not until the Reformation that this course of things received a decided check. Then, although darkness had brooded over the earth, yet,

> "From out that midnight, so dark and deep,
> A voice cried, 'Ho! awaken!'
> And the sleepers aroused themselves from sleep,
> And the thrones of the earth were shaken."

This was the first sun-burst of the light that for centuries had been shrouded in cloistered obscurity. Men were amazed at the revelations that were made. They saw that they had been mocked with words; and at the trumpet-tones of the reformers, they awaked to a new sense of their rights, and the great *tiers etat* first arose above the surface of human history. Here we find the real origin of these fearful agitations. The Reformation unfolded the rights of the people and the powers of governments, and men demanded the recognition of these rights and powers by those who ruled over them. Had these righteous demands been granted, and the principles of the Reformation been embodied in every nation, these convulsions would have been saved. Had the kingdoms of Europe been wise to know the time of their visitation, and honestly accepted the boon that God thus offered them, they had this day been smiling in prosperity instead of heaving with revolution.

But they rejected the offer, and are now suffering the penalty of that rejection. Emperors, kings, nobles, and priests, saw that this movement must be destroyed, or it would destroy their usurped authority. Hence they assailed it by Bartholomew massacres, persecuting laws, religious wars, and all the dire ingenuity of kingcraft and priestcraft, and to an extent too great for the peace of the world. The movement was arrested; but arrested at a fearful price in the future. In the checking of the Reformation in France, Germany, and Italy, the dragon's teeth were sown, the fell harvest of which has now begun.

The volcano, however, was only closed, not quenched. It soon burst forth in the English revolutions of 1648 and 1688, and the American revolution of 1776, all of which were the direct results of the great revolution of the sixteenth century, the development and advance of the Reformation.

Scarcely had the echoes of the last cannon at Yorktown died away, when that fire, that for two hundred and fifty years kings

and cardinals had sought to quench, flamed out anew in France; and the same streets that had flowed with the blood of Huguenot and Jansenist, began to flow with the blood of Bourbon, and priest, and noble. The hellish seed that Popery and tyranny had sown, brought forth the hellish harvest of the first revolution. But the ambition of a single man arrested this movement, when it threatened to shake down every throne; and by persuading the people that this man of destiny was also the man of despotism, and by promising them free constitutions and permanent securities for their liberties, the nations were combined against this great revolution, and crushed it on the field of Waterloo. But no sooner was the danger past when these promises were forgotten; the old maxims of tyranny were resuscitated, and the solemn guaranties of crowned heads to their subjects treated as idle wind. Hence, it has burst forth anew. The same fountain that was unsealed by the Reformation, and since that time pent up by dams and dykes of affrighted power, has again broken all its barriers, and swept away thrones and dominions in the fury of its flow. The governments of Europe were recreant to the trust committed to them; betrayed the liberties of the people, instead of establishing them; and now they are coming up before God in judgment.

Had all Europe embodied the principles of the Reformation, even as fully as England, and especially as Scotland, we would not now have seen her thrones rocking to their fall. This is clearly manifest from the fact that the countries most fearfully convulsed are those in which the Reformation was arrested; while the portions of England, and other partially Protestant countries that share in this agitation, are precisely those which, like Ireland and the dense masses of manufacturing England, have never been fully pervaded with the spirit of the reformed religion. Can any man deem this fact to be accidental? Can any man explain the geographical march of these convulsions on any other hypothesis? Had one half the care that has been bestowed in enslaving the people been used in enlightening them; had the labor employed in putting men to death been used in fitting them for life; had one tithe of the treasure expended in forts, navies, armies, and wars, that left nothing behind them but misery, and crime, and glory, been employed in founding schools and churches, building canals and railroads, and promoting the social, moral, and religious welfare of the masses, who will dare to say that this state of convulsion might not have been saved, and Europe been as great in her peaceful might, as she is now in her quaking ruin? This, however, was too tame and inglorious a

mode of procedure for kings and nobles to adopt. They rolled on in luxury, heeding not the curses of famished men and the groans of dying children; they neglected the dark masses of ignorance and vice that were rising higher and higher around the walls of the palace; they despised the frowning and despairing visages that glared upon them from every side; they girdled themselves with cannon and bayonets, and supposed themselves safe from the wrathful curse of God and the avenging arms of the people; until Heaven was weary of this scene of pride and oppression, and the hour of doom was struck. The command went forth from Him that sitteth upon the circle of the earth, "Let the thrones be cast down;" and this command was heard in every secret place where the elements of commotion were brooding, and they came forth at this war-cry of the tempest. It echoed along the ancient and blood-stained streets of Paris; and the tocsin sounded, the barricades went up, and the throne of Orleans fell amid the crash and terror of revolution. It sounded along the castled shores of the Rhine, and the old Teutonic spirit of liberty awaked at its call. It passed the Alps, and rung along the storied plains of Italy, and Antichrist himself quailed and trembled at its voice. Whence this strange might in this movement? Because the voice of God speaks through the wild and savage cry of a neglected people, avenging fearfully the neglects and oppressions of the past. Because the handwriting has appeared in the banqueting house of kingly pride, "MENE, TEKEL UPHARSIN,—'WEIGHED IN THE BALANCES, AND FOUND WANTING;' wanting in obedience to God; in fidelity to the people; in promises, oaths, and engagements; and the power you have held shall be given to another. You have neglected the masses intrusted to you, until they have sunk to the ignorance of brutes and the wickedness of fiends; and now they shall rise upon you in this brutal and fiendish state, and make terrible retaliation."

It will not be supposed that in referring these convulsions thus to the power of God, and the reflex influence of Christianity, we sanction, or even look with hope on the immediate agencies employed. Heaven may be the cause of a judgment, while hell is its instrument; God may decree the sentence, while devils and devilish men may execute it. So it has been here. Christianity was neglected by the governments, while some of its teachings concerning liberty, fraternity, and equality, were learned by the people; but seeing only enough of its light to dazzle, and receiving only enough of its inspiration to intoxicate, they followed the voice of infidelity and socialism, which stole the livery of Heaven to do

the work of hell. It is this mingling of elements in the causes of these revolutions that has produced the mingling of good and evil that presents itself so prominently in their results.

II. We naturally inquire next, What is the *course* which these great events are likely to take?

And here the keenest sagacity must be greatly at fault. Most intelligent minds, acquainted with the condition of Europe, have been anticipating convulsions like these; but few were prepared for the suddenness and rapidity with which they have occurred. Hence, it will be with extreme caution that any one will attempt to cast the horoscope of the future.

But there are some facts that appear with tolerable distinctness in surveying the ground. The first of these is, that the immediate result of these convulsions, in most instances, must be great confusion, and, in many cases, anarchy and bloodshed.

The careful observer of national progress is aware that a free government must be the outgrowth of the people who adopt it, in order to be permanent. It demands, in those who possess it, a high degree of intelligence, and a corresponding degree of virtue, to keep it in prosperous existence. It is, then, with gloomy apprehensions for the future that we recollect the ignorance, the brutal degradation, the vice, and the savage fierceness of the masses in many of the nations that have begun to upheave their political institutions. It is with more than horror that we read the sickening details of the carnage, the hate, the cruelty, the fiend-like ferocity, that were evinced in the fearful struggles of the 23d, 24th, and 25th of June, in Paris; for we see in this horrible depravity a mournful indication of the extreme degradation of the mass of the people. The very necessity that caused these convulsions reveals a state of things incompatible with the existence of a free government. These nations are nearing that dreadful point in national history when they cannot bear free institutions, and will not bear any others.

And to increase these difficulties, the great questions of labor and social organization are raised, and blindly forced upon the governments, under circumstances the most absolutely hostile to their discussion and settlement. Socialism, that giant evil of our age, whose baleful influence we are but beginning to feel, proposes to break up all existing forms in society, and concentrate them into great aggregations, with about the same practical wisdom that it would convert all the trees of an orchard into one huge apple-tree; or decree that all men should have the same strength

in their arms, or stand the same number of inches in their shoes. Ignorance and poverty, deluded by this false philosophy, are clamorous for such a leveling of all distinctions in society as shall place them on the top. Idleness and vice demand such regulations of labor as shall enable them to enjoy the maximum of pay with the minimum of work; and reach the millennium of their hopes, which is, to live well, have plenty to drink, and nothing to do; and attain their *beau ideal* of liberty, which is, to do as one pleases, and be paid for it. When to this we add the influences of infidelity, Popery, and error in every form; the countless factions and parties that exist, and struggle for mastery; and the desperation of ruined wealth and rank; we have brought together elements of the most hopeless confusion. Were there any great principle of cohesion to fuse these masses into one; any faith in religion or politics around which they could rally; we might hope for a speedier settlement of these agitations. But there is none; for rottenness has reached the very core, and paralyzed society at its heart. Hence, party will be arrayed against party, and nation against nation, in fierce collision, each struggling for the mastery, until these conflicting elements are neutralized or destroyed. It may be that God, having allowed kings to demonstrate that they cannot rule without serving him, may permit the same mournful demonstration to be made by the people, before He shall come whose right it is to reign.

Another result which we have reason to dread in the progress of these revolutions is, the final introduction of religion into these discussions in an exasperated form of dispute. It has been said that Pius IX. will be the last of the popes. Whether this is true or not, it is certain that the change and fallibility he has exhibited; the concessions he has been forced to make against Austria, to his most important ally; and the fact, that in spite of every effort to protect them, he has been compelled to yield to the indignant voice of the people of Rome, demanding the expulsion of the Jesuits; must greatly weaken the moral power of the pope, and break the spell of influence that Rome has exerted on the mind of Europe. It is true that Popery has received severe shocks before, and the Jesuits have been repeatedly banished from different kingdoms in Europe; but in the present case, the shock has come from the pope himself, and the Jesuits have been banished by the united voice of the people, instead of the decrees of a court, as they were in the former cases. All the indications of the times seem to show that the *prestige* of Popery is gone, and that as a great spiritual despotism, her rule has been hopelessly broken. It is not to be

supposed, however, that so powerful and unscrupulous an institution will fall without a desperate struggle to retain its influence; or that so Protean a form of falsehood will not endeavor to adapt itself to this new state of things, and dexterously grasp its direction.

The great extension of religious freedom, and the probable separation of church and state in many countries, will open a new field for the contest of truth and error, religion and irreligion; the immediate effect of which is likely to be fierce and formidable collision. It is not to be concealed that in many parts of Europe while there is an intense hostility to Popery, there is an equally intense hatred of evangelical religion. Hence, in some of the outbreaks in Prussia, the first houses destroyed were those of the religious orders; the next those of the Methodists (Pietists.) Should Popery, under these circumstances, have the address to unite with infidelity in an attempt to crush evangelical piety, the result may be fearful struggles before the truth shall prevail. Whether these are to be the scenes that have loomed up in dark and terrible grandeur to the eye of prophecy in every age of the past—the scenes whose prophetic pictures are drawn in fire and blood, and of which it is predicted that there shall be a time of trouble such as has not been since the world began—we know not; but it is with a tinge of sadness that we look into the future, as we recollect that the blessing is pronounced on him only "that waiteth and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days;" and that, according to the most rational view of these predictions, the appointed time of termination is yet to come.

Another more cheering indication is, that the reign of absolute, despotic power, in Europe, is drawing to a close. When the flying Louis Philippe exclaimed, "I am the last king of France," he indicated, perhaps with an almost prophetic sagacity, the tendency of this whole movement. The fountains of the great deep that have now been broken up, lie beyond the line and plummet of political scheming, and cannot wholly be dried up. The shadow on the dial-plate of the world, that has pointed to the sunset hour of oppression, shall never go backward. The knell of tyranny has tolled, and its birth-peal can never be repeated. There may be occasional triumphs of usurped power, but they will be brief; for the stream of human history, having taken such a cataract's plunge, shall never turn back in its flow except in momentary recoil from the violence of the shock. *Labitur et labetur* is inscribed on this rushing and onward tide.

It is a fact not destitute of comforting instruction, that the last forms of civil power that Daniel saw lording it over the

earth, were the ten kingdoms whose thrones are now falling; and the next form that is seen through the smoke and thunder of revolution is the avenging form of the Ancient of days; and the next announcement, that the kingdom, and the greatness of the kingdom, under the whole heaven, is given to the saints of the most high God! Dan. vii, 27. Hence, while we look to the future with sadness and apprehension, we look also with hope; for we have no doubt that in the end this movement will terminate in favor of human liberty and human happiness.

III. We ask then with eagerness, What is the *cure* for this diseased and convulsed state of the world?

We answer, in the words of the memorable reply to the question what France needs? She needs, and Europe needs, a religion;—a religion to enlighten the mind, soften the heart, teach men to obey lawful authority, to love one another, to be industrious, and to discharge their personal and relative duties in the fear of God, and the light of eternity. Socialism, infidelity, philosophy, and politics, will each apply their nostrums of quackery, and each in turn demonstrate, first, each other's folly, and then their own. There may be temporary calms over this wild scene of confusion, but the only permanent calm to be expected shall come when the voice of Him that stilled the stormy Genesaret shall say, "Peace, be still." And this calm shall come upon the troubled earth; for although we anticipate yet wilder storms and a fiercer commotion, yet beyond the troubled waters appears the bright bow of promise, spanning the green and smiling scenes of the future.

God has been providing agencies for this exigency during many a generation. The blood of the Huguenot has stained every river of France that rolls to the ocean, and his ashes are garnered on every hill; and his faith shall yet be found in the fervent hearts of his descendants, developing to the world, perhaps, a Napoleon of piety. The Waldenses for six hundred years have been shut up in their mountain crags, schooled by solitude and suffering, and sustained by the high presentiment, that they were thus strangely preserved for such a time as this; and that, at the call of God, a beacon flame was to stream up from the snowy summits of Piedmont that should be a guiding light to the world. And the spirit of Luther, Zwingle, and Farel, shall yet awake amid the rocks and snows of the Alps, along the bright waters of Geneva, and over the level plains of the father-land, in a reformation, which there will be no Henry to betray, and no Charles to crush. It will be when the Ancient of days has done his strange work; when the spirit

of the martyrs lives again in the church; and the visions of the bard, and the words of the prophet, shall meet in the bright and magnificent heritage of the future.

In the cause, therefore, of these agitations do we discover their cure; in the remedy that produces convulsions and retchings so violent in the body of society, do we see the hopeful indications that this remedy is purging the world of its maladies, and preparing it to receive once more the image of God.

IV. Another question of great interest that arises here is, *What is the relation of America* to these revolutions?

We reply, It is twofold, a relation of *cause*, and one of *connection*. There can be no doubt but that the successful issue of the great experiment of free government made in America has had a most powerful influence on the old world. It is a matter of history, that one of the proximate causes that produced the first French revolution, was the return of the French soldiers who had engaged in the war of independence, and who went home to diffuse among their own countrymen the spirit and principles they had imbibed during that memorable struggle. Since that time, in spite of every effort of kings and cabinets to keep out the light, in spite of censorships, prohibitions, paid libels and misrepresentations, the truth has gone forth, that the freest nation on earth was rapidly becoming the greatest; and that on the beautiful plains that stretch along the Alleghanies, and skirt the vast Mississippi, were lands teeming with riches that offered an asylum to the oppressed and poor of every land. Every ship that unfurled her canvass to the breeze, to carry our varied products to a foreign port; every American sailor, merchant, and traveler; every letter that the immigrant sent back to the friends he had left; and every American book and paper that found its way to Europe; carried some new information in regard to our land. And the thrilling incident that occurred during the recent *emeute* in Venice, in reference to the American consul, and the American flag, shows that the heart of the humblest laborer throbs with a strange emotion, and his eye dilates with an unwonted gladness, as he gazes on a representative of "the great republic" that stretches its mighty empire toward the setting sun. At this moment we believe that the words, "I am an American," would cluster around the stranger a more affectionate interest, and throw over him a broader shield of protection, than ever did the memorable claim, "I am a Roman citizen." Hence, whether for good or evil, it cannot be doubted, that by the successful working of our institutions; by the glory and greatness that

yearly brighten about our name; by the wonderful advances we are making in arts, science, commerce, manufactures, and, we regret to say, in arms; we have done much indirectly, and perhaps much directly, to induce the nations of Europe to grasp at similar blessings, and, by the effort to do so, to cause the convulsions that now agitate the world.

There is, however, a relation of connection as well as of cause, that our country holds to these events, in virtue of which their reaction on us may be as powerful as our action on them.

The most immediate effect will be on our commercial relations; but as this does not fall wholly within our present scope, we pass it with the remark, that although the immediate result will be derangement and pressure, yet the ultimate influence must be to attract capital, enterprise, and talent, seeking a safer investment here than they can find abroad; to develop our unlimited resources, and open new markets for our varied productions. The remote influence of these events on our commercial relations must be salutary. Another effect must be, to cast upon our shores an immense heterogeneous population, great part of which must be ignorant, vicious, and priest-ridden. The crash of social order in Europe must drive great numbers to seek a home in the rich and inviting lands of the west, where they can live and labor for themselves and their families in peace. Some of these will be turbulent and restless spirits, fleeing from the dangers that their crimes have provoked; others, profoundly ignorant of every principle of liberty, political and religious; others, disciples of Fourierism, Rationalism, and infidelity; and others, the blind followers of the man of sin. Each of these separate classes will be a nucleus of attraction, and centre of influence, which must either modify the elements that surround it, or be modified by them in return. Hence we must not only have enough of "the salt of the earth" to season and preserve the natural increase of our population, but must have enough in addition to restrain the lawless demagogue who comes to enact the scenes of Paris, Naples, or Vienna, in our great cities; enough to enlighten the ignorant, whose only notion of liberty is to do as they please, and live without work; and enough to hold in abeyance the malign influence of an infidel philosophy, a corrupt morality, and a false religion. And this influence must be active and immediate, for these elements must begin to tell in a short time at the ballot box—be made the object of calculation, bid, and purchase, by selfish and designing politicians, and thus be felt in our halls of legislation and our executive chambers. We do not say that this is to be an element of ruin in our

national destiny, but we do alledge that the flow of so vast and turbid a stream into the current of our national life must tinge and affect it, to an extent that it is now difficult to calculate.

Another danger that is increased by these events, is, that of internal convulsion and external war. As our territory swells in extent and increases in population, its interests grow in number and importance. Causes, which, when operating in narrower bounds and a sparser population, were trifling, now, by the wider range they take, become vastly more important. Interests that were once like the little fountain that a child's hand might direct, swell until they become a torrent which defies all control. It cannot be concealed that causes are growing yearly in exasperation that threaten, without the utmost prudence and forbearance, to rend the bonds that hold us together as a nation, and array section against section in mutual opposition, if not mutual hate and bloodshed. As this mass of foreign population is precipitated upon our shores, frenzied with crude and agrarian notions of freedom, incapable of comprehending the checks and balances of our political system, and ignorant of its history and workings, it may be easy for the designing demagogue, by some specious *ad captandum* watchword, to arouse them to a blind crusade against some evil, real or imaginary, and plunge the government into difficulties from which we cannot come forth without injury.

The danger of external war must also be greatly increased by the complication of international relations, and the suspension of international guaranties, that must follow a state of confusion like the present.

These considerations clearly show that we stand, as a nation, in a most intricate and perilous relation of connection to the European revolutions of 1848.

V. We turn finally to some of the *duties* devolving on the American nation and American church in this crisis of the world.

It is more than ever our duty to seek that righteousness which we are told exalts a nation, and avoid that sin which is the reproach and ruin of any people. The ordinary considerations by which this position is made manifest, drawn from the word of God and right reason, receive powerful corroboration in the events under discussion. Why have these ancient and powerful thrones thus fallen before the upheaving swell of an indignant people? Why are these convulsions racking every old and cherished institution to its base? It is because these thrones and institutions were not supported by righteousness. The turrets and domes of regal power

were gilded and adorned with the splendor of art and the glitter of arms—the blazonry of a titled nobility, and the pomp of a haughty aristocracy: but the deep foundations were neglected; vice and ignorance were allowed to eat out the sturdy virtues of the nation, until it was incapable of bearing the weight of the superincumbent throne, with its gorgeous and massive relics of feudal pride; and in an unexpected hour, the earth yawned, the foundations of society were shivered, and from the lurid smoke and flame of this gap arose the horrid form of revolution, with its gorgon head and gory locks; at whose fearful aspect throne, nobility, and all, were swallowed up in the abyss. If these strong and iron-bound governments were incapable of enduring the swelling tide of vice, can we? If the time is coming when the judgment shall sit, and when sin, that once was passed by unvisited, shall bring on its perpetrators swift destruction, is it safe for us to allow the growth of so perilous an element in our midst? And if God has given us the means of conferring a richer blessing on the world than has ever been given to king or noble, shall we not for the neglect of these means be called to a sterner reckoning? It becomes us, then, to be timely wise, and when the judgments of God are abroad in the earth to learn righteousness.

It is also the duty of this nation, at every hazard, to seek for peace, and sedulously avoid all hostility with other nations. War is at all times and to any nation a horrible evil. As a mere question of political economy it is most unwise, unless inevitable, to withdraw thousands of men from the production of capital, and engage them in its consumption and destruction; to unfit them for the pursuits of peaceful industry, and either leave them mangled corpses on the field of battle, or return them with mutilated bodies and tainted morals to burden and corrupt society. But when we remember the horrors of the battle-field, the siege, the sack, the ravaged country, the burned villages, the deserted farms, the sorrow that enters a thousand houses and pierces the hearts of childless, bereaved, and orphaned sufferers; and remember the hundreds of souls hurried unprepared into the presence of God; it is a most fiendish and horrible thing. In a republic, however, young and growing, with a scattered population and millions of unoccupied acres, it is suicidal and insane. Every man that falls in battle is a league of barrenness added to her soil. There is no country on earth that has more to fear and more to lose by war, than our own. And the more brilliant the success, and the more glorious the victory, the more fatal the peril. A military republic, by the law of national existence, must glide rapidly into a military

despotism. A free and brave people will naturally be a victorious people; but if they be enticed by the glare and splendor of military glory to chase the phantom, they may seize it, but it will be at the price of their ruin. The light of glory may illumine their path, but they shall find too late that the hour of military splendor in a republic may be a gorgeous hour, but only because it is the red hour of the setting sun. The history of Athens, Sparta, Carthage, Rome, Venice, and France, utter but one voice on this point—it is the warning voice of ruin.

O! if the treasure, talent, and blood, that even this young and comparatively peaceful republic has poured out at the greedy shrine of war, had been spent in clearing our forests, improving our harbors, extending our internal improvements, building schools and colleges, and developing the magnificent heritage that God has given us, the wildest dreams of the poet had been rendered tame and common-place ere this, by the actual verity of our greatness.

It is also our duty to remove every cause of evil, and every source of danger, from our midst, with honest perseverance. Neither our limits nor our purpose will permit us to enter into a minute specification of these things, as we would likely in doing so trench on debateable grounds. But there are certain sources of evil and danger about which there can be no doubt or discussion. Popular ignorance and popular depravity are the two formidable evils which we have to dread, and the causes of which we must seek to remove. A degraded press, pandering to the lowest passions of the lowest class of society; a corrupt literature, if that trash can be termed by so reputable a name, that is dealing out damnation by driblets, and retailing the very wickedness of hell by the penny-worth; and an organized system of temptations to sabbath-breaking, intemperance, gambling, and licentiousness; are among the agencies which we must seek to counteract. In a word, whatever degrades any part of the population, and prevents them from rising in the scale of social existence; whatever inflames party spirit, and sectional jealousy; whatever tends to array class against class in social hostility, and excite heart-burnings between labor and capital; should be sedulously removed, or counteracted in its influence, before the evil becomes gigantic and unmanageable. We must destroy some of these evils or they will destroy us.

The last duty we mention is, that of extending the influence of Christianity throughout the world, and especially throughout those parts of the world that are now convulsed.

If it is to Christianity that we owe our national greatness, and if one condition of either receiving or retaining that Christianity is

the extension of its influence to others, both which positions we believe susceptible of the amplest proof, we owe it to ourselves to engage in this work. But if nothing, except this form of religion, can calm these agitations and restore order, we owe it to Europe to return the benefits we have received from her in the form of a pure religion as well as a rational liberty. In addition to this, however, this national obligation seems to be distinctly taught in the word of God. When Isaiah was looking forward to the times on which we are probably verging, he declared, (lx, 12,) "The nation and the kingdom that will not serve thee shall utterly perish, yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted." This language is addressed to the church. It cannot mean actual subservience of the civil to the ecclesiastical power, for this is one of the most monstrous claims of Antichrist. It must refer to some such co-operation with the church in her great work, as nations can make in aiding to spread the gospel.

We would not rashly interpret the providence of God, but we cannot but recollect, in connection with this thought, that the only nation in Europe that has firmly resisted these shocks, is the Protestant missionary nation of England; and the throne that first fell before the storm, was that whose escutcheon was stained by the persecution of Protestant missions in the South Sea Islands, and on the Gaboon in Africa; and the other nations that have reeled most heavily, and are threatened most menacingly by this storm, are the Papal powers of Austria and Italy, which have set themselves most steadily heretofore, in the Society for Propagating the Faith, to retard the advance of the truth, and promote the extension of error. Is it fanciful to alledge that there is some significance in these facts? Is it anything more than a recognition of the great fact predicted by Daniel, in the relations of the stone cut out without hands, to every other form of authority, and the kingdom that the God of heaven would set up, to all other kingdoms? If not, then comes a voice of warning to us mingled with the crash of falling thrones and dissolving dynasties. It admonishes us, that if we also are faithless to our high trust; if, instead of extending the influence of the truth, we shall be found treading in the bloody path of subjugation and conquest; if, instead of preparing the way for the Ancient of days, we are found struggling side by side with the nations on whom the judgment shall sit; the decree shall go forth against us, and just as high toward heaven as we have been exalted in our privileges, so deep toward hell shall we be thrust down in our punishment. Our destiny can be no ordinary one, however it may be unfolded; we shall either be gigantic in the might

of our spreading greatness, or gigantic in the magnitude of our desolating ruin; and on this generation, perhaps, mainly depends the determination of the alternative.

Let each individual, however, honestly do his duty; and though our pride should be brought low and our starry greatness dimmed; though the grass should grow in the crevices of our ruined capitol, yet he shall "see the King in his beauty, and behold the land afar off;" and be gathered to that city where the shock of revolution is never felt, but where peace and purity enfold "the rest that remaineth for the people of God." But we fondly hope that all may gird themselves for their high duties, so that "the wall of fire and munition of rocks" shall ever surround us; and when Europe shall have been swept by the wave of desolating change, the tree that our fathers planted in prayer and faith, and watered with tears and blood, shall be green in its enduring beauty, and rich in its generous fruitage, and our children's children shall come and sit beneath its shade, with none to molest them or make them afraid.

Art. V.—1. *The Witness of the Spirit. A Treatise on the Evidence of the Believer's Adoption.* By Daniel Walton, Author of "The Mature Christian." New-York: Lane & Tippett, 1847.

2. *The Witness of the Spirit with our Spirit. Illustrated from the Eighth Chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans; and the Heresies of Montanus, Pelagius, &c., &c. In Eight Sermons, preached before the University of Oxford, in* 1846, *at the Lecture founded by the late Rev. John Bampton, M. A., Canon of Salisbury.* By Rev. Augustus Short, M. A., Vicar of Ravensthorpe, Northamptonshire, Rural Dean, and late Student of Christ Church. Oxford: J. U. Parker. London: F. & J. Rivington. 1846.

3. *Edwards' Treatise on the Religious Affections.*

4. *Wesley's Sermons*, and *Watson's Theological Institutes.*

It is a most important question to the Christian whether an assurance of his adoption into the divine family, of his acceptance with God, can be gained in this life. The attainableness of this assurance has been maintained, with more or less distinctness, in all ages of the church. This was one of the prominent doctrines characterizing the great revival of religion, a century ago, under the ministry of the Wesleys and Whitefield. "John Wesley was

early led," says his biographer, "to believe that it was the privilege of a real Christian to have a comfortable persuasion of being in a state of salvation, through the influence of the Holy Spirit." In modern times, the doctrine of the direct witness of the Spirit may be considered as peculiar to the Wesleyans and the Moravians, as churches; yet it is distinctly stated and enforced by distinguished theologians of different countries, periods, and denominations. Quotations, establishing this point, might be made from the Homilies of the Church of England, the writings of Bishop Hooper, Witsius, Bishop Andrews, Hooker, Bishop Brownrigg, Bishop Pearson, Archbishop Usher, Dr. Barrow, Dr. Owen Caryll, Dr. S. Clark, Dr. Watts, and many others.

Calvin says that "our mind of itself, independently of the preceding testimony of the Spirit, could not produce this persuasion, that we are the sons of God." Matthew Poole says: "The Spirit of adoption doth, by an inward and secret suggestion, raise our hearts to this persuasion, that God is our Father, and we are his children. This is not the testimony of the graces and operations of the Spirit, but of the Spirit itself."

Mr. Walton presents the Wesleyan view of this doctrine. His work will not render a perusal of the writings of Wesley and Watson unnecessary to those who desire a full understanding of the subject; yet its simplicity and clearness, and the good judgment manifested in the selection of its arguments and illustrations, will render it more acceptable to general readers than any other on the same subject. The writer is clear, calm, and dispassionate; there is nothing imaginative or fanatical in his work. We think much good may be done by its general circulation.

Mr. Short's views differ from Mr. Walton's. He admits that "*effects* may be wrought in the Christian of full age, so real and palpable, so varied yet harmonious, as to satisfy every devout inquirer that he is indeed 'a habitation of God, through the Spirit,' no less so than the saints who first trusted in Christ; even though supernatural gifts were poured upon them, in addition."—P. 6. But he maintains that this assurance can only be gained by a careful consideration of the tests Scripture supplies, and comparison between these and the character of the believer.

Mr. Short thinks he has avoided the errors on this subject which have resulted from "a skeptical or Pelagian tone of mind," on the one hand; and "the unreal familiarity with which fanatics are wont to speak of spiritual influences, on the other."

That his design, and the extent of his inquiry, may be understood, he remarks:—

"It may be thought, perhaps, that we are about to enter upon a field of inquiry of which the limits are unknown, and the landmarks capricious, if not imaginary. It were so indeed, if we were about to describe the whole life of grace; its downward progress, as well as its noonday brightness. Ours is a less arduous task. For what mortal eye can discern the first quickening into life of the immortal spirit? Who can mark where the viewless breeze arises, or testify the moment when the hue of health first revisits the pale cheek of sickness? The witness of the Spirit, which we would reverently survey, is not as manifested in the *infancy* of grace; but when the believer is in 'understanding a man,' and 'renewed in knowledge, after the image of Him that created him.' . . . . Our inquiry is into the evidences and marks of the presence of the Holy Ghost in those of 'full age,' . . . . who, by reason of use, have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil."—P. 4.

The first six lectures are founded on Rom. viii, 4, 5, 9, 13, 15, 16, 23. The subjects introduced are ably treated; several passages of Scripture are happily illustrated. There are some beautiful and forcible passages, and the sentiments generally are such as those who believe in the direct witness of the Spirit would urge full as strongly as the author, considering them as the fruits of the Spirit, which must be manifested by all who have its witness of adoption. In these lectures he declares that the fruits of the Spirit constitute the witness of adoption, and that there is no other; but this last point he does not attempt to prove: yet on this point rests nearly the whole controversy between the Wesleyans and the writers of whom Mr. Short may be considered a representative.

In these lectures some of the favorite doctrines of the Church of England are strongly set forth, and the defection from them manifested by many is classed among the most grievous and dangerous errors of the times.

In the seventh lecture the author gives a sketch of the heresies of Macedonius and Pelagius, relative to the personality and the agency of the Comforter—the heresies emanating from unbelief. His strictures on these leaders, and their followers of the present day, although severe, yet in the main are just.

The eighth lecture is devoted to the consideration of "those fanatical sects which, from the second century to the present day, by their unfounded pretensions to extraordinary illumination and gifts of the Spirit, have not ceased to trouble the church." Toward this class the author is more merciful; "in their case, the unforgiven sin does not seem to be committed." He "arraigns rather their want of wisdom than substantial piety." He has "more sympathy for the enthusiast than the heretic."—Pp. 153, 154. He believes that ecclesiastical history presents the recurrence of like errors;

hence he goes back to the second century, and finds their author to be the "fanatic Montanus."

"An analysis of the feelings and principles which lay at the bottom of his proceedings resolves them into two; namely, his own personal illumination by the Holy Spirit, and his authority as a teacher specially called of God to reform his church. . . . . In these principles, then, we seem to find the type of religious fanaticism in all ages; and the prolific sources of schism. As reason abused leads to heresy, so the doctrine of grace is perverted to division."—Pp. 162, 163.

The author passes rapidly through ecclesiastical history. He finds the principles of Montanus at work in the great African schism of the Donatists, exhibited also by the Cathari and the Waldenses. He pauses awhile at the Reformation, where he finds Montanism again revived, and censures strongly the Puritans, who, "like the Montanists of old, first disregarded, and then superseded, episcopacy. Freeing themselves also from the restraints of a liturgy, they boldly pretended to the immediate influence of the Spirit in congregational prayer."—Pp. 165, 166.

He asserts that they claimed special impulses and extraordinary illuminations of the Spirit; first,—

"For authenticating and interpreting the Holy Scriptures; thus superseding the prophetical office of the church, as the witness and keeper of holy writ, and its authority in controversies of faith. Secondly, for the personal assurance of salvation and comfort of the Christian; and, lastly, for his readiness in prayer, so that the words and petitions might assume the authority of immediate inspiration."—P. 166.

The author continues: "Calvin indeed, in his Institutes, had laid the foundation for these extravagant claims." He mentions as Calvin's opinions, "that holy writ bears upon its face the character of truth as palpably as any white or black substance its color." "The Bible is the witness, not only of its own truthfulness and inspiration, but also to the authenticity and genuineness of its moral parts." He states that Calvin believed *all* the books of Holy Scripture to be far superior to all others; but that Luther doubted the inspiration both of the Apocalypse and the Epistle of St. James; and then draws the following conclusion:—

"Hence it becomes evident, that if we discard the testimony of the church to the canon of Scripture, or weaken that testimony by casting off its ancient episcopal succession, we are thrown upon the restless ocean of rationalist speculation, and drift at the mercy of every wind of opinion."—P. 167.

Truly, there must be a wonderful conservative influence in the

belief of the dogma of episcopal succession; and very dangerous must it be to renounce it! We are bound to consider Mr. Short sincere, otherwise we should consider his argument an ironical one from some opposer of his much-cherished doctrine.

He asserts that the Puritans maintained the doctrine of the direct witness of the Spirit. In other respects he does them injustice. It is true they had not much respect for "episcopal succession:" they claimed the right of private judgment, in matters of faith and practice; to lay aside forms of prayer, and to ask for those things of which they felt the need, and to express their desires to God in their own language. While the propriety of these claims will be denied by high churchmen, we presume they will be sanctioned by the members generally of the only *true church.*

The last specimen of the alledged recurrence of Montanism, which the author thinks it behooves him to notice, is announced as "the outbreak of enthusiasm in the early phenomena and principles of Methodism."

The saying, that "no one suddenly becomes base," has passed into a proverb. So our author represents that J. Wesley, "nurtured in the bosom of the church," did not at once become a heretic. The sentiments he at first proclaimed were comparatively harmless. But, says Mr. Short,—

"Not satisfied with such statements, he [Mr. Wesley] soon began to preach *instantaneous conversion,* and then identified it with the new birth of the Spirit. . . . . At an early period also of the Methodist association the *schismatic* tendency of the supposed outpouring of the Spirit began to show itself. . . . . It soon began to be asserted among the brotherhood, that *any* Christian might preach and *administer the sacraments;* and that Christianity knew nothing of any distinct *order* of men as spiritual church officers. Long and firm was the resistance made by J. Wesley to this attempt. Time, however, modified his views, or enfeebled his judgment. It rarely, if ever, happens that one false step in religion is retrieved. In his eighty-second year he was induced to complete his work of schism, by ordaining three missionaries for America. Here, then, was at length reproduced the likeness of Montanism. The apostolic authority of episcopacy was infringed, or superseded, even as ecstatic illumination had before been claimed; so perpetually does human nature move in the same vicious circle, and the unruliness of man's heart display itself in one unvarying form."—Pp. 168–170.

The misrepresentations of the author must be evident to any one who has even a slight acquaintance with the facts. The insinuation that it was the imbecility of age that led Wesley to ordain three missionaries for America is unworthy of attention. It is,

moreover, hardly necessary to say that the resemblance between Methodism and Montanism is wholly imaginary.

He very summarily disposes of the views of large bodies of Christians who differ from him: assuming that the doctrines of his own church alone are Scriptural, he declares all opposing doctrines to be erroneous, a mere recurrence of Montanism, Donatism, or some other *ism* of ancient times. We are far from believing that the power of devising evil and error was exhausted in the first ages of the church: while the errors of former times occasionally reappear, every age gives origin to errors peculiar to itself. It is not probable that age enfeebled the judgment of Mr. Short in the interval between his writing his first lectures and the last; but we think it not improbable that bigotry and prejudice, not fully aroused till he came to the eighth lecture, produced the same effect. His reasoning, in his last lecture, is unworthy of one who has given evidence of possessing ability to do so much better. All opinions that lead to a separation from the church, that is, the Church of England, he considers as erroneous and fanatical. His strictures on the Puritans, Calvin, and Wesley, all relate to the alledged schismatic tendency of their opinions.

His argument amounts to this: the Church of England is the only true church; and whatever leads to a separation from it is schismatical and fanatical.

The views of the Puritans, Calvin, and Wesley, &c., relative to the operations and gifts of the Holy Spirit, led to such a result.

Therefore these views are schismatical and fanatical.

We shall not pause to discuss the merits of this argument, feeling assured that no ordinary exhibition of its absurdity, or of the truth, will have any effect on those who perceive any validity in it.

A careful examination of the doctrine of the direct witness of the Spirit, as held by Methodists, will convince the candid inquirer that most that has been written against it has no reference to the doctrine as held by them. All that Shepherd, Edwards, Dwight, Chalmers, James, Short, &c., urge relative to the importance of the believer's having a consciousness that he possesses the fruits of the Spirit; and also against the fanaticism and folly of pretending to be children of God while these fruits are wanting; is as forcibly urged by them. They believe in a twofold witness. What these eminent divines set forth as the witness of the Spirit, is, with some little modification, regarded by them as the witness of our own spirit: but they believe that the direct witness of the Spirit precedes and accompanies this; the Spirit witnesses with our spirit that we are the children of God. That many of the fol-

lowers of Wesley perverted his doctrines, and, in their enthusiasm, brought reproach on the cause of Christ, is not doubted; but the man must be very uncandid, or ignorant relative to his writings, who can maintain that he justified these enthusiasts, or that the doctrine, as taught by him, was fanatical. No one has urged more strongly the necessity of rigid self-examination. He says expressly: "Let none ever presume to rest in any supposed testimony of the Spirit which is separate from the fruit of it."—*Sermons*, vol. i, p. 100. Addressing one of those enthusiasts, with whom many seek to class him, he says:—

"Discover thyself, thou poor self-deceiver; thou who art confident of being a child of God; thou who sayest, 'I have the witness in myself,' and therefore defiest thy enemies. Thou art weighed in the balance, and found wanting, even in the balance of the sanctuary. The word of the Lord hath tried thy soul, and proved thee to be reprobate silver. Thou art not lowly of heart; therefore thou hast not received the Spirit of Jesus unto this day. Thou art not gentle and meek; therefore thy joy is nothing worth; it is not joy in the Lord. Thou dost not keep his commandments; therefore thou lovest him not, neither art thou partaker of the Holy Ghost. It is, consequently, certain, and as evident as the oracles of God can make it, his Spirit doth not bear witness with thy spirit that thou art a child of God."—Vol. i, p. 91.

Addressing one professing to have the witness of the Spirit of adoption, he says:—

"See that not only thy lips, but thy life, show forth his praise. . . . 'Cleanse thyself from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God;' and let all thy thoughts, words, and works, be a spiritual sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God, through Christ Jesus."—Vol. i, p. 93.

Wesley thus defines the witness of the Spirit:—

"By the testimony of the Spirit I mean an inward impression on the soul, whereby the Spirit of God immediately and directly witnesses to my spirit that I am a child of God; that Jesus Christ hath loved me, and given himself for me; that all my sins are blotted out, and I, even I, am reconciled to God."—Vol. i, p. 94.

Walton adopts the definition given by Rev. E. Grindrod, in the Wesleyan Methodist Mag., Jan., 1835, namely: "A satisfactory and joyful persuasion, produced by the Holy Ghost in the mind of a believer, that he is now a child of God."—P. 65.

Watson's view of the subject is substantially the same. These writers do not undertake to describe the mode in which the Holy Spirit produces the joyous persuasion in the minds of believers of their adoption. Most objectors to the doctrine of the direct, imme-

diate witness of the Spirit, speak of it as though its advocates represented it as always communicated by a voice from heaven, a supernatural vision, or the sudden presentation of certain texts of Scripture to the mind. This view of the subject is expressly disclaimed by Wesley, Watson, and other standard writers among the Methodists. The circumstances attendant on this work of the Spirit are alledged to be various, often diverse. It is not, however, denied that the Spirit sometimes applies to the heart particular passages of Scripture, or that sometimes supernatural manifestations may be given; such as are related in the Life of Colonel Gardiner, by Dr. Doddridge. We suppose also that it is generally admitted that the mind, in certain conditions of deep and intense feeling, finds it difficult to distinguish between what is powerfully impressed on it, not through the medium of the senses, and what is actually addressed to the outward ear, or exhibited to the eye. This will readily explain many things claimed to be supernatural by many inexperienced persons, susceptible of strong emotions, but having little knowledge of mental phenomena. On this subject Walton says:—

"We wish it to be clearly understood, that the doctrine of the witness of the Spirit by no means includes any enthusiastic expectation of voices audibly addressed to the believer, nor the occurrence of any thing that is, properly speaking, miraculous. Neither do we speak of a testimony communicated by a supernatural vision. All, therefore, which has been spoken at various times by zealous opponents against the doctrine of the witness of the Spirit, on the ground that we rely too much on visions and voices, is quite wide of the mark. For we lay no stress on visions nor voices at all; and encourage no expectation of them. They would add nothing to the evidence, even supposing they were given. The witness of the Spirit is something entirely distinct from them, and of a different nature."—P. 62.

Speaking of alledged supernatural manifestations, he says:—

"But we wish it to be understood that even in those instances no one who is wise will lay any stress on what was visionary in the communication, or look upon it in any other light than as a circumstance altogether extraneous to the great point to be decided. It is not itself the witness of the Spirit. It is, properly speaking, no part of the evidence; and neither adds to, nor detracts from, its credibility. Should the witness of the Spirit, therefore, be thus given, it would not be the visionary representation accompanying it which would give it any part of its value. It would not be either the more or the less certain; it would not claim either more or less confidence for being so accompanied."—P. 64.

In order to guard this doctrine still further from misapprehension, it may be proper to remark that "the doctrine of assurance, as held

by the founder of Methodism, was not the assurance of *eternal* salvation, as held by Calvinistic divines; but that persuasion which is given by the Holy Spirit to penitent and believing persons, that they are now accepted of God, pardoned, and adopted into God's family."—*Watson's Life of Wesley*, p. 163.

The great majority of distinguished divines opposed to the doctrine we advocate, admit that believers have obtained an assurance of acceptance with God, or that such assurance is now attainable. Dr. Dwight, in his sermon on Full Assurance of Hope, remarks, that he does not see how such faith can be reasonably doubted. He thinks, however, that the number who obtain this evidence is small. (Dwight's Theology, sermon xc.) Edwards maintains this doctrine much more strongly. (Affections, pp. 71–73.) In the pages referred to, we think he conclusively proves that this assurance is the privilege of all Christians. Our limits will forbid the introduction of this extract, and many others from different authors, substantiating the same position. From the theory of these authors it almost necessarily results that they limit the attainment of this assurance to Christians of much experience, those of mature age; yet, as they hold it to be the privilege of all Christians to become thus perfect, they virtually admit that all may attain this assurance.

As Methodists we do not claim this witness to substantiate the truth of any particular *doctrines;* and of course we are not chargeable with the errors of Millerism. It is not asserted that this testimony of the Spirit is given by a voice, or that it is in any way addressed to the senses. Nevertheless, all who believe in the inspiration of the Scriptures must admit that the Holy Spirit can move men, so that they may know that they speak with divine authority. Furthermore, we do not deny, but strongly insist on, the necessity of the witness of our own spirit, or the evidence derived from a comparison of our lives and hearts with the tests of Scripture. On the other hand, all that admit the personality and deity of the Holy Spirit, and his agency in regeneration, admit that assurance of acceptance with God is attainable. The only question at issue is,—Is there, preceding and accompanying the evidence derived from a consciousness of possessing the characteristics of a believer, as given in Scripture, a direct and immediate witness of the Spirit to the believer that he is adopted into the divine family?

Much dependence is placed, by the advocates of the affirmative of this question, on Rom. viii, 15, 16, as clearly sustaining their views. But there is a controversy relative to the meaning of almost every important word in this passage. Some alledge that by the spirit of bondage is meant a personification of the genius of the

law; because, as they say, there was that in the law which naturally produced a servile dread of God, a want of confidence in him. But all who were under the law certainly did not manifest this servile spirit. The careless and unawakened Pharisees, who were most anxious to obtain justification by the law, did not feel this bondage. When the Pharisee and the publican went up to the temple to pray, the publican had the spirit of bondage unto fear; but the Pharisee pressed boldly forward, and justified himself before God. If the meaning of the expression were a personification of the genius of the law we might naturally expect that those who were under the law, and most anxious to obtain justification by it, would feel this spirit most. The apostle Paul was not the subject of this bondage when he tells us he was alive without the law, or quite alive, in his own apprehension, before the law came home to his conscience with its convincing energy, as revealed by the Holy Ghost in its proper spiritual meaning. Thus it appears that it is the Holy Spirit, in its convincing operations, that constitutes the spirit of bondage unto fear. When, through its influence, a man is convinced of sin; when brought to consent to the law, that it is good; when he desires to do good, and yet finds evil present with him; and discovering his defects, and groaning under a weight from which he cannot release himself, exclaims, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me?" he then truly may be said to have received the spirit of bondage unto fear.

The next point in dispute in these two verses is the meaning of the phrase, "the Spirit of adoption." Edwards says (Religious Affections, p. 127) it means love. But love is one of the fruits, and certainly then it cannot be the Spirit from which it originates; moreover, there is no proof offered to sustain the supposition. Those who consider the "spirit of bondage" as the personified genius of the law, regard the "Spirit of adoption" as the genius of the gospel personified. But this Spirit of adoption must refer to the Holy Spirit himself. In the 16th verse it is said that "the Spirit itself, or himself, or that same Spirit, beareth witness with our spirits that we are the children of God." In the parallel passage in Galatians we read, "But when the fullness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons. And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father." By the Spirit of his Son we presume it will be admitted is meant, not the genius of the gospel, but the Holy Spirit; consequently, by the Spirit of adoption is meant the

same Holy Spirit. Two of the offices of the Spirit are here mentioned; first, it brings us into bondage, by its operation in convincing of sin, and leading us to seek deliverance from it in Christ; and, secondly, then giving us a blessed testimony and assurance of our adoption into the family of God.

In the verses preceding the 15th and 16th of Rom. viii, the Spirit of whom St. Paul speaks is called "the Spirit of God," "the Spirit of Christ," "the Spirit of Him who raised up Jesus from the dead." He is represented as dwelling in believers; as enabling them to mortify the deeds of the body; as leading and guiding the sons of God. We presume no one will assert that by the Spirit, in the various passages in which it occurs in the first part of the chapter, is to be understood the genius of the gospel. It evidently means the Holy Spirit. The works mentioned are those in other parts of Scripture ascribed to him; now it is the same Spirit which is represented in the fifteenth and sixteenth verses as the Spirit of adoption, bearing witness to the believer that he is accepted by God. And furthermore, as in almost every previous verse of the chapter, the Spirit is spoken of personally, as operating directly on the human mind, not through the medium of the word: consistency would certainly require that in its agency as the Spirit of adoption it should be considered as operating in the same manner.

The meaning of the word *συμμαρτυρεῖ*, rendered "beareth witness with," has been controverted. Those who alledge that there is but one witness of the believer's adoption assert that the word should be rendered *beareth witness to* our spirit, &c. They do not undertake to show that it never has the meaning given in our version, but they labor to prove that such is not its meaning there. We cannot regard this discussion as of much importance. We claim that the Holy Spirit witnesses both *to* and *with* our spirit; and if only one witness, that of the Spirit, is here established, the witness of our own spirits is abundantly sustained by other passages. Nevertheless, we think that the proof is clear that not only is the general meaning of the word "*to bear witness with*," but that such is its meaning in Rom. viii, 16. Such being the case, two witnesses are necessarily implied; and all arguments to show that the only witness of adoption is the Spirit operating through the word must be futile.

The word *συμμαρτυρέω* is thus defined in Liddell and Scott's Lexicon: "To bear witness with, or in accordance with, another." Donnegan defines it: "To bear witness with another; to be a joint witness."

"None of the Lexicons which possess the greatest authority give any intimation that the compound verb is ever used to signify, 'I bear witness *to*.' Stephens' immense Thesaurus, Scapula, Hederic, and all the rest which possess any weight, render it by '*Una testor*'—'I bear witness together with;' '*Simul testificor*'—'I testify in conjunction with;' '*Testimonio meo comprobo*'—'I give concurring evidence by my own testimony.'"—*Walton's Witness of the Spirit*, p. 227.

In connection with the introduction of several quotations from Greek authors, all confirming these views, Mr. Walton remarks:—

"Both Mr. Wesley and Bishop Gibson concur in the sentiment, that on the very face of the word *συμμαρτυρεῖ* two witnesses appear plainly to be intended. Or, to state the same thing in other words, the Greek term, from its very construction, and from its use by the best writers, must necessarily imply at least two witnesses testifying, in conjunction with each other, to the existence of the very same thing.

"Now the amplest researches will prove these two scholars to have been perfectly correct in this decision. I have never found the word used in a different sense by any writer in any one instance. There are always, as far as I have been able to judge, two witnesses implied as concurring in their testimony—both witnessing the same thing—and the one, by his testimony, confirming the authority of the other."—P. 222.

This word occurs in only two other passages in the New Testament, namely, Rom. ii, 15, and ix, 1. In both it has the same meaning. In the first the concurrence of testimony is between the inward conscience of the persons spoken of, and their external acts in their reasonings with each other. In the second passage the apostle asserts solemnly an important truth: "I speak the truth in Christ, I lie not." Here is the first witness. The second is found in the direct testimony given by the Holy Ghost to the apostle's conscience: "My conscience also bearing me witness" (*συμμαρτυρούσης*—bearing a concurrent testimony) "in the Holy Ghost."

We think these passages, Rom. viii, 15, 16, conclusively establish the proposition that the Spirit of God directly witnesses with our spirits that we are the children of God.

This doctrine is proved by many other passages of Scripture, which our limits forbid us to consider. The Scriptures not only speak of the *Spirit* as *witnessing*, but also as *sealing* believers: "That we," says the apostle, (Eph. i, 12, 13,) "should be to the praise of his glory, who first trusted in Christ. In whom ye also trusted, after that ye heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation: in whom also, after that ye believed, ye were *sealed*

with the Holy Spirit of promise." (See also Eph. iv, 30; 2 Cor. i, 21, 22.) It cannot appear inconsistent that God's children, who have the seal and stamp of Heaven, should receive assurance from him of their acceptance with him. In Eph. i, 14, the apostle, speaking of believers as sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise, says, "which is the earnest of our inheritance, until the redemption of the purchased possession, unto the praise of his glory." (See also 2 Cor. v, 5.) The word *earnest*, says Walton,

"signifies a pledge given; binding the party who gives it to fulfill conditions involving other and more valuable gifts, upon the production of the pledge at some future day. It refers, therefore, both to the present and the future. It denotes a present relation, into which the person is taken who receives the earnest. He is taken into the divine family; into such a state, that, if he continue therein, he shall be everlastingly saved. The earnest, therefore, decides the *present* absolutely and positively. It is a pledge of present favor, and it decides the *future* conditionally; no change being to be apprehended (for none is possible) in God; and the only condition being that the pledge or earnest has been retained, and can be produced."—P. 53.

The Holy Spirit is given unto believers as a seal of present favor, and a pledge of future blessedness.

One great objection in the minds of many to the doctrine of the witness of the Spirit, as held by Methodists, is, that they hold to the direct and immediate operation of the Spirit on the soul. It is asserted, on the contrary, that the Spirit acts indirectly through the medium of the word. That the Spirit of God accompanies the word to the heart, opens the eyes of our understanding to perceive its requirements; that he reveals the suitableness and glory of Christ, and guides and comforts the believer; is not denied, as some strangely alledge, by the Wesleyans, but strongly maintained. But in all *these operations* the action of the Spirit is *immediate* and *direct*. By the Spirit's operating through the word must be understood, that, when our attention is directed to it, the Spirit operates on our hearts to understand and apply the truth. No one will assert that the Spirit speaks to, or moves upon, the word, and it then calls our attention, and communicates influence or knowledge received from the Spirit: this would be absurd. There is no *indirect* influence of the Spirit. It may operate in connection with the word, or some events of Providence, but its action on the soul of man is *immediate* and *direct*.

All who acknowledge the necessity of conversion, the agency of the Spirit in regeneration, its power to reprove and convince of sin, must admit its direct agency. Now, admitting that the Holy Spirit

gives the sinner a perception of danger resulting from the number and aggravations of his sins; that through repentance he leads the soul, through Christ, to God; why do they pause at this point? If the Spirit by its direct agency makes the penitent sorrowful, if it brings him into bondage, it surely cannot be unreasonable to suppose that it will make glad; that as it gives the knowledge of guilt, it will also give the knowledge of its removal. In the language of Walton:—

"If it is reasonable to believe that in reproving, convincing, and converting, the Spirit's influence on the mind is plainly taught in the Scripture, it cannot be unreasonable to believe that in comforting us, and sealing our adoption, the same influence is exerted, and in a method substantially the same."—P. 74.

Not only do we think that the doctrine for which we contend is directly taught by many passages of Scripture, but also that its general tenor, and the nature of its fundamental doctrines, confirm and show the absolute necessity of it. In no other way, by no other agent, than that of the Holy Spirit witnessing their adoption, can believers be assured that they are reconciled to God. Whenever we believe in Christ with the faith which God requires, we are pardoned and justified; but this act of mercy is one which takes place in the mind of God, and, till it pleases him to reveal it, it must remain unknown: "For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God." 1 Cor. ii, 11. "The Spirit of God, which searcheth all things, even the deep things of God," "which alone knoweth the things of God," is the only witness who can make known to the believer the fact that God has pardoned him, and adopted him into his family. There are no signs of acceptance on which we can depend, unless, as the apostle says, we "receive the Spirit which is of God; that we may know the things which are freely given to us of God." 1 Cor. ii, 12.

Wesley's argument for the antecedence of the witness of the Spirit is as follows:—

"That this testimony of the Spirit of God must needs, in the very nature of things, be antecedent to the testimony of our own spirit, may appear from this single consideration: we must be holy of heart, and holy in life, before we can be conscious that we are so; before we can have the testimony of our spirit that we are inwardly and outwardly holy. But we must love God before we can be holy at all; this being the root of all holiness. Now, we cannot love God till we know he loves us: 'We love him, because he first loved us.' And we cannot know his pardoning love to us till his Spirit witnesses it to our spirit.

Since, therefore, this testimony of his Spirit must precede the love of God, and all holiness, of consequence it must precede our inward consciousness thereof, or the testimony of our spirit concerning them."—Vol i, p. 88.

The first propositions of this argument are incontrovertible; but in saying that we cannot know his pardoning love to us till his Spirit witnesses it to our spirit, he seems to assume the point to be proved. Reasons have already been advanced, however, in support of this proposition, and there are many others that establish it. And here we may well ask those who deny this doctrine, what evidence, aside from the witness of the Spirit, can a man have of his adoption, when first pardoned? Penitence, contrition, and fear, cannot be alledged as proofs of pardon, since they suppose that we are still under condemnation. And though faith should be added to repentance, and we should be conscious of both, still this would be no evidence of our forgiveness; our spirit would, in that case, witness the fact of our repenting and believing, but that would be no witness to the fact of our adoption. Moreover, repentance and faith are exercised *in order* to pardon, which must therefore be subsequent to both; and they cannot, for that reason, be the evidence of it, or the evidence of pardon might be enjoyed before pardon is actually received, which is manifestly impossible.

On this subject Watson thus remarks:—

"But it has been said, 'that we have the testimony of God in his word, that where repentance and faith exist, God has infallibly connected pardon with them, from the moment they are perceived to exist; and so it may be *surely inferred* from them.' The answer is, that we have no such testimony. We have, through the mercy of God, the promise of pardon to all who repent, and believe; but repentance is not pardon, and faith is not pardon, but they are its prerequisites; each is a *sine qua non*, but surely not the pardon itself: nor can either be considered the evidence of pardon without an absurdity. They are means to that end; but nothing more: and though God has 'infallibly connected' the blessing of pardon with repentance and faith, he has not connected it with *any kind* of repentance, nor with *any kind* of faith: nor with *every degree* of repentance, nor with *every degree* of faith. How, then, shall we ever know whether *our* repentance and faith are accepted, unless pardon actually follow them? And as this pardon cannot be attested by them, for the reason above given, and must therefore have an attestation of higher authority, and of a distinct kind, the only attestation conceivable which remains is the direct witness of the Holy Spirit."—*Watson's Institutes*, vol. ii, pp. 277, 278.

It must be admitted that faith, both as assent and confidence, has every possible degree. It is capable of mixture with doubt

and self-dependence; and, without some definite character being given, some marks of the essential degree, we could never with confidence conclude that our faith was justifying faith. But there is no such particular description of faith given, nor are we authorized to make ourselves the judges of the case, and conclude that God has adopted us. The apostle has assigned this office to the Holy Spirit.

It is, by many, maintained that we become assured of our adoption when we perceive the fruits of the Spirit in our experience; that this is the only evidence of pardon. St. Paul (Gal. v, 22, 23) gives a most important enumeration of these fruits of the Spirit. He says: "But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." It will not be denied, we presume, that this fruit is found only in such as are justified, and that it is the result of adoption. We think it may be shown, moreover, that these fruits cannot exist till we know we are forgiven; and, consequently, they cannot be an evidence of pardon. Many separate the fruits of the Spirit, and fix their attention on gentleness, meekness, and temperance; forgetting that love, joy, and peace, must also be found in this evidence of reconciliation with God.

When the penitent is weighed down under the burden of sin; when the very depth of his repentance leads him to feel most sensibly his unworthiness; when his soul appears stained with sin, marking his every act, the enormity of which he had not before perceived, can he, in his anguish, his eyes dimmed with blinding tears, discern the graces of the Spirit in his character? Can he, by inferences, by searching, find joy and peace in his soul, when the more he examines himself the greater reason he finds for humility and mourning? Can he by reasoning remove his doubts and alarm, and, by virtue of his own discovery, cry, having the Spirit of adoption, Abba, Father? This, from the very nature of the case, is impossible. Love is a part of the fruit of the Spirit; but we cannot love God till we know he loves us: we love him because he first loved us. We cannot know that he loves us individually, till he reveal the fact. Here we remark that love to God cannot, as is often alledged, be produced from a consideration of God's general love to mankind, as manifested in the gift of his Son, and in his dealings with them. In Scripture, Christians are spoken of as children and heirs; their love is represented as love to God as their Father. The love of the justified is not admiration and gratitude, which many feel who are not reconciled to God, and certainly do not have a persuasion of his pardoning love to them

individually; but they love God as *a Father*, as their God in covenant, who calls himself "their God," and them "his people." They love his justice, his holiness, all his attributes; "the awful and alarming, as well as the encouraging and attractive." Seeking, though hoping, penitents cannot love God *as God*, as a Father, in that special sense in which the word is the correlative of children and heirs, as having pardoned their sins, and being reconciled unto them; "this is what they *seek*, but have not found; and they cannot love God under relations in which they know and painfully feel he does not stand to them." "They know 'his general love to *man*,' but not his pardoning love to *them;* and therefore cannot love him as reconciled to them by the death of his Son." (See also Watson's Institutes, vol. ii, pp. 279, 280.)

The Christian's love to God rests upon his persuasion of his personal and individual interest in pardoning and adopting mercy; and by him who has no evidence that he personally enjoys these benefits this kind of love cannot be found. Moreover, no one can have joy in God, or peace in believing, while he has no evidence of pardon, and while oppressed by fear and conscious guilt. The supposition that these fruits of the Spirit may exist under such circumstances is evidently absurd. Love, joy, and peace, cannot, in any sense, be considered as primary evidence of adoption, since this must be enjoyed before they can exist.

The truth appears to be, that the advocates of the doctrine we have been considering, among whom are Wardlaw, James, Edwards, Dwight, Short, and many others, do not meet the main point of controversy. They advocate strongly the evidence of adoption, as found in the possession and manifestation of the fruits of the Spirit, and bring abundance of proof to show that this evidence must be found in him who is assured of pardon. But the importance of all this is admitted, and as strongly urged, by the Wesleyans. The question in dispute is, Does this constitute the first and only evidence of adoption? While they alledge the affirmative, they bring no proof to sustain it, or to show that the doctrine of a previous, and also accompanying, direct witness of the Spirit is unscriptural, or unreasonable. It is surprising that little more than assertions, unsupported by an attempt at argument, is found in their writings, on this the main point of controversy. The Scriptures say, with reference to believers: "And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father. The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God." These writers assert that the meaning of these passages is that the Spirit operates

through the word; that there is a harmony between what the Spirit has wrought in us, and what the Spirit of God testifies in the word; and in proportion as our spirits have the inward consciousness of this harmony do we possess the witness of the Spirit that we are the children of God. St. Paul asserts, in these passages, that the testimony of the Spirit was given in the believer's *heart;* and it is certainly not a plain, obvious interpretation, that assumes we must understand by these words the Spirit is given in the *Scriptures*. This interpretation should not be adopted without strong reasons for its necessity.

As necessarily results from their views, these authors maintain that no one, in the first part of his Christian life, can have assurance that he is reconciled to God. This, they say, is the exclusive privilege of the mature Christian, who has had time to form the basis of his argument in Christian experience, and also has ability to compare his character and experience with the precepts of God's word; and can unhesitatingly, from his perception of their harmony, conclude that he has the Spirit of adoption. If the direct witness of the Spirit be denied, no other mode than this remains in which to obtain assurance. But the testimony of very many relative to their experience is clearly and directly in opposition to this view. After separating from the number those whose lives, subsequent to their pretended conversion, may have led others to suppose that they were mistaken, there will remain thousands whose lives exhibit the fruits of the Spirit, many of whom die in triumph, who unequivocally assert that they did not obtain the evidence of their adoption in this way. The simple story of their conversion is, that they felt deep sorrow of heart; they abhorred sin, and desired to be delivered from it; they went as humble penitents to the foot of the cross, believed on Christ, who justifies the ungodly, and at once obtained peace with God. Among them have been, and still are, many eminent for their attainments in literature, and for their influence on society; persons not subject to the imputation of fanaticism, or any kindred delusion. The records of missionaries furnish statements, that, in different places, very many have been suddenly converted: they have passed from a state of sorrow and anguish, suddenly, to one of peace and joy. These persons, in order to give an evidence of their adoption, neither instituted this rigid self-examination and comparison, nor were capable of thus doing. It is indeed a point of importance that there are in various branches of the church many pious persons whose lives give evidence of their sincerity, and who can confidently refer to the time of their conversion; yet who have not

sufficient knowledge to institute that rigid examination of their characters, which is so strenuously insisted on by Edwards and others. The system that denies sudden conversions, or that a believer may know that he is pardoned as soon as God forgives his sins, and also denies the direct witness of the Spirit, is directly opposed to the testimony of a host, both of the learned and the ignorant. This fact furnishes a problem to be solved by its advocates. If they say that the testimony of these witnesses is false, or that they are fanatical and deluded, their course will strongly tend to undermine the foundation on which rests our belief in experimental religion, and the hopes of the Christian.

Edwards was a strong advocate of this system; yet we judge that he believed assurance is attainable by a much greater number than would be admitted by Dr. Dwight. In his invaluable work on the Religious Affections he devotes several pages to the doctrine of the witness of the Spirit. The views against which the most he has written is directed, are the false and fanatical opinions that have prevailed at different times. To the force and propriety of this we fully assent. It is evident, however, from the following and other passages of his Treatise, that he strenuously opposes the doctrine of the direct witness of the Spirit:—

"Many mischiefs have arisen from that false and delusive notion of the witness of the Spirit, that it is a kind of inward voice, suggestion, or declaration, from God to a man, that he is beloved, pardoned, elected, or the like, sometimes with and sometimes without a text of Scripture; for many have been the false and vain (though very high) affections that have arisen from hence. It is to be feared that multitudes of souls have been eternally undone by it."—P. 128.

Again he says:—

"Here it may be proper to observe, that it is exceedingly manifest, from what has been said, that what many persons call the witness of the Spirit that they are the children of God, has nothing in it spiritual and divine; and, consequently, that the affections built upon it are vain and delusive. That which many call the witness of the Spirit, is no other than an immediate suggestion and impression of that fact, otherwise secret, that they are converted or made the children of God, and so that their sins are pardoned, and that God has given them a title to heaven."—P. 121.

His reasoning in support of this opinion is very fallacious. He asserts that this assurance "is no divine sort of knowledge in itself; it requires no higher sort of idea for a man to have the apprehension of his *own* conversion impressed upon him, than to have the apprehension of his *neighbor's* conversion in like manner." He asserts that God, if he pleased, might impress on any one the

knowledge that he had forgiven his neighbor's sins, and given him a title to heaven without any communication of his holiness. He adduces God's revelations to Balaam, Abimelech, and Laban, as instances of the impression of as important facts without gracious influence. Does this train of reasoning prove that God does not directly convince the believer of his adoption, or that he has not revealed it as his purpose thus to do in his word? Nearly the whole of section first, part third, of his work, is devoted to show,

"That all spiritual and gracious affections are attended with, and arise from, some apprehension, idea, or sensation of mind, which is in its whole nature different, yea, exceeding different, from all that is, or can be, in the mind of a natural man. The natural man discerns nothing of it, any more than a man without the sense of tasting can conceive of the sweet taste of honey; or a man without the sense of hearing can conceive of the melody of a tune; or a man born blind can have a notion of the beauty of a rainbow."—P. 104.

"So that the spiritual perceptions which a sanctified and spiritual person has are not only diverse, as the perceptions of the same sense may differ one from another, but rather as the ideas and sensations of different senses differ."—P. 102, also p. 106.

This is the basis of his argument against the witness of the Spirit. He first endeavors to show that all gracious affections or influences of the Spirit are peculiar, such as a natural man cannot experience, and the power of men and devils cannot produce anything of the same nature. He then asserts that God might, if he saw fit, communicate to a sinner the fact of his neighbor's conversion; and "it requires no higher sort of idea for a man to have the apprehension of his own conversion than to have the apprehension of his neighbor's impressed upon him." The inference is, that in the immediate communication of such facts there is nothing peculiar that a carnal mind cannot understand; hence the witness of the Spirit must be of a different character. This reasoning does not meet the point. It is evident that it is as impossible for one who does not repent of sin to receive directly from the Spirit an evidence of pardon, as it is for him to understand those gracious affections the Christian only knows. The proposition, so ably supported, that the carnal mind cannot discern the things of the Spirit, is Scriptural, and, of course, admitted. It is none the less true that there was a time when every converted person was under condemnation, a time when the mind, once carnal, became spiritual, and first began to understand the things of God, and to enjoy spiritual blessings. Edwards, so far as we can learn, does not attempt to show how this change takes place, or how a mind once carnal, and receiving, as he asserts, no new

faculties, is enabled to understand that which, previous to the simple acts of repenting and believing, it could not know. If the Spirit does not directly at first operate on it, how can it receive these peculiar spiritual perceptions? The important question to be considered is, Can these gracious affections spring up in the mind before an evidence of pardon and adoption is given? He indirectly asserts the affirmative, but gives no *proof;* we, for reasons already given, maintain the negative, and assert that the Spirit first directly assures the penitent of his adoption, and then these gracious affections, with all the peculiarity he ascribes to them, follow. Several quotations are introduced from Stoddard, Shepard, and Flavel, confirming the author's views. All these eminent divines enforce strongly the importance of the evidence derived from the fruits of the Spirit, which they contend differs from that which is alledged to result from direct communication from the Spirit. This is admitted; but they do not show that there is no such direct communication, or that the fruits of the Spirit can be manifested unless an evidence first is given; neither do they show the necessity for giving so forced an interpretation as they present to certain plain passages of Scripture.

Edwards labors strenuously to show that all ideas of sounds, words, forms, light, appearances of the Saviour, immediate suggestion of passages of Scripture to the mind, &c., have nothing spiritual or divine in their character. No assurance of conversion can be drawn from them. All these the devil can counterfeit and suggest, and there is nothing in them but what natural men are capable of.

Many, without doubt, having a vivid imagination, have, without reason, attributed their strong emotions to the Holy Spirit, and enthusiastically, yet falsely, supposed they had received a peculiar manifestation of the love of God, from an idea excited in their mind of a smiling countenance, or of some other pleasant outward appearance, or from an idea exerted in the imagination of pleasant words spoken or written, or from some pleasant bodily sensation. It may be true, as Edwards says,—

"Such sort of experiences and discoveries make a mighty uproar in both soul and body. And a very great part of the false religion that has been in the world from one age to another, consists in such discoveries as these, and in the affections that flow from them."

He enumerates many classes of enthusiasts and teachers of false doctrines that have flourished at different times, and speaks severely of the pernicious influence of these vagaries; but he

has no warrant for the assertion that all alledged direct communications from the Spirit must be classed with these delusions, or that no confidence is to be placed in any supposed agency of the Spirit in suggesting passages of Scripture, and impressing them on the mind. Many, not justly chargeable with fanaticism, have asserted that they have received such impressions, and their testimony is not to be lightly regarded. Nor is it true, as Flavel asserts, that it is impossible to determine whether such a revelation is of God or a counterfeit of Satan. God, who in times past spake by dreams, visions, voices, and in divers manners, unto men, certainly can communicate his will through any of the ordinary modes of communication, or in any other way he may choose, and at the same time give assurance that the revelation has divine authority. This evidence neither Satan, nor any other being, can imitate. If the Spirit chooses to impress a promise or any other passage of Scripture on the mind of any one, he can assuredly do it in such a manner that he who receives the impression shall know that it comes from God. Not only is there no impossibility in this, but the word of God gives no authority for the assertion it is never done.

It should be remembered, however, that, in maintaining the doctrine of the direct witness of the Spirit, we lay no stress on any evidence of this kind, nor encourage any to expect it.

Dr. Dwight, in denying the direct witness of the Spirit, maintains that full assurance of faith is attainable by only a very small number. If the consciousness of possessing their characteristics were our only evidence that we are Christians, the difficulties he urges would be weighty, and instances of full assurance would be rare. We do not, however, think that his arguments against the general attainment of this state are consistent with his own theory. If the change experienced in regeneration is as entire and as instantaneous as he alledges, it would be difficult to explain why the subjects of it should not at once be conscious of this change.

He asserts, indeed, that this assurance is in mercy denied. He says:—

"I am of opinion that God, for wise and good reasons, administers his spiritual providence in such a manner as to leave his children destitute of the faith of assurance for their own good."

In support of this opinion his first argument is:—"It is perfectly plain that the evidence enjoyed by Christians is in no regular manner or degree proportioned to their real excellence of character. The proof of this position is complete, both from our own observation and from the history of experimental and prac-

tical religion given us in the lives of great multitudes of eminently good men."

The author seems to think the case "perfectly plain;" still the proof is not conclusive. It may be admitted that the experience of multitudes has been as asserted, but with the same positiveness we maintain that the experience of multitudes has been directly the reverse.

His second argument is thus stated:—"There is not, I believe, a single promise in the gospel to Christians, as such, of the faith of assurance; nor any direct intimation that they shall possess evidence of their piety proportioned to the degree in which it exists. All the promises of this nature seem to be indefinite; and to indicate that Christians shall enjoy some evidence of this nature rather than to point out the degree in which it shall be enjoyed."

From the very nature of the evidence of justification, as set forth by Dr. Dwight, it must follow that this statement is erroneous. The fruits of the Spirit in the believer would at first be but imperfectly discerned, and the evidence of their existence would be weak; but as the Christian grows in grace, as these fruits and graces become more fully developed, his evidence of adoption must be stronger; and *just in proportion* to the *degree* of his piety will be the strength of its evidence.

His third argument against assurance is:—"There seems to be a plain and important reason why most Christians should be left in some degree of uncertainty concerning this subject. In all the earlier ages of their piety, and in all other cases in which it is not eminently vigorous, they would be prone, if they possessed high consolatory evidence, especially if they possessed full assurance of their renovation, imperfect as they always are, to be at ease; to settle quietly down in that imperfect state; and in this manner to come far short of those religious attainments which now they actually make, and perhaps finally to fall away. As the case now is, their fears serve to quicken them, no less than their hopes; and by the influence of both, they continue to advance in holiness to the end of life."—*Dwight's Theology*, sermon xc, vol. iii, pp. 50, 51.

The objection here urged is a misapprehension of the subject. No one can have "full assurance of his renovation," and "remain at ease." This state of doubt is, moreover, inconsistent with the privileges of the Christian as set forth throughout the New Testament. Rest is promised those who come to Christ; this can only refer to freedom from doubts relative to acceptance and fears of

condemnation. The believer is represented as rejoicing, as having peace with God, as having no condemnation. Nor has this doctrine a tendency to lead those who embrace it, "to continue to advance in holiness to the end of life." Its effect is the reverse. Believing that, while God assuredly has a people in the world, but few have an evidence of acceptance with him, they are led to quiet their fears, and to console themselves with the thought that a state of darkness is the inevitable lot of the church. They remain in a state of inactivity, and strive not for the high attainments sought by such as consider this state of darkness one of condemnation. Many members of the churches in which the views of Dr. Dwight are received, are continually under the spirit of bondage, and live in despondency. President Mahan, in a sermon on "Fullness of Joy,"* makes the following statement:—"The ministers and elders of a leading presbytery had met some two or three years since for prayer and religious conversation. The brother who presided commenced the relation of Christian experience, saying, that the uniform character of his experience was that of despondency; and closed by saying that nothing but fear prevented his leaving the ministry. The other members, with the exception of the pastor and elders of a single church, who had embraced different views of the gospel from their brethren, followed in a similar strain." This is given as a fair representation of the state of a great part of the churches. It certainly is not the state that does honor to religion; and, we may add, it is not the state the churches would be in if the doctrine, that it is the duty of all to obtain a clear evidence of acceptance with God, were practically regarded.

Only one other objection to the doctrine of the direct witness of the Spirit will be noticed in this article. It is frequently said that those who profess to have this witness cannot describe it, or tell how the mental state which results from it differs from other mental states; in short, they cannot give an intelligible account of it to those who do not profess to have experienced it. Hence, it is argued, it must be the offspring of weakness and fanaticism. This is a popular argument with many who esteem themselves wise and philosophical, having a great regard for reason. But those who urge it wholly overlook the fact, that if the Spirit of God directly communicates a truth to the spirit of a believer, there must result in his mind a simple idea, differing from all others, and hence indescribable. In this respect it is like all other simple

* Published in the Oberlin Evangelist in 1841, and the Guide to Holiness, Feb., 1847.

mental states. No man can give an intelligible account of any emotion, affection, or simple idea, to any one who has not already an acquaintance with them. We cannot, indeed, directly communicate any simple ideas to others; all the knowledge derived from books and intercourse with men consists of complex ideas, formed by combinations of simple ideas already existing in our minds. This is, therefore, the weakest and most unphilosophical of all objections.

Since we commenced writing this article we saw the announcement of a work with the following imposing title-page: "The Doctrine of the Direct Witness of the Spirit, as taught by Rev. John Wesley, shown to be Unscriptural, False, Fanatical, and of Mischievous Tendency. By Frederic A. Ross. Published by Perkins & Purvis, Philadelphia." After diligent inquiry in Boston, New-York, and Philadelphia, we have not been able to obtain a copy. We have understood that it is circulated further south, being, perhaps, better suited to a southern latitude than elsewhere. It would afford us pleasure to examine the book, and to be convinced of error, if the author has really done what he so pompously announces. He is well known as a violent opposer of Methodism, and as the author of a series of articles first published in a southern periodical under the title of the "Great Iron Wheel," in which he compares class meetings to the Roman confessional. If a fair specimen of his candor and ability is given in those articles, we think the truth will not suffer much from his attacks. The doctrine of the direct witness of the Spirit is not a new doctrine. It has ever been in the church. It has been assaulted by skepticism, ridicule, and fanaticism, but it still survives; its influence is increasing; and we trust the time is not far distant when it will be generally and practically held as one of the important truths of the gospel.

Malden, Dec. 3, 1847.

Art. VI.—*Westminster Assembly of Divines.*

The Westminster Assembly of Divines is one of those notable points in history, which, rising above the level of surrounding objects, are conspicuous in the retrospect, and serve as chronological and historical waymarks. In its own age it may have appeared comparatively insignificant; but affairs that terminate in this world are less durable in their effects, and are more readily forgotten, than those which, by their affinity to eternal things, borrow somewhat of their immortality. For though the history of the internal commotions of England during the "great rebellion" is still far from being insignificant, yet the relative estimate of the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of that age have mutually exchanged places in the public mind. As in a landscape, distance casts a mellowing shade over the sharp outlines of minuter objects, but gives apparent elevation to the mountain summit; so distance of time, while it puts out of sight many subjects of temporary interest, elevates whatever is truly great in the past.

Few subjects within the compass of modern history are so well worthy of careful study as the character and permanent results of the Westminster Assembly. To the mere amateur of history it affords an agreeable mental repast; to the student of governmental science, whether civil or ecclesiastical, and to the observer of human character, it will ever be a theme affording both profit and pleasure. But its chief value can be appreciated only by those who trace the hand of God in the affairs of men, overruling and directing them to advance the Redeemer's kingdom. Thus viewed, that Assembly appears as a point at which were collected the germs of the religious interests of unborn generations. A direction was then to be given to the theology and the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom that could not fail to be widely and continuously operative for good or evil.

At the beginning of the Reformation ecclesiastical affairs throughout Christendom were settled down into an absolute spiritual despotism. The system of prelacy had attained its maturity, and the bishop of Rome claimed to be, and was acknowledged as, Christ's sole vicar, clothed with the fullest vicegerent authority. But in the process of his aggrandizement the pope had added temporal dignities to his spiritual authority, and thus come to be recognized, not only as head of the church, but also as one of the potentates of Europe. By reason of this mixture of spiritual and temporal dignity, the nature of his authority

became equivocal; and to the unskillful observer it was hard to determine whether the civil or ecclesiastical element had the precedence. And as the pope was seen to exercise both the one and the other authority, occasions and precedents were given to other princes to do likewise—a practice which, in the end, proved highly disastrous to the Papacy during the process of the Reformation.

In England the Reformation, as known in history, was almost wholly an affair of the state. No doubt a doctrinal reformation had made very considerable progress in that kingdom before Henry's breach with the pontiff; but that reformation was only to a very limited extent either the cause or the effect of the ecclesiastical. The latter was begun and ended in making the king the supreme head of the church. To the mass of the nation, whether of the clergy or laity, the change, as to its immediate influence, was only nominal. Before, they had been taught to look to a mitred prince as head of the church, now a crowned pope was substituted; with the advantage, however, of dwelling among them, and of whatever affection they cherished for their acknowledged sovereign. The new position of the members of the English hierarchy, with the king at their head, by putting them in an attitude of hostility to Rome, associated them with other opposers of the Papacy, and so gave a Protestant type to Henry's ecclesiastical rebellion. Nor were real Protestant influences wanting to turn to account the opportunity thus given to propagate the doctrines of the Reformation in that kingdom; so that in process of time England became indeed, what its position seemed before to declare it to be, a Protestant nation.

The new condition of ecclesiastical matters being thus an effect of political action, the nation became more fully accustomed to consider the civil magistrate the proper guardian and governor of the church. This notion, indeed, already prevailed to a considerable extent wherever the pope's temporal power was acknowledged, or where bishops were recognized as secular lords. No great opposition was, therefore, manifested or felt by any except interested Churchmen to the assumption of the ecclesiastical supremacy by the king. But this act became a powerful precedent in favor of one side of a great question of ecclesiastical polity, which, in the sequel, more than any other, embarrassed the determinations of the Assembly of Divines.

In Scotland, the progress of the Reformation was made in a course directly opposite to that pursued in England. There the sovereign continued firmly attached to the Church of Rome,

while the nation generally renounced the Papal tyranny. In that kingdom, the church itself wrought out the Reformation, and, as a co-ordinate authority in the realm, having exclusive control of the affairs of religion, forced it upon the state. By that procedure the inherent right of the church to regulate its own affairs, independent of the state, became the fundamental maxim in the polity of the reformed church of Scotland; while in England, by an opposite process, the same right became established in the civil authority. These antagonistic principles were now brought into contact; and it will be seen at length gave rise to much dissension, and finally brought on a disruption between the Parliament and the Assembly of Divines, led on by the controlling counsels of the Scottish commissioners.

These two opposing schemes of church government—an Erastian prelacy, and *jus divinum* presbytery—being thus established in the two united kingdoms, soon commenced those mutual conflicts which still continue. But power that descends from the strong to the weak, though it gives many temporary advantages, tends to enervate its recipients, and to corrupt its own channels; while the strength of combined hearts and hands is always vigorous, and grows by its own action. The prelacy of England, though sustained by the regal authority and influence, proved unequal to the contest to which it was perpetually challenged by the unprotected Presbyterians. Despite of contempt and persecution, the Presbyterian interest steadily gained upon the prelatical, from the Reformation to the rebellion. But this change of opinions and sentiments among the people of England was not effected by the silent and unobserved growth of one party, and a similar decrease of the other. Every point gained and lost was stoutly and stubbornly contested. A violent and unceasing warfare was waged during the whole of that period; a strife that increased in violence as it approached its crisis. The divines of that age were nursed and trained in polemic combats. The universities were military schools, where a spiritual soldiery was prepared for ecclesiastical warfare, and where the contests were sometimes begun by unfledged warriors, who were pluming themselves for future feats in the field ecclesiastic. To adopt the sarcastic pun of the author of Hudibras, the Church of England had become eminently a church militant. Pulpits were transformed into batteries and enginery of war; preachers were renowned in proportion to their power and skill in disputation; churches inveighed against neighboring churches; and not unfrequently a man's foes were those of his own household. Some good, however, resulted from this strange

state of things, as it occasioned an increased attention to ecclesiastical history and polity, as well as sharpened the wits of the learned to a degree quite unknown in more quiet times.

In countries that have a national religion, with an imposing and dignified hierarchy, religious profession becomes essential to respectability, and ecclesiastical literature assumes a place among liberal studies. Professional scholars, in such cases, feel a necessity for attending to that species of learning, and even statesmen and civilians confess the importance of a knowledge of matters ecclesiastic. The influence of all this, though greatly to be deprecated for some causes, is far from being one of unmixed evil, as it gives rise to much besides hypocrisy and profane meddling. It is a truth too important to be overlooked, that the laity of the church are the true conservators of doctrinal orthodoxy, and that reformations have been quite as much indebted to them as to the clergy. The fall of any church may be accounted imminent, when its interests are wholly consigned to any one class of men, or rather when the church is abandoned by any class of the guardians assigned her by Providence. At the period now under consideration, ecclesiastical literature was much cultivated by all orders of learned men in England. Politicians of all grades were more or less expert in matters pertaining to the church, and men of letters devoted themselves to its affairs with the zeal and energy of real amateurs.

At the first meeting of the Long Parliament, most of that body favored a modified episcopacy, and were prepared to perpetuate, with some slight changes, the existing hierarchy. But the blind zeal of the prelates, who, with a fatuity characteristic of their order, resisted all innovations, though evidently demanded by the voice of the nation, drove the Parliament, and the more intelligent portion of the people, into direct hostility to prelacy itself. A very rapid change in favor of the Presbyterian interest thus took place in the public mind during the earlier part of the existence of the Long Parliament. But a great and insurmountable obstacle to the final success of that interest was found in the mutual relations of church and state. Civil governments had, in nearly all cases, where the Reformation had prevailed, taken the churches under their protection; and in becoming the protegé of the state, the church, of course, became subject to its authority. Scotland presents the only exception to the facts above stated; and as there the Reformation was achieved in spite of the state, so the church still persists in claiming independence of, and co-ordinate authority with it. In England, this dependence and subjection were not

merely incidental, the result of temporary and accidental causes, but direct and fundamental. The ecclesiastical power had been given to the crown, and so merged with the civil government that the distinct authority of the church immediately became no more than a shadow, and even that very soon vanished. All power being thus concentrated in the civil magistrate, all ecclesiastical authority and dignity must proceed from him, rather than from the body of the clergy, as required by the Presbyterian system.

The virtual expulsion of the king by the civil wars, and the assumption of his prerogatives by Parliament, brought the spiritual supremacy into that body. In the exercise of that authority the Assembly of Divines was convened; and by their obedience to the summons of the Parliament in an affair purely religious, its members tacitly confessed the power of the Parliament in the premises. Those who adhered to the king refused to obey the summons of the Parliament, after he had forbidden the Assembly, lest they should seem to acknowledge that the royal prerogatives had devolved on them. To whichever of the factions that then divided and distracted the kingdom Churchmen attached themselves, it seemed always to be granted that the civil power carried the ecclesiastical with it.

In calling the Assembly, the Parliament took pains to declare that it "was not designed for a national synod or representative body of the clergy, but only as a committee or council to the Parliament, to give their opinion touching such church matters as the houses should lay before them; they had no powers of themselves to make laws or canons, or determine controversies, in matters of faith. They were to enter upon no business but what the Parliament appointed; and when they had done, they were to offer it to the two houses only as their humble advice." The position assumed by Parliament, and acquiesced in by the divines, was, that the church has no independent and substantive being, but exists only as an appendage to the state; and though a ministry and hierarchy are necessary to its perfect development, yet the church is found in all the perfection of its attributes in the civil government. Accordingly, it was held to be the province of the Parliament, by virtue of its revolutionary authority, to prescribe a faith for the consciences, and to impose a discipline upon the conduct, of the entire nation, with no other aid from the proper ministers of the church than the "humble advice" of a few individuals, *when Parliament chose to ask it.* One is at a loss which most to admire, the arrogance of the one party, or the tameness of the other. It must, however, be remembered that such was the

fashion of the times and the nation. Both Churchmen and lawyers had been so long used to view matters in this light that these assumptions were made and submitted to without any consciousness of arrogance on the one hand, or of degradation on the other.

The state of polemical theology at that time requires a passing notice, especially as a great part of the Assembly's labors related to that subject. The doctrines of the early English reformers were peculiarly plain, and free from excessive refinements. Perhaps at no time since the days of the apostles have the great truths of Christianity been set forth with more clearness and purity, than was done at the period of the Reformation by the divines of the Church of England. It was no human system of theology that they taught, nor can it be identified with any school of divinity. Yet from the beginning there was a manifest tendency toward Calvinism. This was caused, in a great degree, by the high reputation of the writings of Augustine, then much used, as were also those of the proto-reformer Wicliff, with the same effect.

The same tendency was also manifest on the continent. Luther was an ardent admirer of Augustine, whose opinions he adopted without much discrimination. In France and Switzerland, the doctrine of predestination was yet more prevalent, and under the direction of him whose name is identified with that system, it had become an integral article in the creed of the reformed churches in those countries. The intercourse of the English Protestants with the reformed churches of the continent increased their tendency toward Calvinism; but it was not till the exiles returned home at the accession of Elizabeth, that it was really ingrafted into the theology of the Church of England. When the Arminian controversy arose, the Calvinistic or Gomarian cause had decidedly the advantage in England. Doctrinal Puritanism was in high estimation at that time, among both Churchmen and Nonconformists. And though some of the deputation from England to the Synod of Dort came back thoroughly cured of Calvinism, yet the decisions of that assembly were generally acceptable in that kingdom. The English Church was rapidly hastening toward fatalism, the vortex of the whirlpool of predestination, when a counter current was felt in the high places of the hierarchy, that gave it another direction. Disgusted at the manners of the Puritans, the court and prelates, and, of course, the whole herd of sycophants, affected a great contempt for their doctrines, and called themselves Arminians. This was the origin of the Laudean school of divinity, which is still sometimes called Arminianism, though it is

altogether another system from that taught by the great doctor of Leyden. This spurious Arminianism was the theology of the court party at the time now under notice; while a high-toned Calvinism prevailed among the better portion of the parish clergy, and with the more enlightened of the laity, both nobles and commons; and as moderation was not among the virtues of the age, its one-sided aspect rather favored than hindered its success.

The calling of the Westminster Assembly is intimately connected with the civil and ecclesiastical history of the times. The bishops had supported the king in all his unconstitutional and oppressive measures of government, so that they and their order had become odious to the friends of liberty. In the Long Parliament they were unanimously and stubbornly opposed to the demanded reforms. Violent measures on the part of the commons, and great indiscretion on that of the bishops, first led to their exclusion from the House of Lords, and finally to the complete abolition of episcopacy; and now the removal of the old hierarchy had devolved on the Parliament the duty of remodeling the ecclesiastical constitution—to aid in which that assembly was called.

The instrument by which the divines were convened is dated June 12, 1643, and is entitled, "An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons in Parliament for the Calling of an Assembly of Learned and Godly Divines and Others, to be consulted with by the Parliament for settling the Government and Liturgy, and for indicating and clearing the Doctrine of said Church [of England] from False Aspersions and Interpretations." The preamble declares that "many things yet remain in the discipline, liturgy, and government of the church, which necessarily require a more perfect reformation:" and as it had been resolved that "the present church government is evil, and justly offensive and burdensome to the kingdom; and a great impediment to reformation and growth in religion, and very prejudicial to the state and government of this kingdom; they are resolved that it shall be taken away, and that such a government shall be settled in the church as may be agreeable to God's holy word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the church at home, and nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland and other reformed churches abroad." The ordinance then proceeds to nominate one hundred and twenty divines, residing in all parts of the kingdom, generally two from a county, who, with ten lords, twenty commoners, and six commissioners from Scotland, composed this advisory council.

The depreciating style in which the Parliament speaks of the doctrine, discipline, and government of the church, might lead a

stranger to the language and sentiments of English divines and Churchmen of every age since the Reformation, to presume that these complaints were the carpings of a faction just now assuming the tones of authority. But they who are versed in these matters need not be told that such complaints have been made continually since the separation from the Papacy; and that, too, not only by captious Nonconformists and temporizing laymen, but also by prelates and all grades of ecclesiastical dignitaries. But the difficulties in the way of the much-desired "more perfect reformation" were more formidable than a superficial observer would suppose. It is often much easier to find fault with what is than to replace it by a better. The government of the church was confessed to be defective; but how was it to be remedied? This question it was less difficult to ask than to answer; and the justly apprehended strifes of factions might well have deterred the cautious, and suggested the inquiry whether the present evils were less tolerable than the threatened conflicts of ecclesiastical gladiators.

In doctrines the case was yet worse. That the theology of the Church of England, as embodied in her Articles, is susceptible of "indicating and clearing," is very evident; but some may think, in view of its design, the ambiguity of the established formulary of faith is one of its chief excellences. In determining what are the doctrines of the Thirty-nine Articles, agreeably to the rule of interpretation that all the parts of a discourse must be so construed as to harmonize among themselves, some pretty violent twisting must be resorted to somewhere. But then the thorough Protestant may interpret the twenty-fifth and twenty-seventh articles by the eleventh, while the semi-papist may compel this to conform to those. The Calvinist will make all the rest quadrate with the seventeenth; while the Arminian will understand that agreeably to his notion of the rest.

But the parliamentary theologians were not of this accomodating temper. They supposed that a confession of faith should be a plain and unequivocal epitome of a body of divinity, as held and taught by the national church. But when a system of theology is fully "cleared and indicated," but few will concur in all its parts. What, then, must be the precise dimensions of the iron bedstead? what the faith of a whole nation? However formidable this question may seem, the Parliament seems not to have feared it. They were ready to decide what might be believed and taught, and to set it forth "with the sanction of authority."

Of the character of the body of men, whom the Parliament called

to their assistance at this time, the most discordant estimates were made by cotemporary writers, and the judgment of later times has been scarcely less divided. King Charles, in his proclamation forbidding the meeting of the Assembly, declared that "the far greater part of them were men of no learning or reputation." Clarendon admits that "about twenty of them were reverend and worthy persons, *and episcopal in their judgment:* but as to the remainder, they were but pretenders in divinity; some were infamous in their lives and characters, and most of them of very mean parts in learning." Laud's condemnation is equally sweeping, but peculiar. He states that "the greater part of them were Brownists, or Independents, or New-England ministers, if not worse; *or, at least, enemies of the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England.*" These wholesale denunciations destroy their own influences by their violence, and serve only to illustrate the power of prejudices even over the great and learned. His majesty's censure is very general, and its statements are contradicted by clear and unquestionable evidence. Even Echard confesses that Clarendon's account is unjust, especially as it relates to the morals of the divines; and the invectives of the primate scarcely deserve an answer, as it is well known that there was not a single Brownist nor New-England minister in the Assembly, and but a comparative handful of Independents.

By another class of writers the highest and most indiscriminate praise has been lavished upon these divines—they have been extolled as patterns of piety, prudence, and learning. Baxter's remarks are worthy of notice, as the judgment of a moderate and discriminating cotemporary writer, who, as he was of no party, was more than most men of that age free from party bias. "The divines there congregated," says he, "were men of eminent learning, and goodness, and ministerial ability and fidelity; and, as far as I am able to judge, the Christian world since the days of the apostles had never seen a synod of more excellent men than this synod and the Synod of Dort." Baxter differed from the majority of the Assembly upon several important points, both of theology and ecclesiastical polity, though his sympathies were, for the most part, with them; and doubtless many who think it very uncertain praise, will acknowledge the justice of his coupling the Westminster Assembly with the Synod of Dort.

In the catalogue of the members of the Assembly are several names of great and enduring renown; and perhaps on few occasions has there been collected such a body of real intellectual and moral greatness as at that time sat down in Henry the Seventh's

Chapel. The pen that could sketch the lineaments of their characters would find, in so doing, a subject worthy of its powers; and the product would be a portrait gallery of rare excellence, as well as great historical interest.

Of the ten lords who sat with the Assembly, one was Edward, Earl of Manchester, whom (then Lord Kimbolton) King Charles a short time previous had impeached, together with five members of the Commons, for opposing his high-handed acts of usurpation. He was soon after made Earl of Manchester; and at the breaking out of the civil war was placed at the head of the parliamentary army, and commanded in person at the battle of Marston Moor. He was of a gentle but dignified character, decidedly religiously disposed, with a moderate inclination to Puritanism. He favored the Independents, and was reckoned among their first friends in the House of Lords; but his prevailing prudence and moderation restrained him from all violent attempts at change. Another of the noble assessors was William, Lord-viscount Say and Seal—from first to last a most uncompromising opposer of the royal usurpations. In this country he is remembered as one of the original proprietors of the colony of New-Haven, and for having, conjointly with Lord Brook, (a kindred spirit,) given name to Saybrook. During the time of darkness, which, for nearly twelve years after the dissolution of the Little Parliament, shrouded the hopes of English patriotism, despairing of the emancipation of his own country, he contemplated a flight to the wilds of America, there to realize the dreams of Plato, or the Utopian realms of Sir Thomas Moore; but now his country demanded his presence and counsels, and he zealously responded to her claims. He was of respectable, though not brilliant, parts; and united a deep religious tone of mind with a restlessness of spirit and incapacity for restraint. He was thoroughly an Independent, and contributed all his influence to the advancement of that cause.

The character of the assessors from the Commons is yet more remarkable, and the case affords ground to suspect that there was some little jealousy of the divines entertained by the Parliament. The withdrawal of such men from the sessions of the Commons, to co-operate with the divines of the Assembly, must have sensibly weakened that body; and it shows that the deliberations of the divines were esteemed of not less interest than those of the Parliament. Of the twenty commoners in the Assembly, the first notice is due to Selden—a prodigy of learning, especially Oriental literature and the entire circles of legal science, and a man of unimpeachable moral character; for even the prejudiced Clarendon

says of him: "He was a person whom no characters can flatter or transmit in any expressions equal to his merits and virtues." He was then about sixty years old, in the maturity of his intellectual strength, admirable alike for immense learning, unwavering decision, and exalted moral worth. Next came Pym, the steady foe of arbitrary power and misrule—a scholar, a Puritan, and a devout Christian. There, too, was St. John, restless, designing, and having the wisdom of the serpent—a man to be feared by all his enemies; and Whitelock, commended by Clarendon for "eminent parts, great learning, and the openness of his character;" and the Vanes—father and son—the former stable, dignified, and discreet; the latter, quick, profound, and fickle, of an unintelligible and doubtful religious character.

Of the individual divines of the Assembly we can speak but very briefly. Dr. Twisse, the prolocutor, was a man of very considerable learning, and of many personal accomplishments; but of moderate abilities, and ill fitted for the place assigned him. Mr. Charles Herle, who succeeded him, was a person of superior parts, and one of the leading spirits of the body. Of Drs. Lightfoot, Goodwin, and Reynolds, and Messrs. Calamy, Coleman, Gataker, and Vines, it is sufficient to mention the names; they were all stars of the first magnitude, sufficient to illustrate the body with which they were associated, and, with many illustrious but less renowned persons, formed a galaxy of unequaled brightness.

At a later period Scotland sent six commissioners to the Assembly—two laymen and four divines. All the divines were men of learning and superior ability. Alexander Henderson was truly a great man—learned, discreet, calm, and self-possessed, distinguished for dignity and comprehensiveness of mind. But he did not escape the plague of his times, for evidently he was as bigoted as a Scots Covenanter. George Gillespie was a young man of brilliant genius and great learning. Though the youngest member of the Assembly, he was acknowledged as the champion of the Presbyterian cause; and such was his confidence in his own powers that he fearlessly entered the lists with such men as Selden, Lightfoot, and Goodwin; and it was thought that the conflict was not always against him. Samuel Rutherford is a name still retained in the republic of letters, and too well known, both as to his excellences and defects, to require further notice. Robert Baillie, author of the "Letters and Journals," spoke but little in the debates; but has rendered a valuable service by his graphic sketches of the Assembly given in that work.

Before proceeding to notice the doings of this famous body, it will be proper to take a view of the parties into which its members were divided. In matter of doctrine, as has been already noticed, they were very generally thorough Calvinists; but relative to church government there was much less unanimity. The mass of the English nation had been educated Episcopalians; and though many had been alienated by the cruel persecutions set on foot by the primates Whitgift, Bancroft, and Laud, and many more by the recent conduct of the bishops in Parliament, there is still reason to believe that a considerable majority of all orders of community favored that form of church government. Several persons of distinction, who became leaders in the Presbyterian cause, were at first decidedly and avowedly in favor of a moderate episcopacy; and there is no good cause to doubt that the nation generally would have been satisfied with Usher's plan of accommodation. But the unyielding bigotry of the Scots in their aggressive zeal for Presbyterianism, joined to the Parliament's necessities for their assistance in the civil wars, led to the sacrifice of the episcopacy as the price of Scotland's favor. Among the divines whom the Parliament summoned to the Assembly were several well-known advocates of the old hierarchy, though generally persons of moderate views, and of great discretion. Of that party were Archbishop Usher, Bishop Brownrigg, Drs. Morley and Hacket, afterward bishops respectively of Winchester and Litchfield, and others of considerable eminence. But as the king forbade the meeting of the Assembly, and threatened to visit with the utmost severity all who should disobey his mandate, the Episcopalians generally refused to attend. There was not, therefore, any decidedly Episcopalian party in the Assembly, though Selden boldly avowed his preference for a moderate episcopacy; and many who took the Covenant explained that clause that related to episcopacy, as referring only to the existing hierarchy, and not to primitive episcopacy.

The Presbyterian party was strong from the first, and rapidly increased in strength during the early part of the Assembly's existence. Besides the influence of the Scots, which was used most unscrupulously, there was a large native Presbyterian interest. Though probably very few would have maintained Cartwright's exclusive system, as the Scots seem to have done, the example of nearly all reformed churches greatly strengthened them in their choice. Both Hampden and Pym are believed to have favored that system, and many other prominent members of the Commons were among its stoutest champions.

The Independents were a party few in number, but powerful in debate and skillful in management. Only five divines (at the head of whom was Dr. Goodwin) fully espoused that cause, though several others lent it a less-decided support. It was, however, the favorite system of the army, and had the countenance of Cromwell, and so triumphed at his elevation to the Protectorate. This system was an evident advance toward religious liberty, though some great advocates of it have been far enough from being practical friends of the rights of conscience. In the only instance where this system has been really established, bigotry and ecclesiastical tyranny assumed their worst forms and attained their fullest development. But the Congregationalism of the New-England colonies was a bastard independency, and deficient in one grand and essential feature of the genuine article—the right of any number of individuals to associate themselves together as a church without regard to other ecclesiastical organizations.

The Erastian party was still more insignificant in numbers than the Independents, for there were but two decided advocates of that cause among the divines of the Assembly. These were Dr. Lightfoot and Mr. Thomas Coleman; both eminent Oriental scholars, and men of superior abilities and great skill in debate. They were, however, seconded by the principal laymen of the Assembly and in Parliament. In Selden they had a tower of strength, and were equally heartily sustained by Whitelocke and St. John. But the strength of the Erastian cause consisted much less in its personal advocates than in the existing state of public affairs. It was interwoven with the whole texture of the ecclesiastical affairs of the country, and had been recognized and submitted to by every member of that Assembly, who at the call of the civil power had resorted thither to do whatever that power should command. The Parliament held and exercised the supreme authority over the church, and were not disposed to surrender it. Here, then, was a real Erastianism to all practical intents and purposes; and whatever outward form the hierarchy might assume, while the power lay in the civil government, the ecclesiastical system must be essentially such. The Presbyterian party, especially the Scots, felt this difficulty, and fought against it with all their might, but could not induce the Parliament to admit the church to a co-ordinate authority with the civil government.

The Assembly convened July 1, 1643, in the chapel of Henry VIII., at Westminster, (whence its name,) and was opened with a sermon by Dr. Twisse, whom the Parliament had named as prolocutor, which was attended by both houses of Parliament. Before

proceeding to business, each member was required to take a vow, or protestation, that he would maintain nothing in doctrine but what he believed to be agreeable to the word of God; nor in discipline, that he did not conceive to conduce most to the glory of God, and the good and peace of the church.

Soon after their first meeting the Assembly petitioned Parliament that a fast might be observed at an early day throughout London and Westminster; in which petition sad complaints are made of evils still existing in the church, and remedies suggested of the most exceptionable character. They especially desire that "the venting of false doctrines may be speedily suppressed;"—a thing highly plausible in itself, but in its accomplishment the fruitful source of persecutions. This petition was in effect to let loose the bull-dogs of persecution against all classes of doctrinists who failed to shape their creeds and confessions agreeably to good doubly distilled Calvinism. Arminianism enjoyed the honor of the foremost place in their Index Expurgatorius, as a pestilent and detestable heresy. Nor did these grand inquisitors distinguish very accurately between the spurious and the genuine Arminianism; for poor John Goodwin was made sensible of his temerity in presuming to differ from the Synod of Dort, though his writings still stand as a monument of his evangelical orthodoxy. Another petition was for a "speedy and thorough proceeding against blind guides and scandalous ministers;" which petition, when granted and carried into effect, caused the kingdom to resound with the imprecations of ejected ministers. The number cast out of their livings by this measure is variously estimated at from five hundred to two thousand. Many of these were notoriously incompetent, and grossly vicious; but it is equally certain that to favor episcopacy, or the royal cause, or Arminianism, was equally offensive to the ruling powers, and not less certain to be visited with ejectment, if not further persecution. The fast was accordingly appointed, and the occasion improved by the Assembly divines to strike the drum ecclesiastic in all the pulpits of London and Westminster. Fasts make an important item in the history of these times. They occurred almost weekly, and were conducted in a manner that in these days would be deemed intolerable. The opening prayer was often from an hour and a half to two hours in length, the sermon about as long, and the closing prayer another hour. The congregations, which were generally very large on these occasions, would assemble at eight or nine o'clock, and remain fixed in their places all the day, as if held by the charm of the prayers and sermons!

The first business given to the Assembly by their masters was the

revisal of the Articles of the Church of England. These Articles had been framed with the manifest design of allowing some latitude of opinion among the members of the national church, and therefore many minor points in theology were left without any explicit determination. It was now the purpose of the Parliament and the Assembly to remove any obscurity or ambiguity in their language, and to give them a more decided Calvinistic expression. Ten weeks were devoted to this business, when they had advanced no further than to the sixteenth article; the Scots commissioners then arriving persuaded them to abandon that work, and to undertake a more thorough revisal of the ecclesiastical constitution. The work thus begun by the Assembly, though abandoned before half done, is far from being destitute of interest. It shows what were the views and purpose of the English parliamentary party before they put themselves in leading strings to the Scots. The design "to render their sense more express and determinate in favor of Calvinism" seemed indeed likely to be accomplished, though with more moderation than was exercised when the Confession was framed. The first, second, fourth, fifth, sixth, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, either remained wholly unchanged, or received only slight verbal alterations but little affecting the sense, though generally designed to give them a Calvinistic leaning. The third article, relative to Christ's descent into hell, is expanded, and so expressed as to seem to disfavor the notion of the intermediate place of spirits. As in the original it declares nothing through intentional obscurity, so here it amounts to about the same by inanity. The seventh, relative to the Old Testament, specifies ALL the ten commandments as included in the moral law, thus determining the contested point of the morality of the sabbath. The eighth, relative to the three creeds, is wholly omitted. The principal changes were made in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh articles; and though their form and verbiage are but slightly altered, yet by the interjection of a few important clauses, and the modification of a few others, the plain, catholic truth of these admirable articles is perverted into the narrow views and expressions of a party.

The commingling of civil and religious affairs distinguishes all the proceedings of that period. While the Assembly was occupied with revising the Articles, the Parliament was endeavoring to enlist the Scots in their war against the king. The relations existing between Charles and his northern subjects were at that time far from amicable; but, unlike his quarrel with his English subjects, his difficulties with the Scots were purely ecclesiastical. The king, led on by the primate, Laud, had madly attempted to force

upon the Church of Scotland both the prelacy and the liturgy of the Church of England, and in so doing had aroused against himself the same power that had exiled his grandmother, (the unfortunate Mary,) and held his father in durance till he was liberated by ascending the throne of the Tudors. Defeated in that insane attempt, he was compelled to make a dishonorable treaty with his rebellious subjects without being able to regain their confidence. The Scots were thus rendered jealous of their religious liberties, and more intent upon fortifying themselves against future encroachments. The similarity of the circumstances of the two kingdoms naturally gave rise to a mutual sympathy, which the English Parliament hoped to render available in the form of military services against the king. The Scots "Convention of Estates" stood adjourned to the 2d of August, at which time the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland was also to meet. To these august bodies it was therefore resolved to send a commission to solicit the co-operation of the sister kingdom in the efforts then making to secure the civil and religious liberties of both England and Scotland. To forward the design, the Assembly at Westminster addressed a letter to the Scots General Assembly, "setting forth the deplorable condition of the kingdom of England, which was upon the edge of a most dangerous precipice, ready to be swallowed up by Satan and his instruments." The advances of the English were not unacceptable to the Scots, who had long and impatiently expected such overtures; but to keep up appearances there must needs be a little coquetting on the one part and intriguing on the other. On behalf of the English Parliament the negotiations were conducted chiefly by Sir Henry Vane, junr., and by Messrs. Marshall and Nye for the Assembly; and the whole resulted in bringing the Scots to make common cause with the Parliament in the civil wars.

The Scots, however, and especially the General Assembly, were anxious to give the whole affair a religious aspect, so as to render it serviceable to their own ecclesiastical designs. They accordingly interpreted the existing difficulties to be the effects of religious causes, and concluded that the war was undertaken for religion, and that the Protestant faith was in danger,—presuming that if the churches of the two kingdoms were embarked in a common cause of danger and defense, there would be an increased tendency to uniformity in doctrine and discipline. With characteristic assurance, they demanded, as a condition of their uniting with the English, that they should dictate in two particulars—faith and discipline. The other party was ready to make almost any concessions in matters of religion, as the price of political advantages

and military succors. These negotiations gave rise to the famous Solemn League and Covenant. That instrument was at first called simply "the Covenant,"—as in its original form it was intended to be purely religious, and to embody the essence of Scots Presbyterianism. It asserted the exclusive divine right of that form of polity, and made its establishment, with its converse, the extirpation of every form of episcopacy, its great final purpose. But Sir Henry Vane, junr., could not be induced to commit himself and his constituents to an uncertain cause, and one too for which he had but little favor; and Mr. Nye, as subsequent developments proved, had quite another scheme of ecclesiastical polity at heart. A less explicit form of expression than the zealous Scots had dictated was therefore adopted, so as to admit by its ambiguity of greater latitude of interpretation;—the Scots meanwhile presuming that all was safe, since it was agreed that all should be ordered "according to the example of the best reformed churches," which they understood of course to include their own. As finally adopted, the Covenant was a two-edged sword, designed and adapted to work a twofold revolution in England, and to confirm and guaranty the newly acquired immunities of Scotland.

The Covenant was adopted by the General Assembly without a dissenting voice, and with many demonstrations of deep emotion and enthusiastic joy; and the same day it was passed in the Convention of Estates with like unanimity. The document, having been duly subscribed, was given into the charge of a board of commissioners then about to repair to the Westminster Assembly, to be laid before that august body and the English Parliament, for their concurrence and adoption. When proposed to that Assembly it was warmly opposed, especially the vow to seek the extirpation of prelacy. Dr. Featly objected that he could not abjure prelacy absolutely, as he had sworn to obey his bishop in all things lawful and honest, and moved to qualify the language of the Covenant by adding the words, "all unchristian, tyrannical, and independent," to the term "prelacy;" but his motion failed. Dr. Burgess objected to several articles, and evidently disliked the whole instrument; and on his motion a parenthesis was inserted, defining the sense in which the word "prelacy" was to be understood—a sense by the way that the Scots never intended. Dr. Twisse, the prolocutor, and Mr. Gataker, with several others, defended a modified episcopacy; nor could the Covenant find favor with the Assembly till so worded as to allow that form of polity, to which many of the leading divines declared their constant attachment. It is manifest that at the arrival of the Scots commissioners a majority of the

Assembly were favorable to a modification, rather than the extirpation, of their ancient form of church government; and it is unquestionable, that, but for their influence, the extreme measures of reform afterward adopted would not have prevailed.

Whatever may be thought of the Covenant itself, the means by which it was forced upon the English deserve the most decided condemnation. First of all, it was made the only price of Scotland's aid to the Parliament in the civil war—aid which must be obtained, though upon dishonorable terms. In such times men's consciences, especially those of the leaders of factions, acquire a wonderful elasticity, so that oaths, treaties, and covenants, are often made and broken with great facility. Both houses of Parliament received the Covenant without much difficulty and with great unanimity. The Assembly was less pliable, and the most exceptionable measures were used to induce the refractory to submit. Dr. Featly was arrested about this time, on a charge of having divulged to Archbishop Usher the proceedings of the Assembly, (but others thought his opposition to the Covenant was the chief cause,) and thrown into prison, where he suffered much, and died of the effects of his sufferings some two years afterward. Dr. Burgess was scarcely more fortunate; but his courage failed him when he had been suspended from his seat in the Assembly, and no doubt justly apprehended yet greater inconveniences should he remain steadfast in his opposition. One may readily imagine the system of annoyances that unscrupulous partisans would employ, in such a case, upon a refractory brother, and how infinitely uncomfortable would be the situation of any one who should firmly refuse to go all lengths with those who, for their own purposes, were driving on the revolutionary sphere. Men were then required to swear to do what many believed to be unlawful; still more, to be inexpedient; and about which most of all knew or cared but little. All ministers, whatever their ecclesiastical preferences or conscientious scruples, were required to forward the taking of the Covenant in their parishes; and to have taken it was a prerequisite for any public employment, or even the exercise of the rights of a freeman, and no person could be ordained to the ministry without it. In Scotland things were carried with a yet higher hand. All who refused it forfeited goods and rents, and incurred further discretionary penalties, and the more obstinate were actually declared enemies to their king and country.

The presence of the Scots commissioners in the Assembly of divines, and the adoption of the Solemn League and Covenant, gave a new phase to public affairs. The revisal of the Thirty-nine

Articles was dropped; and, as many churches were vacant through the prevailing commotions, it seemed to be the first duty of the Parliament and Assembly to remedy so great an evil. But there were serious difficulties in the way. The bishops, to whom the law of the land had assigned the exclusive authority to ordain to the ministry, were all in the interests of the king; besides, the whole hierarchy had been abolished by Parliament, and doomed to extirpation by the Covenant. This brought up the subject of the nature of ordination, and necessarily called out the several parties of the Assembly. All admitted the validity of ordinations by presbyters, but there was much difference on subordinate questions. The Episcopal interest was too small to offer any considerable obstruction; with the Presbyterians there was no difficulty in the case but want of power; but the Independents insisted on the concurrence of the several churches in the appointment of their ministers. While these things were debated in the Assembly, the Parliament put an end to the strife by appointing a committee of ministers to ordain *pro tempore;* thus cutting by a single stroke of Erastian authority the knot which Presbyterian and Congregational logic had failed to untie.

The next business that occupied the Assembly was the preparation of a Directory for public worship. The liturgy of the Church of England has always been an occasion of offense to many of its most valuable members;—to the Puritans of that age it was especially distasteful. Their objections are summed up in the preface to the Directory, which the Assembly now submitted as a substitute for the Book of Common Prayer. They say: "Long and sad experience hath made it manifest that the liturgy used in the Church of England hath proved an offense, not only to many of the godly at home, but also to the reformed churches abroad." This offense they declared to have been the occasion of much dissent, and consequent persecution, whereby many able and pious ministers had been excluded from the sacred office, and the cause of true piety greatly prejudiced. It is also affirmed that the liturgy had been the means of confirming many in their love of Popery, and that by it Papists were kept in the expectation that the whole church would again become subject to the pope;—it had "made and increased an idle and unedifying ministry," and "had been a matter of endless strife and contention in the church, and a snare, both to many godly and faithful ministers, who had been persecuted and silenced upon that occasion, and to others of hopeful parts, many of which had been, and more still would be, diverted from all thoughts of the ministry to other studies." "Upon these considerations," they de-

clare, "we have resolved to lay aside the former liturgy, with the many rites and ceremonies formerly used in the worship of God, and have agreed upon the following Directory for all parts of public worship, at ordinary and extraordinary times." "It has been observed," says Neal, "that the Directory is not an absolute form of devotion; but, agreeably to its title, contains only some general directions, taken partly from the word of God, and partly from rules of Christian prudence: it points out the heads of public prayer, of preaching, and other parts of the pastoral function, leaving the minister a discretionary latitude to fill vacancies according to his abilities."

Simultaneously with the preparation of the Directory, the Assembly was occupied in settling a form of church government. This gave rise to warm debates, and occasioned incurable divisions. At first, a moderate and simplified episcopacy was talked of, but the progress of opinions soon left that design far in the rear. "Extirpation" was the language of the Covenant toward "prelacy;" nor could the restricted application of that term, as used by the Assembly, change the minds of the Scots whose voices still swayed that body. The great principle of *ministerial parity* now prevailed among all parties, and was assumed and granted in all their discussions. On subordinate points the Presbyterians and Independents were widely at variance; though, after much disputation, a mutual compromise was attempted: but the peace thus procured was too hollow to be permanent. Indeed, a compromise, in such a case, could not result otherwise; for the Presbyterians claimed divine right for their whole system, which necessarily rendered accommodation impracticable. The Independents were easily outvoted; but, by superior tact and forensic ability, and especially through the favor of Cromwell and the army, they effectually circumvented the designs of their opponents. The Parliament became jealous of the lofty pretensions of the Presbyterians; the army menaced the Parliament and Assembly with petitions for liberty of conscience, till the Scots commissioners threatened to return home in sorrow and disgust. It was at this juncture that Milton, whose muse delighted in the whirlwind and tempest, sent forth his withering satire upon "The New Forcers of Consciences in the Long Parliament," by which he has doomed their iniquitous designs to perpetual infamy, and given to the name of one of the Scots commissioners an unenviable immortality. At length a form of church government, according to the model of the Church of Scotland, was adopted by the Presbyterian majority of the Assembly, against the strenuous resistance of the Independents and Erastians.

But the great work of the Assembly, and that by which the greatest and most durable effects have been produced, was the preparation of a Confession of Faith. We have noticed the partially accomplished work of revising the Articles of the Church of England, which was laid aside at the instance of the Scots, who advised a more thorough and radical work. A committee to draw up such an instrument was appointed as early as May, 1645, who, having made incomplete reports at several times, reported finally in November, 1646. The instrument thus produced bears the impress of the genius of Alexander Henderson, who, a few years before, had been engaged in a similar work for the Church of Scotland. This, therefore, was almost wholly a transcript of that; and had it been adopted by the Parliament, the union of the two national churches would have been virtually accomplished. In the Assembly, the little band of Erastians opposed it with all their might, but could effect nothing till the subject came before the Parliament. Nor did the purely doctrinal portions pass with perfect unanimity; for though all the divines were Calvinistic in their notions, yet some objected to certain expressions relative to reprobation, the imputation of Christ's active righteousness, liberty of conscience, and church authority. After due deliberation, the doctrinal articles were approved by both houses of Parliament; but the rest were first recommitted, and afterward abandoned. The prize so long and earnestly pursued by the Presbyterians, though it had seemed to be almost in their hands, thus finally eluded their grasp; and the little body of Erastians rejoiced in gaining by the power of Parliament what was denied them by their brethren of the Assembly.

That famous Confession is, in many particulars, a remarkable production. As a well-written instrument it may challenge a comparison with any similar work. Its style and language are forcible and perspicuous—easily intelligible, and hard to be misconstrued. It is known to be most thoroughly Calvinistic; setting forth the more objectionable features of that system with undisguised frankness. The subject of predestination, to use the words of a modern Calvinist, "is an abyss that calls rather for submission and adoration than discovery." Not so thought the Westminster divines; and accordingly they set themselves at work to sound that abyss, and to discover and define its chief points. The case presents a singular instance of the temerity of the pride of reason, and demonstrates its inability to solve the mysteries of divine truth. It may be very difficult by the force of logic to evade the conclusion of predestinarians; it is equally difficult for them to reconcile their

own views to a sense of justice, and the revealed character of God. Both parties to this controversy have need to learn that some things are too high for them. If revelation discloses truths which threaten to clash in their remote consequences, it becomes us to leave those consequences to God, nor dare to dim the glory of his name by limiting his natural attributes of knowledge and power; or by so hiding his moral perfections as to make him appear as an Almighty Tyrant.

As to the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, apart from the vexed question of the decrees, that Confession is worthy of all praise. Respecting the nature of the divine government, and of sin—the federal character of Adam, his fall, and the consequent original depravity and condemnation of his progeny—the nature of the atonement, justification by faith, regeneration, and sanctification—on all these points its statements, though occasionally dimmed by its Calvinistic drapery, are eminently orthodox and evangelical. Whoever adopts it as the formulary of his faith, though he may err as to certain speculative points, will be sound in all things essential to a saving appreciation of the way of salvation.

Though this Confession of Faith failed to become the doctrinal standard of the Church of England, as by law established, yet it was far from being an abortion. In Scotland it was at once adopted, without amendment, by the General Assembly of the Kirk, and ratified by the National Parliament, and so has been perpetuated to the present time. It also continued to be cherished with an affectionate reverence by the English Presbyterians; and at the Conference of Savoy it received the formal sanction of the dissenting Calvinists of the kingdom, with whom it is still regarded as their authoritative doctrinal standard. In America it became the basis of the Cambridge and Saybrook platforms, as well as the great doctrinal charter of the Presbyterian Churches; and is still generally acknowledged and adhered to by all classes of orthodox Calvinists; thus rendering it the leavening principle in the material of a great proportion of the religious instruction of the nation.

While the Confession was yet in the hands of the committee, or passing through the Assembly, such parts as had been approved were given to committees to be reduced to the form of catechisms. Two of these were finally completed; one larger, designed for public instruction from the pulpit, being a succinct but comprehensive system of divinity; the other smaller, for the instruction of children and youth. The subject of church government was not introduced into these catechisms; so that they occasioned but little dispute, and were both approved and sent forth by the Parlia-

ment. To those who approve the peculiarities of their theological views, these simple manuals of Christian doctrine must be above all price, and deservedly rank next to the Bible. It is not the least praise of this renowned Assembly, that they did not consider it beneath their dignity to simplify their doctrines, and adapt their statements to the young and the illiterate. It justly claims our admiration to see this great synod of learned and dignified persons and the Parliament of England, amid the tumults of civil war, concentrating their intellectual and moral energies upon such a task.

The influence of the labors of the Assembly has been extensive and controlling over multitudes of the better portion of the inhabitants of the British Islands, and other parts, wherever the English language is spoken. To their formularies millions have owed their preservation from destructive errors, their theological knowledge, and saving, sober piety. Up to that time the Puritanical party, and the distinctive principles of Puritanism, had no proper embodiment, but existed as a warring element in the national church. It now assumed a distinctive form, and a tangible individuality; and ever since has maintained its position, and exerted a most salutary influence in the world. By it the Romanizing tendency of the English Establishment has been kept in check: its opposition to the demanded uniformity has perpetuated religious liberty; while its deep-toned orthodoxy has stood as a bulwark against the onsets of every form of seductive error. As it was only in Scotland that these formularies became really the doctrinal and disciplinary standards of the church, to that kingdom we must look for an exemplification of their practical tendency. On this point the language of one of Scotland's worthies may be cited, as a felicitous statement of the case: "By these," (the Confession and Catechisms,) says the biographer of Alexander Henderson, "these divines have erected a monument in almost every heart in Scotland. For two hundred years these have withstood the attacks of infidelity, and even many severe wounds from the hands of their friends; yet is the Confession of Faith, unshaken as the rock of ages, still found, on a sabbath afternoon, in the hands of our peasantry, dear to them almost as their Bible; and the Catechism, carried morning after morning, by our sons and our daughters, to the parish school, (the plan of which Henderson devised,) that their contents may enlighten the minds and spiritualize the feelings of the rising generation. Next to the introduction of Christianity itself into Scotland, and the translation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue, the framing of the Confession

of our Faith, and of the Catechisms, has conferred the greatest boon on every Christian in our country."

We have, in the foregoing quotation, incidentally introduced a name which deserves more than a passing notice—Alexander Henderson. Though many circumstances concurred to give this age an influence over later times, and though many master-workmen were engaged upon these venerable structures, yet he may be justly regarded as the ruling spirit of his age. It was not that his voice was always loudest in debate, nor that he could coerce men into a reluctant obedience to his own will; but, being a man of singular decision of character, and of an almost idolatrous devotion to his own religious sentiments, with great natural and acquired abilities, joined to a commanding but conciliating address, he left his impress upon whatever passed through his hands, and silently insinuated his own opinions into other minds. The commotions of the church of his native kingdom first called into public notice his transcendent genius. Prepared by long exercise in those troubles, he came to Westminster to mingle anew in the conflicts of contending minds, and to fashion the Church of England, then in a transition state, after his own cherished model. As a reformer he was "radical," but not "destructive;" for he was no less skillful to build up than strong to pull down. He discouraged the revisal of the old Articles of the Church of England, and advised an entirely new formulary of doctrines. He opposed a modification of the episcopacy, and insisted upon a pure Presbyterianism. Though co-operating and making common cause with Independents and Erastians against prelacy, he would, in no case, abate his exclusive claims for his own cherished system. His confidence in the goodness of his cause made him bold, and even pertinacious, in its defense. He appears to have been fully persuaded that his reasons for his own notions of church government were quite irresistible; and he was therefore positive in his conclusions, and impatient of contradiction. But, though never convinced by arguments, he would sometimes prudently yield to the power that he could not effectually resist, and suspend the purposes that he never abandoned. Against the vast learning of Lightfoot, the skill and erudition of Selden, or the majesty of his fallen prince, he was equally undaunted; constantly asserting the exclusive divine right of his favorite Presbyterianism. He was evidently of that sort of men of which martyrs are made, and needed only a change of circumstances to have given his name a high place among those who have sealed a good confession with their blood. Nearly every considerable production of that memorable period bears his im-

press. The Solemn League and Covenant was his own composition. The Directory was formed under his eye. He wrote the principal part of the Confession of Faith with his own hand. And the form of church government which the Assembly attempted in vain to give to the Church of England was little more than a transcript of that which he had, a little before, drawn up for the Church of Scotland. But his labors were more than he could long endure, and, in the midst of his days, he fell a sacrifice to his strenuous fidelity to the cause he had espoused, and which he sincerely believed to be that of his divine Master. His country honors his memory as that of one of her chief benefactors; and the whole Christian world owes him a debt of lasting gratitude.

Most of the business for which the Assembly was convened had been gone over, when, in the latter part of the year 1648, the final action was had on the Catechisms. But little, however, had been done to the satisfaction of those who at the first came up to that body with the most sanguine expectations. The days of the Assembly's usefulness had passed, and it would have been well had the Parliament then terminated its being, or had they asked to be dissolved. The breach between the Presbyterians and Independents had widened, and become apparently irreparable. Their discussions were no longer the intercourse of generous minds laboring to elicit truth; but the bickerings and criminations of angry partisans contending for victory. The Parliament continued to exercise supreme authority in the affairs of the church; and nothing could be approved and ratified in the Discipline, Confession, or Catechisms, that denied their right to do so. The Assembly, through the influence of a variety of causes, was going rapidly to decay. Many of the divines had returned to their parishes in the remote parts of the kingdom, and public expectation was no longer directed to them. A new and formidable enemy to both that body and the Parliament began to appear in the army, now clamoring for a republic, and religious toleration. In the latter part of the year 1647 the Scots took formal leave of the Assembly, after an interchange of civilities, and returned home; but little satisfied with what had been effected, and entertaining but faint hopes of the future. Henderson had gone some time previous, first, to Newcastle, in the vain hope of inducing the captive monarch to become a Presbyterian; and thence to Edinburgh, where, after a few weeks, he sickened and died. The Scots General Assembly, in August of the same year, ratified the Confession of Faith, and a year later the Catechisms; the Directory, and Form of Church Government, had been previously adopted, and reduced to practice.

The business of the Assembly was now virtually at an end. They had performed the work assigned them, and submitted what they had done to the Parliament, to be approved, modified, or rejected. But the power of the Parliament was declining scarcely less rapidly than that of the Assembly, and universal confusion again threatened the distracted church and kingdom. A proposition to obtain the king's sanction for the Assembly, with the addition of twenty Episcopalian divines, was talked of, but failed; and that once powerful and illustrious body for some time dragged on a feeble and useless existence, without either dignity or employment. The few members who remained continued, at intervals, their formal but useless sessions, till February 22d, 1649, when they were changed to a committee for examining candidates for vacant churches. Thus terminated the labors of the Assembly of Divines, after they had sat five years, six months, and twenty-two days, and had held one thousand one hundred and sixty-three sessions. In its new character, the committee of triers continued to hold their meetings for three years longer, till Cromwell forcibly dissolved the Long Parliament; and so the committee, the poor remains of the famous Westminster Assembly of Divines, ceased to be. In its origin, progress, and end, it was like a meteor bursting suddenly into being, and beaming with unwonted splendor for a season, till again lost in the surrounding gloom, now rendered more intense by the departed radiance. Not so, however, were its effects: but, like the genial showers and the gentle sunshine of early spring, it imparted life and strength to what had seemed utterly dead; and, though lost again among the lingering blasts of winter, it was the pledge of the coming summer, and the seed-time of that harvest whose reaping is yet in progress.

ART. VII.—*Methodist Hymnology; comprehending Notices of the Poetical Works of John and Charles Wesley, &c. With Critical and Historical Observations.* By DAVID CREAMER. New-York. 1848.

IN the number of this journal for April, 1844, appeared the first extended criticism of the Methodist Hymn-book. In the year following a small volume, entitled, "Wesleyan Hymnology; or, a Companion to the Wesleyan Hymn-book," was published in London. We have now before us the result of six years of absorbing study of this subject, by a lay member of our church, in a neatly printed volume of four hundred and seventy pages, duo-

decimo. Having availed himself of the critical labors of his predecessors, and given the whole subject a patient and protracted investigation, Mr. Creamer's work may be considered hereafter as a standard authority on the subject of which he treats; and although there still remain disputed questions as to the authorship of some of the hymns, and there will ever be diversity of opinion as to their relative beauty and excellence, we hold ourselves and the church largely his debtors for this most interesting and instructive volume.

The work is divided into three parts. In the *first*, we have brief biographical and critical sketches of most of the authors from whom the poetry in our standard Hymn-book has been selected; and in the *second*, a chronological arrangement of the poetical productions of Charles and John Wesley, interspersed with historical observations and critical remarks. Our readers generally have, perhaps, little idea of the number and extent of the poetical publications of the two brothers; and our intention, in the present article, is, mainly, to follow our author in a rapid statement of the volumes issued by them.

Their first publication was "A Collection of Psalms and Hymns. London: Printed in the Year MDCCXXXVIII." This volume our author has not seen. It is exceedingly rare; and all we know of it is derived from the statements of Mr. Jackson, and an incidental allusion in an article on "Methodism in Former Days," published in the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine for 1845. It contained twenty-three psalms and forty-six hymns, most of them, however, selected from other authors, and was sold for eight pence.

To this succeeded, in the following year, (1739,) a duodecimo volume of two hundred and twenty-three pages, entitled "Hymns and Sacred Poems. By John and Charles Wesley." The poetry is not, however, entirely the production of the two brothers. There are twenty poems from Herbert, six written by Gambold, one by Dr. Hicks, one by Dr. More, and two by Samuel Wesley, senior. In this volume is contained a "congratulation to a friend, upon believing in Christ." It bears unmistakeable evidence of its authorship, and is said to have been addressed by Charles to his brother John just after he had experienced the blessing of justification by faith. The reader will be pleased if we transcribe a few stanzas:—

"Bless'd be the Name that sets thee free,
The Name that sure salvation brings!
The Sun of righteousness on thee
Has rose, with healing in his wings:

Away let grief and sighing flee;
Jesus hath died for thee—for thee!
* * * * *
"Still may his love thy fortress be,
And make thee still his darling care,
Settle, confirm, and 'stablish thee,—
On eagles' wings thy spirit bear,
Fill thee with heavenly joy, and shed
His choicest blessings on thy head.

"Thus may he comfort thee below,
Thus may he all his graces give:
Him but in part thou here canst know,
Yet here by faith submit to live;
Help me to fight my passage through,
Nor seize thy heaven, till I may too."

In this volume first appeared forty-nine of the hymns now found in the Methodist Hymn-book, including twenty-two translations from the German, one from the Spanish, and one from the French. Mr. Creamer inclines to the opinion that all these translations were made by the elder brother, although we cannot help believing, with the late Richard Watson, that there is in many of them "internal evidence of Charles's manner;" and although it has been said that we have no evidence at all that Charles ever studied the German language, yet were there, in his day, rude and literal English versions of many of the German hymns, which he may have used in the preparation of his own inimitable verses. That John wrote some of them is clear; but the question as to which, and how many, will probably never be settled.

Our author was probably napping when he intimates that the hymn beginning,

"Thou true and only God, lead'st forth,"

is found only in the Wesleyan Collection. It is the second part of 207 in our book, as indeed he himself states on a preceding page.

In a third volume, issued by the two brothers in 1740, entitled "Hymns and Sacred Poems," are found eighteen stanzas "On the Anniversary of One's Conversion," from which was taken the well-known hymn, the first in our own and in the Wesleyan Collection:—

"O for a thousand tongues to sing," &c.

In this volume were also four hymns, "all of which," says our author, "were probably addressed to Mr. Whitefield." One of

them, written on his second embarkation for America, we deem well worthy of a place in the new selection now in process of preparation by a committee appointed by the late General Conference. We would entitle it, "*On a Voyage:*"—

"Glory to Thee, whose powerful word
Bids the tempestuous winds arise:
Glory to thee, the sovereign Lord
Of air, and earth, and seas, and skies!

"Let air, and earth, and skies, obey,
And seas thine awful will perform:
From them we learn to own thy sway,
And shout to meet the gath'ring storm.

"What though the floods lift up their voice,
Thou hearest, Lord, our louder cry:
They cannot damp thy children's joys,
Or shake the soul, when God is nigh.

"Headlong we cleave the yawning deep,
And back to highest heaven are borne,
Unmoved, though rapid whirlwinds sweep,
And all the wat'ry world upturn.

"Roar on, ye waves! our souls defy
Your roaring to disturb our rest:
In vain t' impair the calm ye try,
The calm in a believer's breast.

"Rage, while our faith the Saviour tries,
Thou sea, the servant of his will;
Rise, while our God permits thee rise:
But fall when he shall say, 'Be still!'"

Two years had hardly elapsed when a fourth volume, bearing the same title, was issued by the brothers. The poetry is almost entirely from the pen of Charles; and from it have been taken more of our standard hymns than from any other single volume. Among others in our collection:—

"179. Arise, my soul, arise.
77. Come, O thou Traveler unknown.
136. Fountain of life, to all below.
156. Jesus, my strength, my hope.
303. O for a heart to praise my God.
331. O glorious hope of perfect love.
415. Try us, O God, and search the ground.
378. Vain, delusive world, adieu," &c.

This last hymn, it will be remembered, has been attributed by many compilers to Hill; and, on the strength of these bold assertions, the author of the article in this Review, for April, 1844, gave him credit for it. We are gratified in being enabled to correct the error, and assign it to its true source.

In the year 1745 appeared a volume entitled "Hymns on the Lord's Supper," all of which seem to have been written by the two brothers. They are in number one hundred and sixty-six. A few of them had appeared in their previous publications. "Although," says Mr. Jackson, "they all refer to one subject, they are distinguished throughout by a remarkable variety of thought and expression. The flame of devotion by which they are animated is bright and intense."

A volume, entitled "Hymns for those that seek, and those that have, Redemption in the Blood of Jesus Christ," made its appearance in 1746. It was published anonymously, and seems to have been entirely overlooked by the biographers of the Wesleys. This was followed, in the succeeding year, by a tract of thirty-six pages, entitled "Hymns of Petition and Thanksgiving for the Promise of the Father, by the Rev. Mr. John and Charles Wesley;" and another, styled "Hymns for Ascension Day."

In the year 1748 first appeared what is called the enlarged edition of the Psalms and Hymns, which were written almost entirely by Charles Wesley and Dr. Watts. Those by the latter are twenty-seven in number; and most of them were altered more or less by the founder of Methodism. We notice a few of the more prominent emendations. In the hymn beginning,

"And must this body die,"

(554 in our collection,) Watts wrote in the second line,—

"This mortal frame,"

altered by Wesley to,—

"This well-wrought frame."

In verse third the substitution of "ever" for "often" is a manifest improvement:—

"And often (Wesley, *ever*) from the skies."

The fifth verse is, in the original,—

"These lively hopes we owe
To Jesus' dying love;
We would adore his grace below,
And sing his power above."

Thus amended by John Wesley:—

"These lively hopes we owe,
Lord, to thy dying love:
O may we bless thy grace below,
And sing thy power above!"

The alteration of the last verse of our 44th hymn is not so happy. Watts wrote:—

"And thy soft wings, celestial Dove,
Will safe convey me home."

Wesley:—

"May thy bless'd wings, celestial Dove,
Safely convey me home."

In the year 1749 Mr. Charles Wesley published two volumes of Hymns and Sacred Poems, bearing his own name only on the title-page. Our author appears to think this a sufficient evidence that all the poetry therein contained was of his own composition. We doubt the correctness of the inference, inasmuch as in those days there was little of that pride of authorship now so common; and it is most certain that in the previous publications bearing the names of the two brothers, there are poems by different writers without a hint as to their origin. We please ourselves at any rate with the idea that the hymn found in this volume, and transferred to our book, beginning,

"How happy are they,"

was furnished by another hand, and inserted in the volume against the better judgment of the great Methodist lyrist. The hymns selected from this volume, now forming a part of our standard collection, amount to more than one hundred.

On occasion of the shocks of an earthquake in 1750, a tract, containing hymns on that subject, was issued by Charles Wesley; who, as our author tells us, was the author of the sermon on that subject, found, without credit, in the first volume of the Sermons of his brother John. To these succeeded, "Hymns for the Use of Methodist Preachers," in 1758; "Funeral Hymns;" "Hymns for New-Year's Day," in which is found that well-known lyric, the authorship of which has been much disputed:—

"Blow ye the trumpet, blow."

By many hymn compilers this has been credited to Toplady; and our author professes himself "exceedingly gratified thus unquestionably to verify its authorship."

In 1756 appeared the second edition of "Hymns on God's Everlasting Love;" and two years afterward, "Hymns of Intercession for all Mankind." In the former are found several of the poet's most admired productions; and from the latter also a few have been selected, which still retain a place in our standard volume.

Five years later, in 1761, Mr. John Wesley published a selection of hymns, with appropriate tunes, designed chiefly for his own followers. In his preface he says,—

"I want the people called Methodists to sing true the tunes which are in common use among them. At the same time, I want them to have in one volume the best hymns which we have printed; and that in a small and portable volume, and one of an easy price. I have been endeavoring for more than twenty years to procure such a book as this, but in vain. Masters of music were above following any direction but their own. And I was determined, whoever compiled this, should follow my direction; not mending our tunes, but setting them down neither better nor worse than they were. At length I have prevailed. The following collection contains all the tunes which are in common use among us."

During the next year the most voluminous production of Charles Wesley's prolific muse made its appearance, being two volumes of hymns on select passages of Scripture. In the first edition they were two thousand one hundred and forty-five in number; but were reduced afterward, by the omission of about one hundred, probably at the suggestion of his brother John. Our author quotes, as a specimen of the work, the following lines, founded on 2 Chron vi, 36, "There is no man which sinneth not:"—

"No; every fallen child of man
Must sin in thought, and word, and deed;
But bursting our oppressor's chain
When Jesus hath his pris'ners freed;
The dire necessity is o'er,
And, born of God, we sin no more."

To these volumes our Hymn-book is largely indebted, among others for the hymns beginning,—

"A charge to keep I have."
"Be it my only wisdom here."
"Come, let us use the grace divine."
"Father, I dare believe."
"Let not the wise their wisdom boast," &c.

A collection of "Hymns for Children and Others of Riper Years" was published in 1766, of which a *fifth* edition was issued from the Conference Office, London, in 1842. Our author calls this a delightful little volume, and says:—

"The question has often been suggested to the mind of the writer, why is it that the Christian world has shown so much more favor to the 'Divine Songs' of Dr. Watts, than to the 'Hymns for Children' of Charles Wesley? Why is it that thousands, perhaps tens of thousands, of editions of Dr. Watts's hymns have been issued in this country, *and hundreds of them from our own Methodist press*, while not a single edition of Wesley's hymns have been published? Is it because the former work is so far superior to the latter? Such is by no means the case, as will fully appear upon an examination and comparison of the two works. The truth is, our own church has been shamefully unmindful of the merits and memory of her poet, perhaps because unconscious of the rich legacy bequeathed to her, and, it may be, her incompetency properly to appreciate the literary treasure. But the *stigma* should remain no longer. A brighter intellectual day is dawning upon the church, and her membership may now at least *begin* to appreciate the sublime productions of a sanctified genius, who anticipated by three quarters of a century the intellectual wants of the Christian world; and thereby furnished beforehand what is now acknowledged to be a *desideratum in religious literature*. Let the church, then, meet the emergency promptly by publishing forthwith an edition of Charles Wesley's 'Hymns for Children:' a more valuable boon could not be conferred upon the children, while others of riper years would also share in the precious patrimony."—Pp. 207, 208.

We commend these remarks to the attention of our Sunday-school editor, not being able ourselves to indorse the sentiment, as it has never been our good fortune to meet with a copy of the volume referred to. We will frankly aver, however, that we suspect our author, from his enthusiastic love of his favorite, overrates its value. If otherwise, it is indeed time to blot out "the stigma."

The next poetical production in the order of time is entitled "Hymns for the Use of Families, and on Various Occasions." A new edition was published in London so recently as 1825, and the reader may form some opinion of its contents from a few of the titles of the hymns. They are as follows:—For a Woman in Travail; Thanksgiving for her Safe Delivery; At the Baptism of a Child; At sending a Child to Boarding-school; Thanksgiving after a Recovery from the Small-pox; For a Persecuting Husband; For an Unconverted Wife; For a Family in Want, &c. Nineteen hymns from this volume are found in our collection, and a larger number in the Wesleyan Hymn-book.

Another volume, bearing the title "Hymns on the Trinity," was

issued by Mr. Charles Wesley in 1767. It contained one hundred and eighty hymns, arranged under the following heads:—On the Divinity of Christ; On the Divinty of the Holy Ghost; On the Plurality and Trinity of Persons in the Godhead; On the Trinity in Unity; and Hymns and Prayers to the Trinity.

"There lies before the writer a highly prized *autograph* copy of this precious little manual, in almost as perfect a state as when the beloved author, *more than eighty years ago*, perhaps at the earnest solicitation of some dear friend, traced with his own hand the few words which now add such additional interest to the volume, which is still more increased by the fact that it was published anonymously. The inscription is 'C. *Wesley*, April, 14, 1767.' The volume has one hundred and thirty-two pages, is without a preface, and contributes the following nine hymns to the contents of the Methodist Hymn Book:—

"213. Holy, holy, holy Lord.
144. Jehovah, God the Father, bless.
296. The wisdom own'd by all thy sons.
690. Hail, co-essential Three.
215. A thousand oracles divine.
284. The day of Christ, the day of God.
536. Spirit of truth, essential God.
216. Come, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.
214. Hail, holy, holy, holy Lord."—P. 212.

Following this publication in rapid succession, the poet of Methodism issued a small volume, entitled "Preparation for Death, in Several Hymns;" "Hymns written in the Time of the Tumults, June, 1780;" a tract of forty-seven pages, entitled "Hymns for the Nation;" and one containing hymns for the special use of condemned malefactors. This, it is said, was the last poetical production he ever issued from the press, and in a manuscript note appended to one of these effusions Mr. Wesley says:—"These prayers were answered Thursday, April 28th, 1785, on nineteen malefactors, who all died penitent."

Five years previously, namely, in 1780, Mr. Wesley compiled his large Hymn-book, entitled—and the title is still retained in the volume now in use among the British Wesleyans—A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People called Methodists, by the Rev. John Wesley, A. M., some time Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. It was published by subscription, in a duodecimo volume of about five hundred pages, and has undergone very little alteration since his death. In 1830 a supplement was added containing 200 additional hymns, and the entire volume contains 770 hymns;—of which, according to our author, Charles Wesley wrote 527; Dr. Watts, 66; John Wesley, 32; Doddridge, 10; Samuel

Wesley, Junr., 6; Samuel Wesley, Senr., 1. The remaining 28 by various authors.

We have thus rapidly glanced at the poetical productions of these highly gifted men, in the consecutive order in which they were issued from the press. For many very valuable remarks and critical observations, we must refer the reader to the volume to which we have been indebted so largely.

In the third part of his book, which occupies the larger half of the whole, our author notices each hymn in our standard collection, with the name of the writer when ascertained, and remarks critical and explanatory. The hymns of which the authorship is still doubtful are the following:—

"49. Lord Jesus, when, when shall it be."

We agree with our author in doubting, from "internal evidence,"* whether Charles had any hand in the production of these lines, although it appears in the volume published by the brothers in 1748. "The poetry is of very humble pretensions."—*Meth. Quar. Rev., April*, 1844. For the same reason, as before intimated, we doubt the authorship of

"86. How happy are they,"

and see not why the doubt in the one case is not as well authorized as in the other.

"124. My hope, my all, my Saviour, thou,"

is also by an unknown hand. We have met with it nowhere previous to the date of the hymns published by Bishops Coke and Asbury; and the same may be said of

"139. In boundless mercy, gracious Lord, appear."

The parody on the national anthem,

"248. Come, thou almighty King,"

was first published by Madan, and written perhaps by a correspondent whose name is, and will remain, unknown. It is not found in the English Hymn-book, but will probably remain in ours, says our author, "so long as we shall continue a church militant." We have no recollection of ever having heard it sung.

"273. O thou God of my salvation,"

is another, of which the authorship is unknown. The last two

* This is our author's own language; although, in his "list" on pp. 84, 91, the hymn is not referred to, leaving it to be understood that *then* he deemed it unquestionably Charles Wesley's.

stanzas are inferior to the others. It is found in the volume prepared by Coke and Asbury; as is also

"391. Peace, troubled soul, thou need'st not fear,"

of the writer of which we are also ignorant.

"487. All hail! happy day,"

was written, we should say from internal evidence, by the author of 86. They are in the same metre, and several parallels might be pointed out. Thus compare verse 1 of 487,

"How can we refrain
For to join the glad strain,"

with verse 2 of 86,

"When my heart *it* believed,
What a joy I received."

The expletives are in each case equally necessary, and equally expressive.

So again, notice the fire of the poet in verse 6 of 86,

"My soul mounted higher
In a chariot of fire;"

and in verse 7 of 487,

"He kindles the fire
Whom the nations desire."

The curious reader may trace other coincidences, and will perhaps concur with the sentiment of the critic, who declares that "fire will not melt out of him the opinion that Charles Wesley's muse had nothing to do with the doggerel." The best hymn in the volume among those of which the authorship has not been ascertained is

"517. My span of life will soon be done."

We have met with it in no other collection, and our author has been equally unsuccessful. Bating the suspected Calvinism of the fourth stanza, it is, by many of our people, much admired. Hymn 587,

"Lord, dismiss us with thy blessing,"

is also of doubtful origin. Something similar may be found in Rippon's collection, from which possibly it may have been manufactured.

Here we take our leave of this interesting and instructive volume. On several points of criticism we should differ with our author, and we doubt the correctness of his decisions as to the origin of a few of the hymns in our collection. It is more than probable, however, that he has reasons for his opinions which we should not be able, in all cases, successfully to controvert; as he is not only in possession of the largest collection of Wesleyan poetry to be found on this side of the water, but has devoted more time and attention to its study than any man, we suppose, in either hemisphere.

ART. VIII.—*Loiterings in Europe; or, Sketches of Travel in France, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Prussia, Great Britain, and Ireland. With an Appendix, containing Observations on European Charities and Medical Institutions* By JOHN W. CORSON, M. D. One volume, 12mo., pp. 397. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1848.

JOHN MURRAY's shop in Albemarle-street has afforded the materials for many nice books of travels. His Hand-books are *so* convenient that the tourist who is bound either to write long letters home for the amusement of his friends, or to make a book for the benefit of the community, would condemn himself for neglect of duty if he did not make good use of them. It is not a little amusing to track one of our reporting travelers through the little red-backed books of *Mr.* Murray, as the great bibliopole delights to be styled.

Now Dr. Corson cannot be so tracked; and we are glad to be able to say it. His book is anything but a mere string of favorite sights, gazed at with guide-book in hand, and described, or rather written about, accordingly. A great deal of it, to be sure, is made up of description; but it is the clear, graphic description of a man with an eye for what is before him in nature and art worth seeing and telling about, not merely for what has been written down beforehand for the use of the market. It is no easy matter to say anything that people will listen to on themes so often handled; and our author knows it:—

"Not an inoffensive citizen can dress in black, addict himself to books, and cross the ocean, but on his return, through kind persuasive friends, he is in danger of writing a book of travels or delivering a public lecture. Yet every day makes the task of gratifying this thirst

for something new more difficult. It is hard to shine when the firmament is full of stars. It is not easy to catch the public ear when it is sated with eloquent sounds."—Pp. 310, 311.

The readers of the Christian Advocate and Journal will remember the series of graphic letters from Europe which appeared in the columns of that journal under the signature of "J. W. C." some two years ago; and we are sure they will be glad to learn that those articles are now put into a more permanent form in the volume before us. But a very great part of the work is composed of entirely new matter, some of it, indeed, much surpassing in interest and effect anything that appeared in the earlier letters. As a specimen of the pleasant and easy style of the writer, take the following—his entrance into Vienna, and first impressions there:—

"We were unpacked from the cars and transferred to carriages drawn by horses, with which, in three or four hours, we scaled the mountains, and took the railroad again on the other side. All the passengers seemed inveterate smokers. There was a regulation posted up in the cars obliging all persons to use pipes secured with a cover or lid from causing accidents by fire, and forbidding smoking, except with the consent of the company; but the inhalers being an overwhelming majority, always ruled. It was intensely cold; and the atmosphere inside the cars was at times perfectly thick and dismal. Though never yet a partaker, I have always enjoyed the sight of the pleasure of smoking in others. I can conjure up the faces of dear friends that have never beamed so kindly, never seemed so contented with this sorrowful world, as when, after a social repast, or in the dim twilight, softly as the sighing of a fairy, curled from their lips wreaths of peaceful smoke. But my liberal sentiments were in vain; and, more than the most delicate German lady, I coughed and panted for an open corner of the window. Indeed, the ladies seemed to have admirably disciplined themselves to the puffing propensities of their partners.

"At last we reached Vienna in the midst of a furious snow-storm. I escaped from the cars, and took up my quarters at a clean, spacious hotel, as I fancied in the city. It was only the *Vorstadt*, a sort of outer city, extending like an immense suburb a little distance round the ancient walled city proper. Between this outside city and the inner one, there is an immense pleasure-ground a quarter of a mile wide, laid out with walks, and ornamented with trees, and extending like a belt round the whole of the old city. It is used for military exercises and other purposes, and gives Vienna a different appearance from any city in Europe, constituting an immense breathing place, as it were, for the citizens. After crossing this broad, vacant space, you come to a ditch some twenty or thirty feet deep, inside of which are the defenses of the old city walls that anciently resisted the Turks; and you enter by gates and gloomy passages into the Paris of Germany. Within, all is bustling gayety. Only with the evidences of

the lively pursuits of pleasure, there is more of stately magnificence than in the French capital. It is situated in the flat basin of the Danube, about two miles from that noble stream. The streets are narrow, but very cheery; the shops splendid; the houses massive and lofty; and the streaming of gay throngs, and the dashing of rich equipages through every passage and square of the central or old city, keep the stranger in constant excitement."—Pp. 223–225.

But we wish especially to call the attention of our readers to the *Appendix* to this volume. Many have written about Paris, Rome, Vienna, &c. You can have "descriptions of travel," "pencilings by the way," &c., to your heart's content, in many other books; but we know of *no* other book except this in which you can find condensed into a few scores of pages a satisfactory account of *European charities, institutions for the poor*, and of *foreign hospitals and schools of medicine*. Indeed, much search through various books would not enable one to gain the same amount of satisfactory information on these interesting topics. It is real, practical, and useful *knowledge* which our author here gives us; and he deserves our thanks for the close observation with which he gathered his information, and the skillful and perspicuous way in which he has set it forth.

The first lecture treats of *charities for children*. Our readers will be interested in the following description of what our doctor terms a "*nursing society*" in Paris:—

"As you go from Pont Neuf to the Sorbonne, in one of the closest quarters of Paris, near the Rue de la Harpe, you may ascend a flight of stairs and enter a suite of rooms filled with cradles, swings, and toys. It is one of the establishments for the children of poor laboring women, termed *crèches*, or cradles. Any mother having four children, and in indigent circumstances, is allowed, without charge, to deposit her infant offspring during the working hours of the day, while she goes out to earn something for their subsistence. Nurses are hired to attend them, who feed them with milk and suitable diet; the mothers briefly visit them occasionally during the day, and at night return to take them to their homes. Sundays and holidays, of course, these curious infant asylums are empty.

"Imagine, for a moment, the busy scene. The head-nurse is bustling about in the midst of her extensive family, as anxiously as a hen with too many chickens. Some are strengthening their limbs by crawling, and others their lungs by crying. A group are gathered, like lambs in a fold, in a sort of circular crib, forming a Juvenile Mutual Amusement Society. One of the nurses, perhaps, is teaching very young ideas 'how to shoot' in natural history, by showing a wooden horse, and another is giving lessons in music on a drum. A few of the older children, who can just walk, are prattling away, and remind you of the

simple countryman who wrote to his friends in England, that in France even the little children spoke French.

"The cheerful washerwoman that you see pounding away all the day long in one of the arks along the Seine, the rosy-cheeked matron, buried in hyacinths and mignonettes, in the flower market of the *Cité*, or even the poor rag-gatherer that goes drooping along, picking rubbish and bits of paper from the streets, is perhaps fondly dreaming of her charge in a neighboring *crèche*.

"In each of the twelve *arrondissements* of Paris is distributed one of these establishments."—Pp. 311, 312.

Notices are given also of the Parisian Foundling Hospital, of the German "Kinder-bewahr Anstalten," (Children-preserving Institutions,) of the House of Industry at Rome, and of the Monte Domini at Florence, in which latter establishment there is at least one very useful personage:—

"The head matron of the girls' department happened to be a lively, kind-hearted French lady. She was quite enthusiastic, and with pardonable pride boasted of the superior education of her young ladies, declaring they had regularly taken their degrees in housewifery. It appeared that they were systematically trained for domestic life; and that, occupying themselves in each branch long enough to acquire it well before commencing the next higher, they learned in rotation knitting, sewing, spinning, weaving, and quite a circle of household pursuits. Struck with their accomplishments, I ventured very naturally to ask the communicative matron the bachelor question whether they made good wives. I found her a perfect matchmaker. She stated that four or five marriages had recently taken place, and entertained me with quite a romantic account of the last. Amused with her description, and recollecting that marriage in Italy was generally a cool matter of convenience, arranged by the parents, with little previous acquaintance between the principal parties, further than a bare sight of each other, I inquired of her the way in which these poor-house affairs of the heart were commonly managed. She said that her young ladies went frequently under the charge of some one to take the air, and if any gentleman in the street saw one of the flock whose appearance he admired, he was satisfied with this rank-and-file courtship, and as she did not commonly object to changing her condition, he popped the question, not to the fair, but the poor-officers, and, if accepted, they were forthwith married."—P. 319.

The Industrial Schools at Aberdeen, the Ragged Schools of London, and Francke's world-renowned Orphan House at Halle, come in for full notices; but we have only space to mention them. The second lecture treats of the benevolent institutions for the relief *of adults;* and we refer our readers to it as full of interest and instruction.

The concluding letter, on "*Foreign Hospitals and Schools of*

Medicine," is worth the price of the work, we should think, to any professional reader or medical student. Even for us, all uninitiated as we are, the author has made a topic, which at first sight would seem to be purely professional, both interesting and attractive.

On the whole, we commend this work to our readers, not only as a pleasant and agreeable book of travels, but also as a valuable source of information on subjects not readily to be learned elsewhere. It deserves, and will, we trust, obtain, an extended circulation.

ART. IX.—*The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* New-York: Lane & Scott. 1848.

THIS article has been prepared for use, not for show. It proposes to state the changes made in the Discipline by order of the General Conference of 1848, and is written mainly for the use of the ministers of our church. We shall be glad if one in twenty of them read it; and shall be obliged to any one who will scrutinize it with a view to detect errors and to supply omissions.

Very few alterations have been made in the *substance* of the Discipline. No rule of the least importance has been struck out; no change, even the slightest, of the spirit of our system has been admitted; while, on the other hand, certain new features have been introduced to facilitate its workings; and one or two old ones, that had lost their original place, have been happily restored.

(1.) It is in the ARRANGEMENT of the matter of the Discipline that the principal changes have been made. We need not spend our own or our readers' time in showing that a necessity existed for rearrangement; everybody knew that the book lay in confusion; everybody deplored it, and anxiously waited the remedy. We are happy to say that the work has been well done: a few places there are, indeed, (to be specified below,) which have escaped notice; but as a whole, the Discipline is now a well-arranged, symmetrical, convenient manual;—which it certainly never was before.

On the second day of the session of the late General Conference a committee of five was ordered, (on motion of Rev. J. A. Collins,) "*to arrange the Discipline.*" The committee appointed for the purpose were, Tobias Spicer, John A. Collins, Edward Thomson, H. S. Talbot, and James Porter. The committee was an excellent one, and did its work faithfully. But when we say that to the venerable chairman the credit is mainly due of the improvement that was made, we are sure that the other members of the committee will find no fault with us. The whole church owes a debt of gra-

titude to Mr. SPICER for the diligence and perseverance with which he has labored on the Discipline. To pick out its scattered elements from their hiding-places in different parts of the work, and bring them all into their fit and appropriate connections, was a work requiring not only time and toil, but judgment and acuteness of no ordinary degree; and all these the chairman has brought to bear upon his work. We say this merely from an inspection of the results —they speak for themselves; and we think it due to truth and justice that Tobias Spicer's name should be connected, in the memory of the church, with this improvement in the form of our church laws.

On the 3d of May the report of the committee of arrangement was presented, and adopted by the conference, subject to the review of a committee to edit the work, with authority to make any necessary changes. The committee, as subsequently appointed, consisted of T. Spicer, G. Peck, J. T. Peck, and J. M'Clintock. A few modifications of the general arrangement were made by this committee, but the mass of the work had been done before; and had it not been, there was not time for careful revision, as the demands of the church made it necessary that the work should go to press immediately.

It is unfortunate that the principal merit of the new edition, namely, its arrangement, is not clearly shown in the Table of Contents, which does not contain the *chapter headings* at all. This remark, however, applies only to the *first impression* from the stereotype plates; as we have prepared a full Table of Contents and a copious Index, which will appear in all future impressions. The following exhibition of the outline will show that it is not only clear and useful, but logical.

PART I.—ORIGIN, DOCTRINES, AND ADMINISTRATIVE RULES.

Chap. I.—Origin and Articles of Religion.
II.—General Rules, and Reception of Members.
III.—Of the Conferences.
IV.—Of the Ministers.
V.—Of the Means of Grace.
VI.—Of the Instruction of Children.
VII.—Of Dress and Marriage.
VIII.—Of bringing Ministers and Members to Trial.

PART II.—THE RITUAL.

Chap. I.—The Order of Baptism.
II.—The Lord's Supper.
III.—Forms of Ordination.
IV.—The Form of Solemnization of Matrimony.
V.—Order of the Burial of the Dead.

PART III.—TEMPORAL ECONOMY.

Chap. I.—Of the Boundaries of the Annual Conferences.
II.—Of Churches and Church Property.
III.—Of Support and Supplies.
IV.—Of the Support of Missions.
V.—Of the Chartered Fund.
VI.—Printing and Circulating of Books.
VII.—Of Slavery.

With the above arrangement we think but few faults can be found. One or two amendments strike us as desirable, and we here mention them for future use.

(1.) The *general* outline, we think, would be clearer and better if divided into *four* heads, namely,—

Part I. ORIGIN, DOCTRINES, AND BASIS OF MEMBERSHIP IN THE CHURCH.

Part II. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE CHURCH.

Part III. RITUAL OF THE CHURCH.

Part IV. TEMPORAL ECONOMY OF THE CHURCH.

This outline, we think, would be at once more philosophical and practical.

(2.) In the subordinate adjustment of parts a few changes are still necessary. The theory of the new arrangement designs, as we understand it, to bring under each head in the book *everything* that properly belongs to that head. When this cannot be done directly, it ought to be done at least by references. We furnish the following observations of our own as contributions to a future revision. If others will do the same and send them on to the editor, they will be carefully preserved, and, if necessary, printed before the session of the next General Conference, to be used by that body at its option.

PART I.

1. Under the head "*Annual Conferences*," p. 29, there should be a question, "Who shall preside at the Annual Conferences?" —the answer to be furnished from question 3, answer 1, p. 33, and from question 4, answer 4, p. 36; this last being now out of place. Under the same head, p. 30, at the end, there should be *references*, at least, to the duties laid upon the Annual Conference by Part iii, chap. iv, pp. 177, 181.

Chap. iii, § 4, "Of the *Quarterly Conferences*," is deficient in several points, and redundant in others. The first five lines on p. 37 should be transferred to p. 31, and put in question and answer directly after question 2 and answer. Answer 2 to question 3 should

be struck out, as it is fully covered by answer 6. Answer 3 should be strengthened by inserting—"which estimate shall be subject to the action of the Quarterly Meeting Conference"—from p. 167. Answer 4 should embrace all of answer 5 except the first four lines and a half. At the end of the section there should be statements referring to answer 17, p. 53; to answer 2, p. 168; to answer 3, p. 176; to answer 6, p. 179; and to answer 8, p. 181. Many quarterly conferences, we have no doubt, will fail to act upon these missionary duties, all important as they are, simply because they are not *referred to* under their appropriate head.

Chap. iv, § 2, answer 6, p. 37, should contain a distinct reference to article 3, p. 176, and to article 6, p. 179.

Chap. iv, § 3, is, we think, the proper place for question 3, p. 39, and also for the proviso on p. 40, now inserted in § 4. And § 4 should contain a provision for the time of probation for deacon's orders, and also the N. B. on p. 45. The last paragraph of § 8, on page 45, should be transferred to § 9, 10, or 11.

Chap. iv, § 11, answer 4, p. 51, should contain a reference to chap. v, § 3, answer 1, p. 73. The whole matter in regard to disputes, non-payment of debts, insolvencies, &c., (answer 10, pp. 54, 56,) should be transferred to chap. viii, and the title of that chapter enlarged accordingly. On page 57, after answer 13, there should certainly be *at least* references to articles 3, 4, and 5, p. 80, and to article 7, p. 180. Few preachers think of looking through the Discipline for *more* duties than those laid upon them under the specific head of "duty."

Chap. vii, "Of Dress and Marriage," should, we think, be transferred to chap. ii, § 2, or to chap. iv, § 11, or else struck out.

PART III.

Chap. iii, § 4, should contain references to § 5, art. 2, and to § 6, answer 2.

Chap. vii should be transferred to Part I.

Turning now to the changes made in the Discipline itself, either in SUBSTANCE or LANGUAGE, we know no better way of bringing them to the notice of our readers, and of recording them advantageously for the use of the future historian of the Discipline, than to take up the old edition and notice the modifications made upon its pages in order. Our references are made to the 32mo. edition of 1844.

Page 23. Ch. i, § 3, ques. 6, ans. 6,

"Who have been elected by the suffrages of the General Conference to exercise the episcopal office, and superintend the Methodist Episcopal Church in America?"

is struck out.

Page 25. Same §, ans. 14,

"What numbers are in society?" is changed to, "What is the number of members, and what of probationers, in society?"

A most happy change. Hereafter the number of *members* will be reported separately from that of *probationers;* and thus one great source of fluctuation in our reports of membership will be avoided.

Same page. The seventeenth sub-question is altered slightly, so as to conform to the duty of preachers toward our own *Sunday-School Union.*

Page 27. Additions are made, authorizing the Bishops to station, for more than two years, the

"'editors at Auburn and Pittsburgh;' missionaries among the 'Welsh, Swedes, Norwegians, and other missionaries among foreigners, (not including the Germans,) where supplies are difficult to be obtained;' and also preachers at 'naval stations.' They are also authorized to appoint 'an agent for the German Publishing Fund.'"

Page 37. Question 1,

"How is a preacher to be received?" is changed to, "How is a preacher to be received on trial?"

Page 40. To question 4,

"What method do we use in receiving a preacher at the conference?" are added the words, "into full connection."

Page 41. Lines 3–8, requiring the giving of the form of Discipline, &c., have been struck out.

(The whole section, [9,] which was a notable instance of the accidental confusion which had crept into the Discipline in the course of years, has now been divided into two, namely, "Of the Method of receiving Traveling Preachers on Trial," and "Of receiving Traveling Preachers into Full Connection;" and the necessary changes of arrangement made accordingly.)

Page 44. Article 9. After the clause,

"To take an exact account of the members of society," the words, "and of the probationers,"

are added.

Page 45. A new rule is inserted, (18, on p. 53 of new edition,) making it the preacher's duty

> "to take an annual collection in each of his appointments in behalf of the Sunday-School Union."

Page 62. The clause,

> "Each quarterly conference shall be deemed a board of managers, having supervision of all the Sunday schools and Sunday-school societies within its limits, and shall be auxiliary to the Sunday-School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church,"

is altered to,

> "Each quarterly conference shall have supervision of all the Sunday schools and Sunday-school societies within its bounds, which schools and societies shall be auxiliary to the Sunday-School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church."

Page 63. All after the word "conference," in the fourth line, down to "Union," at the end of the paragraph, is struck out.

Page 67. The title,

> "*Of the Method by which Immoral Traveling Ministers or Preachers shall be brought to Trial, found guilty, and reproved or suspended, in the Intervals of the Conferences,*"

is altered to,

> "*Of the Method of Proceeding against accused Traveling Ministers or Preachers.*"

Same page. The answer is divided into two—one specifying the mode of procedure in the *interval* of the annual conference; and the other, the mode, if the charge be made, *at* the conference itself. The effect of this very advantageous change can be best seen by reference to the new edition, pp. 84, 85. An important addition makes it the duty of the presiding elder, in the case of a trial in the interval of conference, to

> "cause a correct record of the investigation to be kept, and transmitted to the annual conference."

And the second answer (which is new) provides, in case of a charge preferred *at* the conference, that

> "the case may be referred to a committee, in the presence of a presiding elder, or a member appointed by the bishop in his stead, who shall cause a faithful record of the proceedings and testimony to be laid before the conference; on which, with such other evidence as may be admitted, the case shall be decided."

Page 68. The following new provision is inserted, (see new ed., p. 86, quest. 3:)

"What shall be done when a member of an annual conference fails in business, or contracts debts which he is not able to pay?

"*Answ.* Let the presiding elder appoint three judicious members of the church to inspect the accounts, contracts, and circumstances of the supposed delinquent, and if, in their opinion, he has behaved dishonestly, or contracted debts without the probability of paying, let the case be disposed of according to the answer of question 1 of this section."

Page 69. Quest. 4, is altered from,

"What shall be done with a member of an annual conference who conducts himself in a manner which renders him unacceptable to the people as a traveling preacher?"

"*Quest.* 5. What shall be done when a traveling minister is accused of being so unacceptable, inefficient, or secular, as to be no longer useful in his work?"

And the answer is abbreviated to the following:—

"*Answ.* The conference shall investigate the case, and if it appear that the complaint is well founded, and the accused will not voluntarily retire, the conference may locate him without his consent."

Page 70. Provision is made for the secretary of the conference to keep the minutes of the trial "before a committee," as well as before the conference.

Page 74. Answ. 5, which read,

"Every local elder, deacon, and preacher, shall have his name recorded on the journal of the quarterly conference of which he is a member, and also enrolled on a class paper, and meet in class, if the distance of his place of residence from any class be not too great; or, in neglect thereof, the quarterly conference, if they judge it proper, may deprive him of his ministerial office,"

is altered so as to read,

"Every local elder, deacon, or preacher, shall be amenable to the quarterly meeting conference where he resides. He shall have his name recorded on the journal of said conference, and also enrolled on a class paper, and meet in class, or, in neglect of either, he shall not be permitted to exercise his ministerial office; and when a preacher is located or discontinued by an annual conference, he shall be amenable to the quarterly meeting conference of the circuit or station where he had his last appointment."

Page 75. The passage,

"No elder, deacon, or preacher among us, shall distill or vend spirituous liquors, without forfeiting his official standing,"

is struck out.

Same page. To answer 1, (in regard to the trial of a local preacher,) the following is appended, namely:—

"If the accused refuse or neglect to appear before said committee, he may be tried in his absence."

The following new provision is added, (new edition, p. 90:)

"*Quest.* 3. What shall be done when a local elder, deacon, or preacher, fails in business, or contracts debts which he is not able to pay?
"*Answ.* Let the preacher in charge appoint three judicious members of the church to inspect the accounts, contracts, and circumstances, of the supposed delinquent; and if in their opinion he has behaved dishonestly, or contracted debts without the probability of paying, let the case be disposed of according to the answer to question 1 of this section.

Page 77. In § 23, "Of the Lord's Supper," answer 2 is struck out, namely:—

"2. Let no person that is not a member of our church be admitted to the communion without examination, and some token given by an elder or deacon."

Page 83. The general rule, which stood,

"Drunkenness, or drinking spirituous liquors, except in cases of necessity,"

is restored to its original Wesleyan form, namely:—

"Drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, unless in cases of extreme necessity."

Page 95. Line 14, the phrase,

"If the circumstances of the accusation be strong and presumptive,"

is altered to,

"If the circumstances of the accusation afford strong presumption of guilt."

Same page. After the words,

"indulging sinful tempers or words,"

in answer 2, the following clause is added, namely:—

"The buying, selling, or using, intoxicating liquors as a beverage."

Page 96. Last line, the clause,

"And proper trial,"

is altered to,

"And satisfactory reformation."

Page 153, and the following—the boundaries of the annual conferences are altered, of course, where new arrangements are made. The most important of these is the addition of the following article, (new edition, p. 156,) which stirs the heart like the sound of a trumpet:—

"31. There shall be an annual conference on the Pacific coast, to embrace Oregon, California, and New-Mexico, to be called the OREGON AND CALIFORNIA MISSION CONFERENCE—to be organized as soon as practicable, under the authority and direction of the episcopacy—possessing all the rights, powers, and privileges, of other annual conferences, except that of sending delegates to the General Conference, and of drawing its annual dividend from the avails of the Book Concern and of the chartered fund."

Page 167. That part of the deed of settlement which relates to the *appointment of trustees* has been transferred to its appropriate head, (namely, "Of Trustees," new edition, p. 162;) but as it has been thought that difficulty may arise in some quarters from the alteration, the old deed of settlement will be printed at the *end* of the Discipline in all issues from this date.

Page 181. The following important clause is inserted in the rule for the appointment of a committee to estimate the table expenses, &c., of preachers, namely:—

"Which estimate shall be subject to the action of the quarterly meeting conference."

Page 183. Under the head of "Support of Missions," the following new article is added, (new edition, p. 178:)

"Any annual conference may, at its option, by a vote of two-thirds of its members, assume the responsibility of supporting such missions already established, or to be established, within its own limits, as have hitherto been reported under the head of 'Missions in the Destitute Portions of the Regular Work:' and for this purpose it shall be at liberty to organize a conference domestic society with branches; provided, such organizations shall not interfere with the collections for the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as required by the Discipline. Provided, also, that in case more funds shall be raised for such missions than are needed, the surplus shall be paid over to the treasurer of the Parent Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church at New-York, to be appropriated to such mission or missions, under the care of the society, as may be designated by said conference. It shall be the duty of every such Conference Domestic Society to send, annually, to the corresponding secretary at New-York, a full and detailed account of the number, names, condition, and prospects of each mission under its care; and to the treasurer of the Parent Society at New-York an account of its receipts, incidental expenses, and disbursements."

Also the following, (new edition, p. 184:)

"17. It shall be the duty of all our missionaries, except those who are appointed to labor for the benefit of the slaves, to form their circuits into auxiliary missionary societies, and to make regular quarterly and class collections wherever practicable, and report the amount collected every three months, either by indorsing it on their drafts, or by transmitting the money to the treasurer of the parent society."

Page 193. Article 5, in regard to the constitution of the book committee, is altered. It stood thus:—

"The book committee at New-York shall consist of six traveling ministers, and the editors. The annual election of two by the New-York, two by the Philadelphia, and two by the New-Jersey Conference, shall constitute the six members of the committee."

It now stands:—

"The book committee at New-York shall consist of seven traveling ministers, to be chosen by the General Conference. During the intervals of the General Conference, they shall have power to fill any vacancy that may occur in their own body."

Page 194. The following is added to article 7, in regard to the powers of the agents at Cincinnati:—

"And the agents at New-York shall fill the orders for the agents at Cincinnati for the plates of such books or tracts, and when the agents at New-York are about to issue any new work of less than seven hundred pages, they shall, when practicable, give notice to the agents at Cincinnati, and furnish, if ordered by them, duplicate plates, which, with the above, shall be at cost."

Page 196. A change is made in the constitution of the book committee at Cincinnati similar to that recited above in regard to the book committee at New-York.

Page 197. The words,

"Charleston, S. C., Richmond, Va., and Nashville, Tenn.,"

are struck out from article 17.

The above are all the changes of any moment that we have found on a careful examination, both of the Discipline and of the Journals of the General Conference. That some points may have escaped notice is altogether probable; such a task is not easily accomplished with entire accuracy. We again repeat the request, that any who are so disposed will send us their contributions toward a completely accurate edition.

Art. X.—*The Editor to the Readers of the Review.*

Eighteen years ago this Journal was commenced in the Quarterly form, under the name of the "Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review." The series thus opened went on until 1839, and its ten volumes form a collection valuable in many respects, but especially in regard to the history and literature of our church.

A new and enlarged series was commenced in 1841 by our able predecessor, who carried it on up to the July number of the present year. This series of eight volumes is not only indispensable to the

library of every Methodist preacher, but should be found in that of every member of our church who is able to indulge in any of the "luxuries of life." It embodies a large amount of sound criticism, both in general and Biblical literature; it conveys, in a condensed form, the substance of many costly works, some of which are inaccessible to ordinary readers; and it furnishes able expositions and defenses, as well of the general doctrines of Christianity as of the peculiar doctrines and polity of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It has called forth many able writers, both in the ministry and in the laity; and has, we believe, contributed in no slight degree to elevate the minds and enlarge the comprehension of our younger ministers and members. In a word, it has done the church good service—even though it may not have added largely to the profits of our great publishing house.

And of this the church is aware. We may regard the Quarterly Review as one of our permanently established organs; and so the last General Conference regarded it. But its *circulation* is limited. Many of the ministers do not take it; and few, very few indeed, of the names of our members are to be found on its subscription books. It was this fact, doubtless, which led to the adoption of the following resolution by the General Conference:—

"Resolved, That while we highly prize the Quarterly Review in its present character, it is our firm conviction that were it made more practical it would be more popular and useful."

So, then, it is our duty, as set down by our masters, to make the Review more *practical*. But how? Not surely by lowering its tone in point of literature and scholarship—*that* could never have been meant. Such, at least, was our own view; and to make assurance doubly sure, we applied to the Book Committee, our constitutional counselors, for advice. It was freely given, in the form of a resolution, in which the editor is "advised to *improve*, as far as practicable, the literary character of the work." We are therefore left to employ our own judgment in the conduct of the Review, so long as we fulfill, or strive to fulfill, the object of making it more "practical," and, at the same time, of elevating its "literary character." It is right and fitting that we should say frankly, in beginning our work, how we shall aim to secure these ends.

1. We hope to give, in each number, *one* article, at least, of permanent value, and of as high a character as possible, in *Biblical* or *Philological* criticism. The reputation of the Journal and of the church demands, at least, this much; and the wants of our rising ministry demand it as well.

Let those who cannot, or will not, study such articles remember that our Review circulates largely among the professors and students of our literary institutions, and that many of our ministers are capable of appreciating and profiting by the most learned and minute criticism. We have taken measures, which we hope will not fail, to secure a regular supply of such articles, partly original, but mainly translated from eminent foreign sources. Some of our friends, to be sure, have kindly cautioned us against indulging too freely in translations; but it would be simply absurd to impoverish our pages with half-learned and imperfect criticism, while the vast wealth of the German literature is at our command. Of such folly we shall not be guilty, merely to shield ourselves against an idle clamor.

2. The subject of *Biblical exegesis* will receive a larger share of attention than has heretofore been accorded to it. Short interpretations of difficult and disputed passages of Scripture will be welcome to our pages, and will directly go to fill up our own ideal of the "practical" for the Review. The interpretation of Scripture is the great work of our ministers; and our Journal would be at fault if it did not seek to furnish them aid in this department. The principles of interpretation, both of the Old and of the New Testament, are yet in many respects unsettled; and we hope that our pages will not only afford contributions toward a final settlement of these great principles, but also give illustrations of them in the exegesis of difficult and controverted portions of the sacred writings.

3. Ours is a *Methodist* Review. It is, therefore, right and becoming that the doctrines and polity of our own church should be fully maintained and set forth in its pages. We think we shall not err, therefore, in endeavoring to secure at least *one* article in each number specially treating of the faith, organization, usages, history, or discipline, of our own church. Some of these have been, and are, constantly assailed; it is our duty to defend them. Some of them may be wrong; it is our duty to examine, and, if need be, to correct them. On all these topics we shall admit of *free discussion*, within the limits, of course, of sound prudence and discretion. Nothing is gained to religion, or to the church, by attempts to cut off investigation or to stifle honest opinions. Time was when this was thought to be a Christian duty. There are, doubtless, some who think it such still; who would shut up men's minds for ever in their own narrow inclosure, putting a barrier to inquiry at the precise point which they have reached, as if wisdom must die with them. To these men every new view of the wants

or duties of the church is heresy; and all scrutiny of an old one, presumption. With such we have no sympathy. We have firmer faith in our system than they. We do not fear the closest scrutiny into its organization; we ask the minutest observation of its workings. It is too well-founded to be shaken thereby; it is too flexible, offspring and instrument of Providence as it is, not to adapt itself to the changing necessities of the times.

4. But while Biblical literature, theology, and ecclesiastical interests, will, as they should, have marked prominence, it is unquestionably true that no Journal can have wide circulation among the *people* that confines itself wholly, or even chiefly, to these topics. The world is all astir. In politics and morals great questions are every day asking for solution—or solving themselves, if answers be not forthcoming. If our Journal is to be "practical" and "popular," it must seize upon the great practical questions of the church and of the age; it must sympathize with the spirit of the age: and if it cannot be a leader and guide of public opinion, must at least be its index and chronicler. The reign of false conservatism—at once domineering and timid, despotic and servile—we trust is over. It is no longer a mark of wisdom to stand as still as possible, when all the rest of the world is in motion. It is no longer essential to one's orthodoxy that he should forswear all improvement and all progress. And the journalist who either attempts to stem the tide, or even refuses to go along with it, must not repine if he find himself left behind in its course, "solitary and alone." Yet, on the other hand, we hope to avoid that morbid appetite for new measures which forms some men's substitute for virtue. The men of this stamp think that everything old must necessarily be obsolete. Their watchword is Reform, and it means—Revolution. The novelty of an opinion is, with them, if not proof of its truth, at least a presumption in its favor. They are wonderful contrivers of schemes of reform, and fall in eagerly with every new *ism* as a new revelation. There is no trusting men who are far gone with this tendency. Should they once grasp the truth by accident, they cannot hold it long enough to make it their own. It is not by *such* agitators that real progress is made. Breeders of tumult and trouble indeed they may be, but reformers—never.

For ourselves, the way is clear. We shall strive to take a "practical" interest in the movements of the world and of the church around us; to keep our readers informed of all great changes; and to seek out the duty of the times for ourselves and for them. We are "set for the defense of the church," whose servants we are; and her best and surest defense is to be found

in calling out her energies for her great work of advancing the kingdom of Christ, and in showing that she is not, as her enemies say, a bulwark behind which all forms of social wrong and crime can entrench themselves securely.

With the partisan politics of the day we can have nothing to do. All such topics will be rigidly excluded from our pages. But with the great moral questions that now agitate the public mind in both hemispheres the case is different. To these we cannot shut our eyes and be guiltless. At the same time, we must ourselves be judges of the temper, spirit, and aims, of all articles that are submitted to us on such topics; and, in general, shall prefer to select our own contributors upon them.

5. So far as the *form* of our Journal is concerned, our aim will be to secure the greatest possible freedom and ease of movement. The term "Review" is now-a-days far more generic than it used to be. Criticism on books, in the proper sense of the word, forms but a small part of the matter of the leading Reviews. Of late years the theological journals have generally, and, we think, wisely, thrown aside the trammels which, in form at least, bind the great literary Quarterlies. For our field of literature the formal, stately *Review*, is about as appropriate as the palace of his Grace of Canterbury would be for a Methodist Bishop's dwelling. As for "keeping up the dignity" of our Journal,—there can be no true dignity where there is no adaptation. Essays, biographical sketches of eminent men, brief criticisms, and free discussions of disputed points, will all be welcome to our pages, without the name of any book stuck at the head. And on the other hand, we shall try to furnish our readers with a fair proportion of critical reviews in the proper sense of the word, and especially with abstracts of books that are either not published in this country at all, or are too expensive to get into general circulation. In view of the class of readers whom it will be our special business to serve, we deem this to be one of our most important and necessary duties.

To secure room for these varied topics, it will be absolutely necessary that our articles should be *short*. An average length of ten pages will be enough: and twenty-five, unless in very extraordinary cases, will be our *maximum*. If we have extended dissertations on important topics of Biblical literature, history, or criticism, we shall not hesitate to divide and publish them in successive numbers; in no case, however, carrying any discussion beyond the current volume. This may often be the case with the articles designed to be of permanent value, and intended to secure for the bound volumes of the Review a welcome place in every

good library. This last is one of our favorite *ideals*, and we hope both contributors and readers will bear it in mind.

Heretofore each number of the Review has been accompanied (not always *adorned*) by a portrait. On this subject the Book Committee, at their late meeting, passed the following resolution, namely:—

"Resolved, That the portraits as heretofore published in the Quarterly Review be discontinued, and that the editor be allowed to introduce portraits or other illustrations at his discretion."

This resolution accords entirely with our own views. The publication of portraits in the Review arose simply from the fact that they had been so issued in the Methodist Magazine, and has always been out of keeping with its character and objects. There is meaning and propriety in illustrating any article that may need or deserve it, either by a portrait, a map, or an engraving of any sort; but to insert a picture without any connection with the subject matter of the work, and often too without any general interest on the part of the community in the person delineated, can be justified on no rational ground that we can conceive of. In monthly journals portraits are sometimes published to gratify a denominational or party taste, and to catch subscribers; but these are aims unworthy of a periodical of the character of our Quarterly. We shall be glad, whenever we have a biographical sketch to offer of any eminent man, living or dead, to illustrate it by a portrait; and in such cases we shall strive to secure an engraving in the highest style of the art. And when maps, plans, or other graphic illustrations, are needed for any special article, we are fully authorized to introduce them, and shall do it on every suitable occasion. We hope and believe that this change will commend itself to the good sense of our patrons. When we tell them that the average cost of the portraits in each successive volume has been as *great as that of the literary matter*, they will doubtless think, with us, that it will be more judicious to save the money from the pictures, and employ a little more of it in securing strong and able contributors to the Review.

6. The department of *Critical Notices* will be kept up as heretofore. It will be extended, however, so as to embrace not merely books sent for the purpose by publishers and others, but also new English and foreign works that it may interest our readers to be made acquainted with. We wish to be distinctly understood that our notices in this department *must* be independent and impartial. Of the books printed at our own establishment, as well as others, we shall endeavor to give fair and just notices. Indiscriminate

praise can have no other effect than to destroy public confidence in the truthfulness and honesty of our criticism, and to impair the value of commendation, even when justly bestowed. It seems to have grown into a sort of common law among our periodicals, that all books from our own presses, or from those of our friends, should be lauded of course. It is high time for us to be just to ourselves. And we give our brethren of the newspaper press notice that they may begin with us if they please; if our Journal is liable to censure in any particular, we hope they will bestow it,—and we shall try to profit by it.

7. An entirely new feature will be added to the Review in two departments—one for Religious, and one for Literary Intelligence, to be printed in small type and in double columns, at the close of each number. In the first will be collected together such items of ecclesiastical and religious information of permanent value as may be gathered during the quarter in Europe and America. The columns of the newspaper form a bad repertory for such facts as one often wishes to refer to after a lapse of time; and it will be a great convenience to have them collected into a brief compass, and placed where they can always be found. While special attention will be paid to Methodist intelligence in this department, it will attempt also to give a general view of the more important movements of all branches of the Christian Church.

Under the head of Literary Intelligence we shall give the titles of all new works of importance either in Europe or America. Summaries of this sort are published in other journals, it is true; but many of our readers have no opportunity of access to them; and it is our duty to furnish them the information. In addition, we hope to be able, by means of intelligent and competent European correspondents, to give timely information of new works in preparation or in press; of all serial publications, and of the most important and valuable foreign journals. With the facilities of the Methodist Book Concern at our command, we *ought* to be able to furnish this species of intelligence as early and as accurately as any other American journal. We have no reason to suppose that these facilities will be withheld; and although our arrangements may not be perfected soon enough to allow us to do all that we would in our January number, we hope that before the end of the next volume the fullest wishes of our readers may be met.

In point of external appearance the Review has always held a very high place, and it is our purpose to add to its beauty if possible. The new series will be opened with entirely new and beautiful type, chosen and cast expressly for the purpose. A paper

equally fine with that now employed will be used, but it will need to be somewhat thinner, as a number of pages of advertisements will be stitched up within the covers. This last feature will by no means diminish the value of the work: the literary advertisements in the foreign Reviews are a real attraction to all who are fond of books.

We have now stated pretty fully the plan on which the Fourth Series of the Quarterly Review will be conducted. The main difficulty of the undertaking lies in the task of providing matter for two very different classes of readers; and the constant danger will be that in trying to cater for both, we shall fully satisfy neither. Such, however, is the task set us, and we enter upon it in earnest, at least, with the determination to do our best, though we are by no means free from misgivings. The circulation of the Review is not what it should be, and might be; but we have no very sanguine hope of largely increasing it in the present temper of the church. At the same time we urge upon the friends of progress, of culture, and of liberal learning among us, that the enterprise is too great a one to be allowed to languish. With ten thousand subscribers we could expend more money to make the Review valuable; and, after all, there is no way of making it permanently so *without* expending money. There is no reason why our list should not be thus extended.

Art. XI.—CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. *The Patriarchal Age; or, the History and Religion of Mankind from the Creation to the Death of Isaac: deduced from the Writings of Moses and other Inspired Authors, and illustrated by Copious References to the Ancient Records, Traditions, and Mythology, of the Heathen World.* By George Smith, F. S. A., Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, of the Royal Society of Literature, of the Irish Archæological Society, &c. 8vo., pp. 522. New-York: Lane & Scott. 1848.

An extended review of this elaborate work may be expected hereafter. At present we can only give a brief statement of the aims which the learned author has so laboriously and faithfully sought to carry out. In the preface he states that twenty years ago he "felt the want of a volume which should exhibit a concentrated view of the history of the early ages of the world, contained in the Mosaic writings, and in the records and traditions of heathen nations; and which, at the same time, should present this body of information in a manner truly religious, recognizing, throughout, the supreme authority of Holy Scripture and the great principles of revealed religion. After long and diligent inquiry, he could meet with no work of this description, and was consequently compelled, for the satisfaction of his own mind, to commence a course of reading which embraced the early portions of Scripture history; the difficulties of which he endeavored to solve by a reference to the works of the various commentators and Biblical critics to which he had access. In

this study he had not proceeded far, before he was startled with the remark of an intelligent friend with whom he was one day conversing on the chronology and history of the Pentateuch, and who, in reply to some observation on the subject, said, 'However consistent with itself the chronology of Scripture may be, it stands in direct opposition to the records of every ancient nation; and this is a fact generally admitted by the learned.' This remark led him to an enlarged course of reading, embracing the early history of the primitive nations, and the traditions and mythology of the heathen world, especially of such as tended in any degree to its elucidation. Having, during the progress of these investigations, carefully noted down his observations on the most important topics, he ultimately found that he had done much toward providing matter for such a volume as in his earlier days he had so greatly needed. Notwithstanding the number of books recently published on cognate subjects, he considers the want still to exist which he had formerly so severely felt; and he has, therefore, to the best of his ability, endeavored to supply the *desideratum*." In carrying out this purpose, "his first and ruling idea was to arrive at the *truth* respecting the origin and early history of the human race." For sources of truth, he looked mainly to the Scriptures, and, subsidiarily, to profane histories, early annals, and traditions, and, finally, to mythology and fable. From all these sources information has been obtained, which the author has endeavored to concentrate into the smallest compass consistent with explicitness, and to reduce the whole into a homogeneous narrative, which may present a complete view of the history and religion of the age.

Prefixed to the body of the work is a "Preliminary Dissertation," containing dissertations on the *chronology of the patriarchal age*, and on *learning, literature, and science, in the early ages of the world*. The history then takes up in order, first, the creation of the world and of man; second, the primitive condition of man, his fall, and the promise of a Redeemer; third, the history of mankind from the fall to the flood; fourth, from the fall to the dispersion; and, fifth, from the dispersion to the death of Isaac. A vast field, truly, and a grand one. The simple recapitulation of the subjects is enough to show the deeply interesting character of the work, treating, as it does, of those old, and indeed primeval, times of human history, which are so deeply veiled in the gloom of far-off antiquity, and yet so attractive to every thoughtful and inquiring mind. We can only, at present, recommend the work as containing a vast amount of useful information, put together with method and clearness, and adapted to popular use.

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2. *The History of the Peloponnesian War by Thucydides, according to the Text of Dindorf, with Notes; for the Use of Colleges.* By John J. Owen, Principal of the Cornelius Institute. 12mo., pp. 683. New-York: Leavitt, Trow, & Co. 1848.

It is enough to say of this edition of Thucydides that it is prepared with the same care and diligence, and in the same scholarly spirit, that marked the editor's Anabasis, Cyropædia, and Odyssey. There is but one voice among practical teachers as to the superior excellence of these editions; and Mr. Owen has laid the profession under additional obligations by this beautiful Thucydides—an author heretofore little studied in our American schools for want of proper helps. We discern an obvious growth of editorial tact in the successive volumes of Mr. Owen's series; and in this last he appears to us to be more self-sustained, more independent, and altogether more easy in his movement, than in either of the others. If we have *any* fault to find, it is only that the editor seems to be a little too fond of minute criticism, and of balancing the opinions of the various commentators; and that he goes

to an extent altogether needless in quoting his authorities. In a school-book these things are unnecessary. The fault, however, is entirely honorable to the editor, and could, perhaps, be easily accounted for by slight reference to the *getting up* of some other classical works which have split upon the rock of plagiarism. Any charge of *this* sort Mr. Owen most effectually forestalls. May he live long to continue his worthy and useful labors!

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3. *Principles of Zoology: touching the Structure, Development, Distribution, and Natural Arrangement, of the Races of Animals, Living and Extinct. Part I.—Comparative Physiology.* By LOUIS AGASSIZ and AUGUSTUS A. GOULD. One volume, 12mo. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. New-York: L. Colby & Co. 1848.

A TEXT-BOOK on Zoology, founded on a strictly scientific basis, and adapted to American use, has long been a desideratum in our schools and colleges. The name alone of Professor Agassiz is a sufficient surety for the scientific character of the work before us; while Mr. Gould's fitness to adapt the work to home use will not be questioned. The volume needs no puffing; it will be used wherever Zoology is to be taught, and the teacher is capable of appreciating a good book.

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4. *The Englishman's Greek Concordance of the New Testament; being an Attempt at a Verbal Connection between the Greek and the English Texts; including a Concordance to the Proper Names, with Indexes, Greek-English and English-Greek.* 8vo., pp. 882. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1848.

No book has been published for many years which will be so welcome to Biblical students as this. Especially will those who have but a limited knowledge of the Greek language find it to supply a want which they have long felt. The simplicity of the plan is only surpassed by its excellence. It presents, in alphabetical succession, every word which occurs in the Greek New Testament, with the series of passages (quoted from the *English version*) in which each word occurs; the word or words exhibiting the Greek word under immediate consideration being printed in italics. The mere tyro in Greek can thus consult the work with ease. But in order further to adapt it to the use of mere English readers, it is furnished with an *English and Greek* key, by means of which the corresponding Greek word for any English one can be found in a moment, and the word itself may then be looked out in the body of the Concordance. We recommend every Methodist preacher to purchase the book. No one that does so, and uses it, will reproach us for our advice.

Nor will the work be either unacceptable or useless to critical scholars. It will supply the place of a *Schmid* to those who cannot command that work; and will, in some respects, be an additional convenience to those that have it.

One thing strikes us painfully—the addition after each Greek word of its form in English letters. This can serve no good purpose; and the pronunciation adopted will offend many. We heartily wish that the American publishers would strike this feature out from their stereotype plates.

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5. *The True Organization of the New Church, as indicated in the Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg, and demonstrated by Charles Fourier.* 12mo., pp. 454. New-York: W. Radde. 1848.

THE design of this book is "to introduce the doctrines of Fourier to the followers of Swedenborg;" and the author hopes it will not be long before the new acquaintance will ripen into intimacy. How he himself was "introduced" to Fourier is

explained in the following passage:—"Mr. Maroncelli handed me a copy of Fourier's theory of the four movements for perusal. The newness and strangeness of the doctrines contained in this volume first stunned me with surprise. *But I felt that there was the truth*, and that the great question of human destiny was to be studied in that remarkable volume." One is naturally shy of trusting such sudden illuminations on scientific subjects; but in justice to our author it must be stated that he has revolved the "movements" for ten years before publishing the result of his meditations. How he came acquainted with Swedenborg is not told us; but he is very sure that the union of that philosopher's doctrines with those of Fourier constitute the "union of science and religion." As mere outsiders we think the union of the two sects a very natural and appropriate one; how far they will include all "science and religion" within their consolidated "interior," is, however, far more uncertain. Those who are curious to know something of the two systems may find pretty clear statements of both in the volume; the writer is by no means destitute of perspicacity; indeed, he only appears to us to see a little *too far*.

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6. *The Writings of Cassius Marcellus Clay, including Speeches and Addresses.* Edited, with a Preface and Memoir, by *Horace Greeley*. 8vo., pp. 536. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1848.

On the whole we regret the publication of this book. The opening pages of it will nullify a great part of the truth which inspires the rest, and deter many from reading further, or, if they *do* read further, from sympathizing with the writer's aims and spirit. No man, we suppose, will doubt Cassius M. Clay's moral courage, or his honesty of purpose; but this volume will satisfy many that his mind is not a sound, well-disciplined, and well-balanced one.

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7. *The Church in Earnest.* By John Angell James. 18mo., pp. 292. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1848.

John Angell James is one of the spiritual lights of the age. No differences of opinion can prevent us from seeing and acknowledging his entire devotion to the service of the kingdom of Christ on earth, and from admiring his earnest industry in its advancement. His "Earnest Ministry" has roused up many a preacher to a new consciousness of his duties, and to new efforts to perform them; and the work before us is designed to bear the same relation to the church as the former one did to the ministry. After an exposition of the "designs to be accomplished by the church, as regards the present world," the author sets forth the nature of "earnestness in religion;" first, in regard to personal salvation, and then in regard to the salvation of others. Impressive exhortations follow, enforcing earnestness in family religion, and in church fellowship; with an exposition of the causes that operate to repress this religious earnestness, and a statement of certain strong inducements to its cultivation. Clear, fervent, and practical throughout, the work is calculated to do great good among the churches; and we hope it will secure the wide circulation it deserves.

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8. *The Life and Times of the Rev. Jesse Lee.* By Leroy M. Lee, D. D. One vol., 8vo., pp. 517. Richmond: John Early. 1848.

We regard this work as a most valuable contribution to the literature and history of Methodism. The author has performed his labor *con amore;* and, as is usual in books undertaken in such a spirit, has done justice to his subject—erring, if at all,

upon the side of excess. We purpose giving an extended review of the work hereafter, and at this time only mean to express our gratification at its appearance, and to commend it to our readers. That we differ with the author on some points, is very certain; not so much, however, as *he* differs from many of his brethren in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

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9. *Kings and Queens; or, Life in the Palace; consisting of Historical Sketches of Josephine and Maria Louisa, Louis Philippe, Ferdinand of Austria, Nicholas, Isabella II., Leopold, and Victoria.* By JOHN S. C. ABBOTT. 12mo., pp. 312. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1848.

MR. ABBOTT has selected the most striking incidents in the lives of the personages named on his title-page, and worked them up into graphic and attractive sketches. The interest of each narrative is abundantly sustained; and many facts, not easily accessible, are introduced. A little too much glitter is thrown about royal life; but, on the other hand, royal crimes and misfortunes are depicted in strong colors.

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10. *Wayland's Elements of Moral Science.* Thirty-fifth thousand.
11. *Wayland's Elements of Political Economy.* Fifteenth thousand. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1848.

THE publishers have sent us copies of the late impressions of these established works. We have long known and appreciated them as the best treatises on their respective subjects now before the American public.

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12. *Thankfulness: a Narrative, comprising Passages from the Diary of the Rev. Allan Temple.* By the Rev. CHARLES B. TAYLER. New-York: Harper & Brothers.

THIS author has rendered his name famous and familiar with the reading community by his "Records of a Good Man's Life," and other popular volumes. The work before us is an exceedingly pleasant narrative, depicting the career and casualties, as well as the happy quietude and contentedness—or, as our author has it—thankfulness of a most exemplary country pastor in one of the delightful rural retreats of old England, some half a century ago. We commend it to our readers as a quaint and charming book, and one that will revive, and leave impressed upon the mind, a grateful sense of manifold obligations to that beneficent Being who arbitrates events, and blesses their issue for our highest good.

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13. *Memoir of William G. Crocker, late Missionary in West Africa among the Bassas, including a History of the Bassa Mission.* By R. B. MEDBERY. 18mo., pp. 300. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1848.

OUR own hearts have been deeply touched in reading this simple record of the life and labors of an humble and devoted Christian missionary. Mr. Crocker, as our readers are probably aware, was a missionary of the Baptist Board, and, in conjunction with Mr. Milne, the founder of the Bassa mission. His labors were great, too great, indeed, for his feeble frame. His whole life and soul were in his work, however, and he almost died in it. This little record cannot but stimulate all who read it to new earnestness in the work of advancing Christ's kingdom on earth.

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14. *The Czar, his Court and People; including a Tour in Norway and Sweden.* By JOHN S. MAXWELL. 1 Vol. 12mo., pp. 368. New-York: Baker & Scribner. 1848.

AN attractive and novel field is here opened. Mr. Maxwell has made a most entertaining and useful book: he carries the reader along rapidly and pleasantly, and manages

to give him a great deal of useful instruction, while all the time he feels himself amused. The immense power of the northern autocrat is one of the most remarkable and pregnant phenomena of the age; and all who wish light upon the elements of that power, and the mode of its exercise, will find it in this book.

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15. *Home Influence: a Tale for Mothers and Daughters.* 12mo., pp. 412. Harper & Brothers.

We learn from the prefatory pages of this new domestic story that its object and aim have been to instill into the minds of daughters the important lessons of attention to the minor services and kindly dispositions which so largely tend to bless and invigorate social life. The amiable author also addresses many valuable suggestions to mothers, which are worthy the most grave attention. The work is beautifully "got up."

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16. *A Funeral Discourse on the Death of Merritt Caldwell, A. M., Professor of Metaphysics and Political Economy in Dickinson College.* By Rev. Bernard H. Nadal, A. M., Chaplain to the College. New-York: 200 Mulberry-street. 1848.

To the truth of the portraiture in this sermon we can bear personal testimony. Mr. Nadal has formed a most just conception of the character of our late eminent and beloved friend, and has expressed it with great clearness and propriety. The style of the sermon is chaste and vigorous—utterly destitute of extravagance, but often rising into pure and manly eloquence.

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17. *Dr. Chalmers' Sabbath Scripture Readings.* Harper & Brothers.

This work forms the fourth volume of the posthumous writings of this distinguished scholar and divine. These "Sabbath Readings" were originally the private record of devout meditations of their author, not intended for the public, but simply for his own private use. This volume of devotional readings is devoted to the New Testament; and we cannot but think they will be regarded as the most important, deeply interesting, and valuable, of the series.

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18. *Antichrist: or the Spirit of Sect and Schism.* By John W. Nevin, President of Marshall College. New-York: John S. Taylor. 1848.

That we differ from Dr. Nevin almost *toto cœlo* in regard to church questions, is no reason why we should not acknowledge him as a profound thinker and an earnest man. He grapples with great questions vigorously and directly: he is no trimmer, no *juste-milieu* man, but an able, thoughtful, honest, and fearless Christian teacher. We hope to be able to give a general and careful review of his writings hereafter, and shall feel, in doing it, that we are dealing with a *man* and a scholar.

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19. *The Planetary and Stellar Worlds: a Popular Exposition of the Great Discoveries and Theories of Modern Astronomy.* By O. M. Mitchell, A. M., Director of the Cincinnati Observatory. 12mo., pp. 336. New-York: Baker & Scribner. 1848.

Professor Mitchell's reputation as a lecturer has lost nothing by the publication of this book. It presents in a clear and attractive style an outline of the triumphs of the human mind in that grandest field of its achievements—the planetary and stellar worlds. A better introduction to the study of astronomy could not be desired.

20. *The Battle of Buena Vista.* By JAMES HENRY CARLETON, Captain 1st Dragoons. 18mo., pp. 238. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1848.

THIS is the best and clearest account of the battle of Buena Vista that has yet been published. Captain Carleton has great power of description, but inclines rather to overdo his points. When will the world learn that battles and bloodshed are not the means of progress?

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21. *Man and his Motives.* By GEORGE MOORE, M. D. 12mo., pp. 300. Harper & Brothers. 1848.

WE presume most of our readers are already familiar with the previous volumes of this popular author. Dr. Moore has evinced a better method of treating the class of topics which he proposed to himself in his "Power of the Soul over the Body," and the "Use of the Body in Relation to the Mind," than any other writer with whom we are acquainted. He is more lucid, less metaphysical, and his pages are more generally interesting, instructive, and suggestive of thought to the reader. If any one will read but one of his works deliberately through, we are convinced his other volumes will speedily be in requisition.

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22. *A Reply to Professor Stuart and President Nott on the Wine Question, in a Letter to Gen. J. S. Smith, President of the New-York State Temperance Society.* By the Rev. JAMES LILLIE, M. D., Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Carlisle, Pa. Philadelphia: Grigg & Elliott. New-York: R. Carter.

DR. LILLIE disputes the criticism by which Professor Stuart and Dr. Nott maintain that there are two kinds of wine spoken of in the Old Testament, the one being invariably spoken of as good, the other as evil. Without giving an opinion upon the merits of the question, (simply because we do not know enough on the subject to give a well-grounded one,) we cannot but see that Dr. L. shows great acuteness and skill in sustaining his views. He avows himself a total-abstinence man on the ground of Christian expediency, and thinks that wrong interpretations of Scripture to favor temperance must ultimately react against the cause. In this we fully agree with him. If Professor Stuart's view is wrong, it ought to be abandoned. The pamphlet deserves an answer, and a strong one, from those who are concerned to maintain the views which it opposes.

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23. *A First Book in Spanish: or, a Practical Introduction to the Study of the Spanish Language, containing Full Instructions in Pronunciation, a Grammar; Exercises on the Ollendorff Method of Constant Imitation and Repetition; Reading Lessons, and a Vocabulary.* By JOSEPH SALKELD, A. M., author of "A Compendium of Classical Antiquities," &c. New-York: Harper & Brothers. 1848.

FEW teachers of languages are now ignorant of the advantages which the method of instruction known as Ollendorff's affords. The work before us makes use of all the good points of that method, and, at the same time, embodies a large amount of grammatical knowledge in a practical and perspicuous form. So far as we know, it is the best book extant for the elementary study of the Spanish language.

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24. *The Marriage Ring; or how to make Home happy:* from the writings of J. A. JAMES.
25. *The Family Altar; or the Duty, Benefits, &c., of Family Worship.*
26. *The Silent Comforter: a Companion for the Sick-room.* By LOUISA P. HOPKINS.
27. *The Young Communicant.*

FOUR beautiful little volumes with the above titles have been sent us by Messrs. Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln, a house which is always getting up *good* books, and gets

them up in beautiful style. These little manuals are just of a kind and size to be useful, portable, and popular.

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28. *Notes on the Acts of The Apostles; designed for Sunday Schools, Bible Classes, and Private Reading.* By Rev. BRADFORD K. PEIRCE. 12mo., pp. 371. New-York: Lane & Scott. 1848.

We were too long dependent on others for Notes upon the Scriptures adapted to the use of Sunday schools and Bible classes. Barnes' were very well adapted to their object, but by no means to *Methodist* use. Mr. Longking's Notes have supplied us amply on the Gospels, and the work before us does the same thing for the Acts. We hope it will not be long before our schools and younger friends will be supplied with proper helps for the study of the whole New Testament prepared by our own writers.

We have received Peirce's Notes too late to give the work a close examination, but have looked it over sufficiently to understand its general plan, and to see that it avoids the extremes of giving too much or too little commentary on particular passages. The style of the annotations is excellent—clear, brief, and to the point; indeed, there is nothing left to be desired in this respect. The work will have a vast sale, we have no doubt.

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29. *Modern French Literature, by* L. RAYMOND DE VERICOUR. *Revised, with Notes, &c.* By WM. STAUGHTON CHASE, A. M. 1 vol., 12mo. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln. 1848.

This work forms part of Chambers' Edinburgh People's Library, and has had a very wide circulation in Great Britain. Mr. Chase has done a good work in introducing it to the American public; and his Notes on Lamartine, Louis Blanc, and other literary men whose names have become famous in the late revolution, add greatly to its value. The design of the book is to give a "clear and succinct outline of the intellectual progress of France in the nineteenth century;" and especially to correct the false views of modern French literature which have become so prevalent in the English mind from the popularity of a certain set of writers, who have in no respect been entitled to give tone to the literature of the time. It gives sketches of the prominent philosophers, historians, poets, &c., of the century, and reveals an intellectual wealth in recent French literature of which many of our readers doubtless have no conception. It is an indispensable book for every good library.

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30. *Cyclopædia of Moral and Religious Anecdotes.* By Rev. K. ARVINE, A. M., Pastor of the Providence Church, New-York. With an Introduction by Rev. George B. Cheever, D. D. To be completed in eight numbers. Nos. 1 to 6. New-York: Leavitt, Trow & Co. 1848.

This collection comprises several thousand facts, incidents, narrative, &c., embracing "the best of the kind in most former collections, and some hundreds in addition, original and selected." Besides the extent of the collection, it has the new and peculiar merit of a classification and arrangement; which make it, instead of a mere confused gathering of facts, a series of apt illustrations under appropriate heads, any one of which can be readily referred to by means of an index. No books are so attractive to children as those of this class: the Percy Anecdotes have numbered readers, old and young, by many thousands, and we have no doubt that this work will have as great a run, especially among the religious public. It deserves it.

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